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# THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY

## A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH.

## VOLUME LIX—1930


### DR. KEITH ON APABHRAṀŚA.

BY KEŚAVA PRASĀD MIŚRA.

A PROLIFIC and voluminous writer as Dr. Keith is known to be, he may well be called the Hemacandra of Scotland. No branch of Sanskrit literature has escaped his untiring and ever-busy pen and no topic contained in the Vedas down to the *Vetâla-pañcaviṁśatikâ* has been denied appreciation, of course in the language and style so peculiar to him. Of his latest achievement, *A History of Sanskrit Literature,* he has devoted the first part to the investigation of the languages, and just like his great predecessor, he has written on the Apabhraṁśa language also.

In his verdict on Apabhraṁśa he has mainly touched on two points: firstly, that the scheme constructed by Sir G. Grierson for the derivation of modern vernaculars from the various local Apabhraṁśas is merely a theoretical scheme and will not stand investigation, for the evidence of texts and even of the literature proves clearly that Apabhraṁśa has a different signification, and secondly, that the essential fact regarding Apabhraṁśa is that it is 'the collective term employed to denote literary' languages, not Sanskrit or Prâkṛit, and that Apabhraṁśa is a quite different thing from what is known as the vernacular (देशभाषा). Relying on the authority of Daṇḍin he has laid special stress on the term Apabhraṁśa being applied to the idioms of Âbhîras, etc., appearing in poetry, for it were they who infused into Prâkṛit a measure of their own vernacular and sought to create a literature of their own by producing Apabhraṁśa and spreading it along with their civilization as a literary language from the Panjâb to Bihâr.

As regards the first point it can safely be admitted that unless and until sufficient materials are at hand, it would be rather risky to support the view of Sir G. Grierson. But his hypothesis is sure to gain ground at last, for the reasons so far furnished and materials so far supplied by scholars seem quite favourable to it.

Dr. Keith has, however, modified his sweeping remarks against the hypothetical scheme by admitting a considerable amount of resemblance to Apabhraṁśa in old Gujarâtî, but denying the same in other cases.

But it would not be out of place here if I present some substantial matter in support of the hypothesis so summarily dismissed by Keith, which every student of philology also will, I am sure, have some hesitation in explaining away with any show of cogency. The language which I speak at home is a patois of the so-called Eastern Hindî, assumed by Grierson to have been derived from Ardhamâgadhî Apabhraṁśa, and is one spoken in and around Benares.

I propose now to convert some of the Apabhraṁśa verses cited as examples in the Apabhraṁśa section of the Prâkrit Grammar by Hemacandra into the patois and to point out some Ardhamâgadhî traits in the conversion. This, I hope, will go a long way towards convincing my readers of the soundness of the scheme under discussion, and will plainly show that Apabhraṁśa elements are not only to be found in those western languages alone, which Keith has been at pains to connect somehow or other with Âbhîras, but in the eastern languages also, and that Apabhraṁśa was so popularly used for some time that its traits are still noticeable in its offshoots :—

दिअहा जन्ति झडप्पडहिं पडहिं मणोरह पच्छि ।
जं अच्छइ तं माणिअइ होसइ करतु म अच्छि ॥ ७५ ॥

दिनवाँ (For the use of दिन see दिणयरु खयगालि-६२ हे० व्या०; अज्ज विहाणउं अज्जु दिणु—कुमारपाल-प्रतिबोध ) जायँ झटपट्य पडयँ मनोरथ पाछे । जवन (cf. कवणुगुणु—हे व्या. ८४ ) बाढ्य (From Skt. * √ वर्त्त

to exist, अपभ्रंश्वइ, cf. मग्गेहिं तिहिंवि पवइइ Ibid. २५ ) तवन मानथ, हांई करत मत (Skt. मा तावत्) रह (cf. सुरसरि सिरमह रहइ ( प्राकृत पिंगल १११ ).

*N.B.*—Wherever I have used words in the conversion not derived from those in the text, I have referred to their original sources, of course in the Apabhraṁśa language.

सन्ता भोग जु परिहरइ तसु कन्तहो बलि कीसु ।
तसु दइवेणवि मुण्डिअउं जसु खल्लिहडउं सीसु ॥ ७६ ॥

आछत (cf. जं अच्छइ हे. व्या. ७५ ) भोग जे छोड़य (cf. बाह विछोडवि Ibid. १६२ ) तेह कन्ताक बलि [ कयल ] जाव ( cf. बलि किज्जउं सुअणस्सु Ibid. १३ ) तेकर ( cf. जसुकेरएं हुंकारडएं Ibid. १३९ ) दैवय [ से ] मूँड़ल जेकर (cf. १३९ ) खल्लइ सीस ।

पुत्तें जाएं कवणु गुणु अवगुणु कवणु मुएण ।
जा बप्पी की भुंहडी चम्पिज्जइ अवरेण ॥ ८४ ॥

पूत भइले (See रंभा मञ्जरी-११ ) कवन गुन, अवगुन कवन मुअले ( प्रा. पिं. १६० ) जेकरे (see above) बापेक भुंइयाँ चांपल जाय अउरे [ से ].

जो गोरी मुहनिज्जिअउ बद्दलि लुक्कु मियंकु ।
अन्नु वि जो परिहवियतणु सो किवँ भवँइ निसंकु ॥ ९३ ॥

ऊ गोरी [ के ] मुंह [ से ] जीतल बदरे लुकल मयंक ; आनो जे धूसल (Skt. ध्वस्त from $\sqrt{}$ ध्वंस् to be vanquished ) से कैसे (Skt. कीदृश ) घूमय (see हे. व्या. ४।११७ ; प्रा. पिं. १६० ) निसंक ।

साव सलोनी गोरडी नवखी कवि विसगण्ठि ।
भडु पच्चलिउ सो मरइ जासु न लग्गइ कण्ठि ॥ १२३ ॥

सबै सलोनी गोरिआ ( cf. गोरि तिम्मइ अज्जु १५५ ) नोखी कोई बिसकै गांठ (Mark the dissolution of the compound ) भट उलटय ( See उल्लट, देशीना ७, ८१ ) से मरय जेकरे ( cf. १३९ ) न लगय गरे ( cf. गलि मनिआ डा नबीस १४५ )

एक कुडुल्ली पंचहिं रुद्धी
तहं पञ्चहं वि जुअंजुअ बुद्धी ।
बहिणुए तं घरु कहि किव नन्दउ
जेत्थु कुडुम्बउं अप्पणछन्दउं ॥ १३६ ॥

एक कुडुली पांच [ से ] रूंधी तेह पांचों क बा जुदेजुदा ( Skt. युतयुत, $\sqrt{}$ यु to separate ; cf. Persian جدا) बुद्धी । बहिनी, तवन घर कहां काहे ( cf. किह किउ सिरि आणन्द ९४ ) [ अ ] नन्दय जौहन कुटुमो छछन्दी (Skt. स्वच्छन्द = अप्पणछन्दउं ).

सिरि जरखंडी लोअडी गलि मणिअडा न बीस ।
तो वि गोट्ठडा कराविआ मुद्धए उट्ठबईस ॥ १४५ ॥

सिर जरखंडी लुगरी गरे मनिओं न बीस । तबो गोठे करउलेस भोली (cf. भोली मुंधि म गव्वु करि, प्रबन्धचिन्तामणि ) ऊठबईठ ( बइस is also a rustic form of the patois).

I think this will suffice to prove clearly what I have said before. For translation of the verses, see Pischel, which I have purposely refrained from giving here, in order to make the comparison clearer and more independent.

I wish now to draw the attention of my readers to some of the words which are used in the verses and the patois, and which are important from the Apabhraṁśa point of view, my further object being to point out some Ardhamâgadhî traits therein, with a view to prove that the etymological relation of Eastern Hindî with Ardhamâgadhî Apabhraṁśa is not spurious, but is based on substantial grounds :—

(1) जवन, तवन, कवन in the patois are purely Apabhraṁśa forms partly noticed by Hemacandra in किमः काइंकवणौ वा ८।४।३६७.

(2) वहइ, रहइ etc., of Apabhraṁśa are pronounced as बहय, रहय etc., in the patois simply for the reason that इ and य are interchangeable.

(3) Instead of को, ओ, सो in the Apabhraṁśa taught by Hemacandra, the use of के, जे, से in the patois is simply due to Ardhamâgadhî influence.

(4) कयल्ल, भयल्ल, मुअल्ल, गयल्ल, मुँड्ल्ल, चाँपल्ल etc., are all past participles having the pleonastic suffix अल्ल peculiar to Mâgadhî Apabbraṁśa binted at by Hemacandra in his *sûtra* 8, 4, 427.

(5) कर in तेकर, जेकर etc., and क in कन्नाक, पाँचोक etc., are derived from केर of Apabhraṁśa advocated by Hemacandra in 8, 4, 422.

(6) The resemblance between खल्लिहडउ and ग्यल्लड़ चम्पिउजइ and चाँपल्लजाय, बइल्लि and बइरे, लुक्क and लुकल्ल, नवखी and नोखी, कुडुल्ली and कुडुल्ली, कहि and कहां, अप्पणछन्द and छछन्द, लोअडी and लुगरी is quite sufficient to show the genetic affinity of the two languages, and leaves no room for such doubts as Keith has entertained about their relations.

(7) Disappearance of case-endings is a recognized characteristic of Apabhraṁśa, and instances are not rare even in the above few quotations. When this practice came into vogue the great syntactical confusion was sought to be avoided by the addition of the new postpositions to the shrunken and worn-out forms of Apabhraṁśa. For example, take अउरे, पाँचो. etc. These. though being themselves inflected forms, require से, क, etc., to assert their morphological position in a sentence. This tendency can also be noticed even in Apabhraṁśa itself. The phrase—बप्पी की मुंहडी furnishes an instance in point.

(8) The use of र for Mâgadhî ल्ल, as evinced in बइरे for बइल्लि, गरे for गल्लि, etc., is a well-marked tendency now, but perhaps at one time was the rule in central and western Mâgadhî (see Dr. S. K. Chatterji's *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, para. 52).

(9) The pleonastic suffix ड or डड is very common in Apabhraṁśa. Our patois also has preserved it in मुखड़ा, बछड़ा, लोथड़ा, etc.

(10) The nominative in उ, the commonest feature of Apabhraṁśa, has been confined in the patois to proper nouns only. रामु, नतकू, घसीटू, मँगरू are examples of this.

(11) Compounds like गोरिमुहनिज्जिअउ, परिहविययणु, etc., are such literary artifices as every language is bound to contrive when it begins to put on poetic trammels.

From what has gone before, the reader will see at a glance how closely a thousand year old language is related to its daughter of the day, thereby disproving the segregation advocated by Keith on the strength of meagre evidence. This affinity constitutes internal evidence which is doubtless worth more than a hundred slender hypotheses to the contrary.

The second point remains to be considered now. Dr. Keith says that Apabhraṁśa is a name given to some literary languages, which were nowhere spoken and were different from Sanskrit and Prâkṛit. But this assertion contradicts the same Rudraṭa on whose authority he has relied so much. Rudraṭa declares in very plain words that among the languages, the sixth, *i.e.*, Apabbraṁśa, is of many kinds on account of the difference of lands where it was spoken—षष्ठोऽत्र भूरिभेदो देशविशेषादपभ्रंशः Keith has unsuccessfully tried to narrow down the broader sense of the statement by taking देश विशेष to mean only the lands of Âbhîras and Gurjaras, etc., though his conscience itself is not clear, as he, in disagreement with what he says here, has written on page 34 that " But once Apabbrañça had become popular, perhaps through the activity of the Âbhira and Gurjara princes it spread beyond the west and various local Apabhrañças arose, as is recognized by Rudraṭa." I cannot quite follow the arguments advanced to connect the Apabhraṁśa language so exclusively with Âbhîras and Gurjaras.

The term Apabbraṁśa for the first time appears in the Mahâbhâṣya in connection with language, and etymologically it means 'corruption' or 'deterioration' of norm. This corresponds exactly with the Vibhraṁśa or Vibhraṣṭa of Bharata, which is nothing but a particular linguistic phenomenon. The word Apabhraṁśa, then, had nothing to do with the Âbhîras, nor had it acquired its later connotation, *viz.*, people's dialect or dialects and

vehicle of literature, like the various Prâkṛits. When Sanskrit was standardized, any deviation from the norm meant Apabhraṁśa, and it is what Daṇḍin has expressly told us by शास्त्रेषु संस्कृतादन्यदपभ्रंशतयोदितम्.

But, in obedience to philological law, Sanskrit could not maintain its sway for ever, and it began to deteriorate gradually. At this juncture, as the structure of the language was still almost the same and considerable foreign matter had not found its way in, cultured society tolerated this corruption of the vocables at the hands of their own people and gave to the speech the significant name of Prâkṛit—'natural,' 'common' or 'ordinary' language. In course of time even this less favoured speech became the idol of its votaries in whom it inspired the same respect and zeal as its predecessor. This also died a natural death yielding place to a tongue which not only inherited the legacy reserved for it, but also high-handedly added a large amount of foreign matter to it. This was too much to digest and assimilate, and an altogether new language was therefore the result of this surfeit. It began practically to lose its inflectional character, ह, हि, हु taking the place of old case-endings. This was doubtless an utter deterioration of the norm, and Âryan people could not help calling it, though indignantly, *apabhraṁśa*—'corruption' or 'deterioration.' The investigation whether the foreign matter pertained to Âbhiras or Gurjaras concerns ethnology more than philology, and does not therefore deserve elaborate discussion here. What can be positively asserted here is that the refined Prâkṛits became turbid by the admixture of some very coarse unrefined and vulgar matter. It was possibly Âbhîras who first thrust their vernacular into Prâkṛit. And the disappearance of Sarasvatî (the river as well as the speech), attributable to their abhorrence of it (*vide Mahâbhârata, IV*, 20, 798), is very significant, in this connection. At first the mixture came to be called आभीरोक्ति or आभीरी, after them. There is mention of this आभीरोक्ति in the oldest document (भरत's *Nâṭyaśâstra*, 18, 44, Benares edition, 1929) extant in this field of literature. But when this corruption introduced by Âbhiras or Gurjaras developed into a widespread linguistic phenomenon and was imbibed by almost all the Prâkṛits of different countries, the appellation आभीरोक्ति, being unsuited to the wider sense, was confined to the proper आभीर dialect. Markaṇḍeya in his *Prâkṛit-sarvasva* has clearly indicated that fact by mentioning आभीरी as different from Apabhraṁśa. Daṇḍin by saying आभीरादिगिरः काव्येष्वपभ्रंश इति स्मृताः has only reminded us of the original sense of the term, and nothing more. Had Apabhraṁśa been from beginning to end connected exclusively with Âbhiras or others, it could not have flourished so much nor comprised so vast a literature as to claim the careful attention of such conservative Sanskrit poeticians as Bhâmaha and Daṇḍin.

Of textual evidence there is an abundance, but I shall cite here only a few examples to show that Dr. Keith's allegation that Apabhraṁśa was never a vernacular and that it was different from Sanskrit and Prâkṛit is baseless.

Namisâdhu, while commenting upon the same passage of the *Kâvyâlaṁkâra* (II, 12) of Rudraṭa, which has been the basis of Keith's verdict, quoted above, has the following remarks on Apabhraṁśa :—

तथा प्राकृतमेवापभ्रंशः । स चान्यैरुपनागराभीरग्राम्यत्व भेदेन त्रिधोक्तस्तन्निरासार्थमुक्तं भूरिभेद इति । कुतो देशविशेषात् । तस्य च लक्षणं लोकादवसेयम् ।

The importance of the passage lies in the fact that Namisâdhu (1) recognizes Apabhraṁśa as one of the Prâkṛits themselves, (2) names the varieties laid down by others before him as being *upanâgara, Âbhîra* and *grâmya*, (3) expressly says that they are many more than three, and, what is most important of all, (4) points to the people themselves as the best source to learn it. The last point is most significant as showing that by the time of Namisâdhu, who finished his commentary in 1069 A.D., the Apabhraṁśa of many dialects had not ceased to be spoken by the common people.

In the following quotations there is an express mention of the fact that Apabhraṁśa was a vernacular :—

देशेषु देशेषु पृथग् विभिन्नं न शक्यते लक्षणतस्तुवक्तुम । लोकेषु यस्स्यादपभ्रष्टसंज्ञं ज्ञेयं हि तद्देशविदोऽधिकारम् ॥

( *Viṣṇudharmottara*, Book 3, ch. 7)

अपभ्रष्टं तृतीयं च तदनन्तं नराधिप । देशभाषा विशेषेण तस्यान्तो नैव विद्यते ॥

(Ibid. B. 3, ch. 3)

अपभ्रंशस्तु यच्छुद्धं तत्तद्देशेषु भाषितम् ।

( Vâgbhaṭa's *Kâvyâlaṁkâra*, 2-3.)

'देशोद्देश स्वदेशगी:'

देशस्य कुरुमगधादेरुद्देशः प्रकृतत्वं तस्मिन् सति स्वस्वदेशसंबन्धिनी भाषा निबन्धनीया इति । इयं देशगाथ प्रायोऽपभ्रंशे निपततीति ।

(Râmacandra's *Nâṭyadarpaṇa*, with his own commentary. MS. in Baroda, leaf 124, being edited for G. O. Series.)

'भाषाः षट् संस्कृतादिकाः'

भाष्यन्ते भाषाः संस्कृत प्राकृत मागधी शौरसेनी पैशाच्यपभ्रंशलक्षणाः

(Hemacandra's *Abhidhâṇa-chintâmaṇi*, with his own commentary, 2, 199.)

[Quite contrary to this, Keith says that " Hemacandra also does not identify Apabhraṁśa with the vernaculars."]

Besides a Prâkṛit work named *Kuvalayamâlâ*, written in 778 A.D. by a Dâkṣiṇya Cinhodyotânâchârya, has recorded many informing and interesting topics concerning the vernaculars of the time. It gives a very lively and vivid description of Apabhraṁśa, which displays the vivacity and power of absorption of a living and current language :—

× × × × अवहंसं × × × सक्कय-पाय-उभयसुद्धासुद्धपयसमतरंगरंगंतवग्गिरं णवपाउससजलयपवाहपूरपव्वालियागिरिणइसारिसं समविसम पणयकुवियपियपणइणीसमुल्लाव सारिसंमणोहरं ।

(Jaisalmer Bhaṇḍâr, Palm leaves 57 and 58).

*i.e.*, Apabhraṁśa is now gentle, now rough and turbulent like the mountain rivulet swollen by the rains of the fresh monsoon clouds, is graceful equally with corrupt and uncorrupt words belonging both to Prâkṛit and Sanskrit like the playful ripples, is fascinating like the amorous babbling of a lady piqued in a love quarrel.

The above work also contains some lively conversations in the living language of the time, which are very important from the Apabhraṁśa point of view and leave no room for any objection whatever to the acceptance of Apabhraṁśa as a vernacular.

In order to differentiate Apabhraṁśa from vernacular, Keith has resorted to the *Kâmasûtra*, which, as he thinks, "in enumerating their [*i.e.*, of hetairai] sixty-four accomplishments, includes knowledge of vernaculars as well as of literary speeches (*kâvyakriyâ*)." " Moreover it [*Kâmasûtra*] preserves the interesting notice that a man of taste would mingle his vernacular with Sanskrit, as is the way with modern vernaculars, not with Apabhrañça."

Unfortunately both the arguments based on the *Kâmasûtra* are wrong. In the first Dr. Keith has taken the textual term काव्यक्रिया to mean literary speeches, but it never conveys that sense. It always means ' the composition of poems ' only,—and can never, therefore, be contrasted with what is meant by ' vernacular.' As regards the second argument, the plausible inference of Keith that Apabhraṁśa never drew upon Sanskrit, as modern vernaculars do, is nulified by the above quotation from the *Kuvalayamâla* and by Râjaśekhara, who expressly says in his *Kâvyamîmâṁsâ* that—

' ससंस्कृतमपभ्रंशं लालित्यालिङ्गितं पठेत् '

(*Kâvyamîmâṁsâ* ch. 7, p. 33.)

(Apabhraṁśa should never be recited but by making it more graceful by the intermingling of Sanskrit with it.)

*N.B.*—I am indebted to the writer of the introduction to the ***Apabhraṁśa Kâvyatrayî*** **for utilizing his valuable quotations extracted from MSS.**

## FALSE STATEMENTS ABOUT KING JAYACHANDRA AND RAO SÎHÂ.

BY PANDIT BISHESHWARNATH REU.

JAYACHANDRA, king of Kanauj, has often been accused of having caused the downfall of the last Hindu kingdom in Northern India. His grandson Râo Sîhâ also has been accused of having usurped Pali, by treacherously murdering the Palivâl Brâhmans of that place. No reasons are, however, offered for these suppositions, but the only argument resorted to by these critics is that these stories are handed down from generation to generation or that they are so mentioned in the Pṛithvirâj Râso and in Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan.*

In fact, none has yet taken the trouble of investigating the truth or otherwise of the problem. For the consideration of scholars I lay down my views on the subject here. The brief story of the Pṛithvîrâj Râso may be told as follows. Once Kâmdhaj Râi, with the assistance of king Vijaypâl Râṭhor of Kanauj invaded Delhi. At this, Tuṅvar Anangpâl, king of Delhi, requested king Someśvara Chauhân of Ajmer for help. Someśvara thereupon marched with all his forces and joined Anangpâl. A battle was fought in which the latter won a victory, and the hostile forces retreated. As a mark of gratitude for this timely succour, Anangpâl married his younger daughter Kamalâvatî to Someśvara and simultaneously his another daughter[1] to Vijaypâl of Kanauj.

In V.S. 1115 Kamalâvatî gave birth to Pṛithvîrâja. Once Nâhaḍ Râo, king of Maṇḍor, had paid a visit to king Anangpâl of Delhi, and beholding the handsome features of prince Pṛithvîrâja there, he declared his intention to marry his daughter to him. But later he abandoned the idea. On this Pṛithvîrâja invaded Maṇḍor in about V.S. 1129, and having defeated Nâhaḍ Râo, took his daughter in marriage. Later, in V.S. 1138, Anangpâl, disregarding the right of his elder daughter's son Jayachandra, made over the kingdom of Delhi to Pṛithvîrâja. Subsequently Pṛithvîrâja having abducted the daughter of the Yâdava king, Bhan of Deogiri, who was engaged to Vîrachandra, nephew of Jayachandra, the armies of Pṛithvirâja and Jayachandra had to meet on the battlefield. Sometime after this, Anangpâl also invaded Delhi to recapture it from Pṛithvîrâja, on the complaints of his former subjects being now oppressed by Pṛithvîrâja's coercive policy, but he did not succeed.

In V.S. 1144, when Jayachandra proposed to perform a Râjasûya-yajña and the *svayaṁvara* of his daughter Samyogitâ, Pṛithvîrâja, considering it inadvisable to confront him, thought out another plan to render both the above ceremonies abortive. He at first repaired to Khokhandpur where he killed Jayachandra's brother, Baluk Râi, and afterwards eloped with Samyogitâ. Jayachandra was therefore obliged to wage war against Pṛithvîrâja. The latter managed somehow to escape, but as many as 64 of his generals were killed and his power was almost annihilated. According to the Râso, Pṛithvirâja was 36 years of age when this event took place. So the date of the event must be Vikrama-saṁvat 1151.

The bravery of the young general Dhirasen Pundir in the struggle with Jayachandra attracted Pṛithvîrâja's attention, and the king favoured him most. At this his veteran generals Châmuṇḍ Râi and others became jealous and carried on intrigues with Shihâbu'd-dîn. But Pṛithvîrâja, being too much engrossed with Samyogitâ, did not pay any heed to these affairs. His government, therefore, gradually showed signs of disintegration. This gave an opportunity to Shihâbu'd-dîn to invade Delhi. Pṛithvirâja was obliged to come out with his army to meet him. On this occasion Râval Samarsî of Mewâṛ, his brother-in-law, had also joined Pṛithvîrâja in the battle. But due to disorganisation of the army Shihâbu'd-dîn eventually won a victory, and Pṛithvirâja was captured and taken to Ghazni. Shortly after this, it is related, Shihâbu'd-din met his death at the hands of Pṛithvîrâja at Ghazni, who immediately after killed himself.[2] Shortly after, Rainsî, son of Pṛithvirâja, attacked the Muhammadans of Lahore, to avenge his father's death, and drove them out. Thereupon Quṭbu'd-dîn marched

[1] Jayachandra was born to this lady.

[2] According to the *Râso* Pṛithvirâja had died at an age of 43, so the date of this event comes to V.S. 1158.

against Rainsi and killing him in the battle that followed, advanced further upon Kanauj. Hearing of this Jayachandra also arranged his army to encounter him. But in the battle that ensued Jayachandra was killed and the Muhammadans were victorious.

The above story cannot stand any historical test. The Kâmdhaj Râi mentioned in it is a fictitious name, inasmuch as we know of no individual of that name in history. Similarly the name of Jayachandra's father was not Vijaypâl, but Vijayachandra, who lived not in the beginning of the twelfth century of the Vikrama era, but in the first half of the thirteenth century, as is evident from his copper plate grants[3] and inscriptions of V.S. 1224 and 1225. Again, although the period of Anangpâl has not yet been precisely ascertained, yet this much is certain that Someśvara's third ancestor Vigraharâja (or Vîsaladeva IV) had acquired possession of Delhi, which is borne out by the inscription[4] of V.S. 1220 (1163 A.D.) on the pillar of Fîrûz Shâh at Delhi. Under these circumstances we do not understand how Someśvara could have gone to Delhi to help Anangpâl. Moreover, in the *Pṛithvîrâjavijaya-mahâkâvya*, which was written in Pṛithvîrâja's time, the name of Pṛithvîrâja's mother is mentioned not as Kamalâvatî, but as Karpûradevî,[5] who is stated to be the daughter not of Tuṅvar Anangpâl, but of a king of the Haihaya dynasty (of Tripuri). In the *Hammîra-mahâkâvya* also, the name of Pṛithvîrâja's mother is mentioned as Karpûradevî. The author of the *Râso* has mentioned the date of the birth of his hero Pṛithvîrâja[6] as V.S. 1115, but in fact Pṛithvîrâja should have been born in V.S. 1217 (1160 A.D.) or somewhat later, as at the death of his father in about V.S. 1236 (1179 A.D.) he was a minor and his mother took charge of the administration.

Let us now consider the tale of Pṛithvîrâja having married a daughter of Nâhaḍ Râo, king of Maṇḍor. This, too, is an absurdity, because from an inscription of V.S. 894 of king Bâuka, who was tenth in descent from this Nâhaḍ Rao, we conclude that the latter must have lived about V.S. 714, *i.e.*, nearly 500 years before Pṛithvîrâja. Sometime between V.S. 1189 and V.S. 1202 the Parihâr dynasty of Maṇḍor had ceased to exist, having been overthrown by Chauhân Râyapâla, whose son Sahajapâla ruled at Maṇḍor in V.S. 1202, as appears from his inscription of that year found at Maṇḍor.[7] Besides this, the name of the prime ancestor of the Parihâr dynasty of Kanauj was also Nâgabhaṭa (or Nâhaḍ). From the copper grant[8] dated V.S. 813 of the Chauhân king, Bhartṛivaḍḍha II, found at Hânsoṭ, it appears that this Nâhaḍ lived in the beginning of the ninth century of the Vikram era. Further, the first Parihâr conqueror of Kanauj, too, was Nâgabhaṭa (Nâhaḍ II), who was fifth in descent from the aforesaid Nâhaḍ. He had died in V.S. 890, as appears from the *Prabhâvaka-caritra*. No fourth Nâhaḍ besides these has been heard of in the history of India.

We have already mentioned above V.S. 1217 as the approximate birth year of Pṛithvîrâja. In such a case it would certainly be impossible to assume that Anangpâl made over the kingdom of Delhi to Pṛithvîrâja in V.S. 1138!

Further, the story of Pṛithvîrâja having abducted the daughter of the Yâdava king, Bhan of Deogiri, and of the consequent battle between Pṛithvîrâja and Jayachandra, also seems to be spurious. The founder of the city of Deogiri was not Bhan, but Bhillama, who had founded the city about V.S. 1244 (1187 A.D.). Neither does this event find place in the history of Bhillama nor does the name Bhan occur in the pedigree of the dynasty. Similarly, Vîrachandra, the name of a nephew of king Jayachandra, occurs only in the *Râso* and nowhere else.

We have mentioned above that an ancestor, third from Pṛithvîrâja's father, had acquired possession of Delhi. Thus the talk of Tuṅvar Anangpâl's effort to regain his kingdom from Pṛithvîrâja on complaint from his subjects about the latter's high-handedness is an untenable proposition.

3 Kielhorn's *Supplement to Northern List* (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. VIII, Appendix I), p. 13.

4 Above vol. XIX, p. 218.

5 *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 275 f.

6 The names of Pṛithvîrâj's ancestors mentioned in the *Râso* appear also to a large extent incorrect.

7 The Maṇḍor inscription referred to here is not dated, so far as we know. It has been transcribed by Rai Bahadur Dayarama Sahni, *Archæol. Surv. Ind., An. Rep.*, 1909-10, pp. 102-3.—D.R.B.

8 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, p. 197.

There now remains the affair of the *Râjasûya* and *Svayaṁvara* ceremonies performed by king Jayachandra. Had Jayachandra performed such a grand ceremony as the Râjasûya, some mention of it would have been found in the inscriptions of that monarch, or in the *Rambhâmañjari-nâtikâ* by Nayachandra-sûri, of which Jayachandra himself is the hero. Fourteen copper plates and two stone inscriptions[9] of Jayachandra have been found, the last of which is dated V.S. 1245[10] (1189 A.D.). Although there are thus as many as sixteen epigraphic records belonging to him, not one of them contains any reference to his having celebrated a *Râjasûya*.

The story of Pṛithvîrâja's elopement with Saṁyogita seems to be a creation of the fertile brain of the author of the *Râso*. Neither the *Prithvîrâjavijaya-mahâkâvya* written in Pṛithvîrâja's time, nor the *Hammira-Mahâkâvya* compiled in the last half of the fourteenth century of the Vikrama era,[11] makes any mention of any such event. To rely on the story under these circumstances is to tread on uncertain ground. The dates[12] of the events given in the *Râso* are alike incorrect.

The story of Mahârâval Samarsingh of Mewâṛ being a brother-in-law of Pṛithvîrâja and being killed in the battle with Shihâbu'd-dîn, while helping his brother-in-law Pṛithvîrâja, is also an idle tale. This battle had in fact been fought in V.S. 1249, whereas Mahârâval Samarsi died in V.S. 1359.[13] Under these circumstances, the above statement of the *Râso* cannot be admitted as either true or possible.

After this, there is the mention of Pṛithvîrâjâ's son Rainsî, but in fact the name of Pṛithvîrâja's son was Govindarâja.[14] He being a child, his uncle Harirâja had usurped his dominion of Ajmer, whereupon Quṭbu'd-dîn, having defeated Harirâja, had protected Govindarâja.

In the end there is the mention of an invasion by Quṭbu'd-dîn against Jayachandra, but, according to the Persian histories of India, this invasion is said to have been made not after Shihâbu'd-dîn's death, but in his lifetime, and that he himself had taken part in it. He was killed at the hands of the Gakkhars or Khakkars in V.S. 1262 (1206 A.D.). Besides, in the Persian chronicles there is no mention of Jayachandra's collusion with Shihâbu'd-dîn.

When all these circumstances are taken into consideration, the historical value of the *Pṛithvîrâja-râso* becomes vitiated. Besides, even if we accept for a moment the whole story of the *Râso* as correct, yet nowhere in that work is there any mention either of Jayachandra having invited Shihâbu'd-dîn to attack Pṛithvîrâja or of his having any other sort of connection whatsoever with the Muhammadan ruler. On the other hand, at various places in the *Râso* we read of Pṛithvîrâja's aggressive attacks, his elopement with the princess, his neglect of state affairs through his devotion to Saṁyogitâ, his proud and overbearing behaviour towards his brave and wise general Châmund Râi, whom he had sent to prison without any fault on his part and his high-handedness which gave rise to the complaints of the subjects of a state left as a legacy to him by his maternal grandfather. Along with this we also learn from the *Râso* that his unwise steps obliged his own generals to conspire with his enemy Sultan Shihâbu'd-dîn. In the light of these circumstances readers will be able to judge for themselves how far it is just to dub king Jayachandra with the title of Vibhîshaṇa and thus malign him as a traitor.

Let us now examine the attack made on Râo Sîhâ, grandson of Mahârâj Jayachandra.[15] Colonel James Tod writes:—

"Here in the land of Kher amidst the sandhills of Luni (the salt river of the desert) from which the Gohils were expelled, Sihaji planted the standard of the Rathors.

9 *Bhârat-ke-Prâchîn Râjvamsha*, part III, p. 108-110.

10 Annual report of the Arch. Survey of India (1921-22, page 120-121).

11 Further there is no trace of Somavaṁśî Mukundadeva of Kaṭaka in the History of that period, whose daughter is mentioned as the mother of Saṁyogitâ in the *Râso*.

12 Mr. Mohan Lal Vishnu Lal Pandya had however assumed the dates of the *Râso* to be based on the Ânanda Vikrama Saṁvat which he takes for granted on the basis of the words विक्रमसाक अनंद According to this the Vikrama Saṁvat is arrived by adding 91 to the Saṁvat stated in the *Râso*. Thus by adding 91 to the Saṁvat 1158, the date of Pṛithvirâja's death arrived at according to the *Râso*, we come to 1249. This date alone can be proved to be correct by this method. But the other dates and the periods assigned to Nâhad Râo, etc., still remain quite unreliable.

13 Above, vol. LV, page II, n. I.

14 *Bhârat-ke-Prâchîn Râjvaṁśa*, part I, page 263.

15 Sihâ was a Râṭhor and Jayachandra a Gâhaḍavâla. For an attempt at identifying Gâhaḍavâla with Râṭhor, see *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, Orientalia*, Pt. 2, p. 261.—D.R.B.

"At this period a community of Brahmans held the city and extensive lands about Pâli. from which they were termed Pallivâls, and being greatly harassed by the incursions of the mountaineers, the Mers and the Minas, they called in the aid of Sihaji's band which readily undertook and executed the task of rescuing the Brahmans from their depredations. Aware that they would be renewed, they offered Sihaji lands to settle amongst them, which he readily accepted.

"Afterwards he found an opportunity to obtain land by putting to death the heads of this community and adding the district to his conquests."

From this narrative it is evident that before rendering aid to these Pallivâl Brahmans Râo Sîhâ had acquired possession of Mehwa and Kherdhar. It does not seem reasonable that an adventurer, hankering after land, should have renounced possession of these two large districts, merely to content himself with a few acres of land granted to him by his protégés, the Pallivâls. Further, he had not at that time enough men with him to look after his possessions of Kher and Mehwa as well as for keeping under subjection the Mers and Minas of the hilly tracts, who often overran Pâli. Besides, from the narratives of the old chronicles of Mârwâṛ we learn that the Pallivâls of Pâli were a class of rich traders. It is nowhere recorded that they were masters of the town of Pâli; nor do we find any mention that Râo Sîhâ had murdered them. In the temple of Somnâth at Pâli there is a stone inscription of V.S. 1209 of Solanki Kumârapâla, which shows that at that time the latter held sway over Pâli. It also appears from this inscription that one Bâhaḍadeva, a feudatory of Kumârapâla, ruled over Pâli at this time on behalf of Kumârapâla. There had also been one Âlhaṇadeva, a Chauhân feudatory and favourite of king Kumârapâla. An inscription dated V.S. 1209 of Kirâḍu shows that this Âlhaṇadeva had acquired possession of the districts of Kirâḍu, Râḍadharâ and Śiva by the favour of king Kumârapâla.[16]

On the death of Kumârapâla about V.S. 1230, his nephew Ajayapâla succeeded to the throne. From this time the power of the Solankis began to decline. Presumably the Minas and Mers might have taken advantage of this weakness and plundered Pâli, which was then one of the richest cities in the vicinity. In the inscription dated V.S. 1319 at Sundha of Chauhân Châchigadeva it is stated that Udayasiṁha, father of Châchigadeva, and great-grandson of the aforesaid Âlhaṇadeva, was master of the districts of Nâḍol, Jâlor, Maṇḍor, Bâhaḍmer, Ratnapura, Sânchor, Surâchand, Râḍadharâ, Kheṛ, Râmsin, and Bhinmâl. Udayasiṁha is also described in this inscription as invincible to the kings of Gujarât.[17] We have found four inscriptions of this king ranging from V.S. 1262 to V.S. 1306 at Bhinmâl. We conclude therefore that at sometime in this period, this Chauhân feudatory might have thrown off the yoke of the Solanki kings of Gujarât. At the same time, when we consider the geographical position of the above-mentioned districts, we are led to believe that the city of Pâli, too, must have passed into the possession of the Chauhâns from the Solankis. So that at the time of Râo Sîhâ's arrival in Mârwâṛ, such an important city as Pâli must have been in possession of the Solankis or the Chauhâns. What circumstances, then, could have obliged Râo Sîhâ to butcher his helpless and trading supplicants of the Brâhman caste so sacred to a Râjpût for the possession of Pâli?

Besides this, when finding themselves too weak to ward off the marauding incursions of the hill tribes, these Brâhmaṇs had themselves applied to Râo Sîhâ for help, and having gained experience of his prowess, and having appointed him to be their protector, how could they have ever dared to incur his wrath by an act of effrontery?

Thus automatically Sîhâ became master of the city, and so his interest lay in fostering its trade by conferring favours upon its merchants, the Pallivâl Brâhmans, and not in laying waste the country by killing these traders, as is supposed by the learned scholar, Colonel Tod.

16 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XI, p. 70.

17 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 78, v. 46.

## ANCIENT SITES NEAR ELLORA, DECCAN.

BY K. DE B. CODRINGTON.

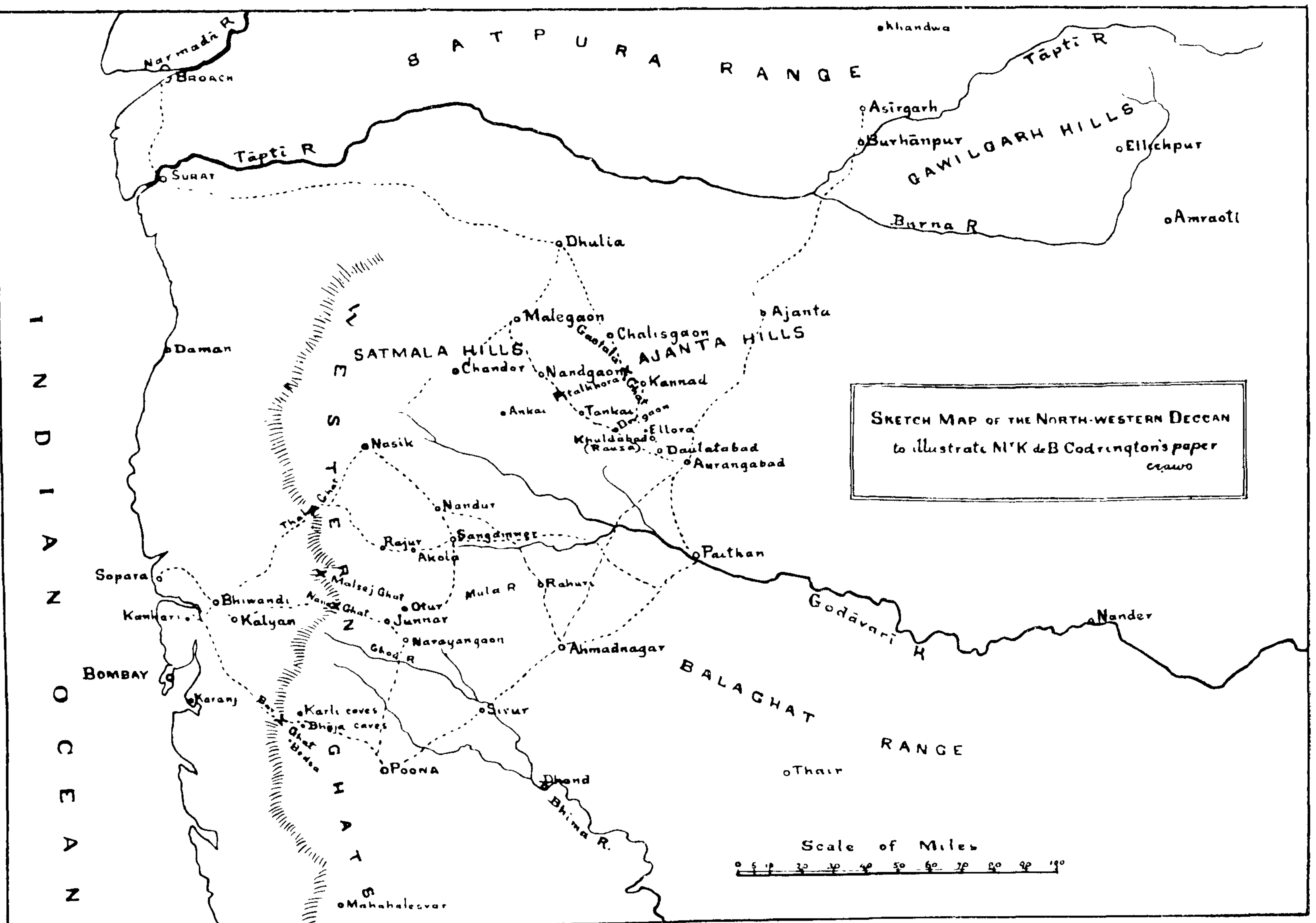
THE Ellora Caves take their name from the village which stands about a mile west of the scarp in which they are excavated. This runs north and south between two hills (2548 and 2800, Survey Sheet No. 46 P-4, 1 in. to 1 mile), the distance between them being about two miles. Above the caves and about three-quarters of a mile from them is Rauza (Khuldâbâd), a walled town, famous in the Deccan as a Mohammedan place of pilgrimage. It contains the tombs of Aurangzeb and his second son 'Azam Shâh, of Âsaf Jâh, the founder of the present ruling house of Haidarâbâd and of his son Nâṣir Jang, of Tâna Shâh, the exiled king of Golkonda and of Malik Ambar, the Minister of the last of the Nizâm Shâhîs. It also contains the shrines of the three saints, Burhânu'd-dîn, who died in 1344, Zainu'd-dîn, who died in A.D. 1370, and Muntazbudin Zar Zarî Bakhsh, who died in 1385. A few miles to the west there are also the shrines of Saiyid Khaksa and Ganja Bakhsh, near by two large irrigation tanks. Except for the three shrines mentioned above, which were perhaps the nucleus of the town, Rauẓa dates from the time of Aurangzeb, who built its walls. The name Rauẓa ('garden,' and then 'tomb') being changed to Khuldâbâd, when after his death, the title *Khuld-makânî* ('Translated to Paradise') was given to Aurangzeb.

The ground falls away between Rauza and Daulatâbâd, the intervening escarpment being crossed by the Pîpal ghâṭ, which is said to have been paved by certain of Aurangzeb's courtiers. Between the ghât and Rauza is an ancient site of large extent, which is said to be known as "Buddra-vanti" or "Buddha-vanti" and to be associated with the "Yavana Râja" (*Bilgrami and Willmott, Hist. and Descriptive Sketch of the Nizam's Dominions*, p. 725). Coins of Tughlaq Shâh are said to have been found there.

The hill fort of Daulatâbâd lies between the ghâṭ and the present railway line, the road from Ellora and Rauza here swinging north to Aurangâbâd, where it joins the Ajanta Road running north to Asîrgarh—this was the ancient high road to the north and was fed directly by three main routes from the coast. The first ran *viâ* the Nânâ ghâṭ to Junnar and Paiṭhan. The second ran near-by, *viâ* the Malsej ghât to Utar and thence to Paiṭhan. The third ran *viâ* the Bor ghât to Poona and Ahmadnagar.

This last route was followed by Seeley when he visited Ellora. It is really part of a cross-line of communication which runs from Poona to Junnar to Nâsik (Clunes' *Itinerary*, No. VII) or from Poona to Ahmadnagar to Sangamner to Nâsik (Clunes, No. XXXVI), and takes advantage of the Bor ghât, which seems to have been the easiest of the coast passes, although unfit for carts. Clunes' description of the Mâlsej ghât is also applicable to the Nânâ ghâṭ, which he neglects altogether as a practicable route: it is "perfectly passable by camels and elephants but..........their loads require to be taken off at the bottom......there is a made road throughout." He describes the Nânâ ghâṭ as the shortest route from Kalyân to Ahmadnagar, but says that its rock-cut steps are dangerous for the passage of cattle in the rains (p. 145). The thick jungle on the seaward slope of the ghâṭs is an added obstacle to both these routes; and also the fact that several lesser ghâṭs still remain to be crossed beyond Utar and Junnar. A third route from the coast ran *viâ* the Thal ghâṭ to Nâsik, Chandor and Malegâon (Clunes, No. LIV), at which place it was met by a third cross-line of communication from Daulatâbâd (Aurangâbâd) *viâ* the Ankai-Tankai gap. A fourth cross-line exists in the Daulatâbâd-Ellora-Kunur-Dhûlia route *viâ* the Gâotalâ ghâṭ. This seems to have been the only dependable pass in the sweep of the hills between Ajanta and Ankai-Tankai, before the engineering of the Aurangâbâd-Devgâon-Kasari-Nandgâon road to the south of it. An alternate route to Ajanta may be taken *viâ* the Ellora ghât, and is so marked in early maps (*e.g.*, that published by Kingsbury, Allen and Parbury, 1825); but its last stages must be very difficult.

It must be pointed out that these several lines of communication are not definite routes, except where they are necessarily defined by hill-passes, fords and large commercial towns.


Sketch Map of the North-Western Deccan
to illustrate Mr K de B Codrington's paper
SATPURA RANGE
GAWILGARH HILLS
SATMALA HILLS
AJANTA HILLS
WESTERN GHATS
BALAGHAT RANGE
INDIAN OCEAN
Tāpti R
Narmada R
Burna R
Godāvari R
Bhima R
Mula R
Ghod R
Broach
Surat
Daman
Sopara
Kanheri
Bombay
Karanj
Bhiwandi
Kalyan
Khandwa
Asirgarh
Burhānpur
Ellichpur
Amraoti
Dhulia
Malegaon
Chalisgaon
Ajanta
Chandor
Nandgaon
Kannad
Ankai
Tankai
Ellora
Daulatabad
Aurangabad
Nasik
Nandur
Rajur
Akola
Sangamner
Paithan
Rahuri
Malsej Ghat
Nana Ghat
Otur
Junnar
Narayangaon
Ahmadnagar
Karli caves
Bhaja caves
Bedsa
Sirur
Poona
Dhond
Thair
Nander
Mahabalesvar
Scale of Miles
0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

The intervening stages vary according to the state of the roads and the season of the year. It is reported that at the beginning of British rule there were "no made roads or lines of traffic fit for wheels." (*Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XVII, p. 327.) The Poona-Ahmadnagar road was one of the first gun-roads made, and served to draw much of the Berâr cotton traffic from the roundabout Surat route. The seaward part of the Thal ghâṭ route was put in order by the Pioneers in 1826. The Bor ghâṭ was improved by Sir Arthur Wellesley in 1804, but Heber in 1825 found it unfit even for palanquins. It was not until 1830 that it was metalled and made fit for carts.

The age of these several routes can be estimated by the antiquity of the sites they link together. The Bor ghâṭ, with its Buddhist rock-cut monasteries of Bhâja-Bedsâ and Karle (second century B.C.—second century A.D.). The Nânâ ghâṭ bears inscriptions of the Sâtavâhana kings, and passes through Junnar (caves, first—second century A.D.) to Aurangâbâd (Vihâra caves circa 500 A.D.) and Ellora (early sixth century to mid eighth century A.D.) to Ajanta (second century B.C. and late fifth century A.D.) The Thal ghâṭ route was fed by a coastal road from Sopara to Bhiwndi, which passed near Kânheri (caves, second century—fifth century A.D.) and led to Nâsik (caves, first and second century A.D.) continuing near by Ankai-Tankai and the foot of the Gâotalâ ghâṭ, where there is the ancient site of Paṭnâ and the Pîtalkhorâ caves (first century B.C.). Moreover, Junnar is associated with the dynasty of Nahapâna, which was overthrown by Puḷumâyi, who was known to Ptolemy in connection with Paiṭhan in the second century A.D. It is to be noted that the distant origin of many of the benefactors of the various Buddhist caves is a standing witness to the ease of communication in the early centuries of the era. Among them are certain persons who go under the name of "Yavana," perhaps as being of even more distant origin. It is in this sense that the Ellora legend mentioned above must be read.

With regard to the antiquity of Ellora as a cave-temple site, there is no sign of the existence of any community there before the beginning of the sixth century. The local version of the name is undoubtedly Verûl, or Yerûl and it has been therefore identified with the Vellûra of Varâhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ* (XIV, 14, see *Ind. Ant.*, XXII, p. 193) and also with the Vallûra of the Ghaṭotkacha cave inscription (*Arch. Survey Western Ind.*, vol. IV, p. 139). Furthermore, at Karle there are two inscriptions (Nos. 13 and 14) which record the gift of a village to the Saṁgha of Valuraka, which has also been identified with Ellora. These records stand in the name of Usabhadata and Vâsiṭhîputa Puḷumâyi, and thus would considerably extend the antiquity of Ellora. However, the village mentioned in No. 13 is Karajaka, which has been identified with the modern Karanj near Bedsâ. Burgess therefore identifies this Valuraka with Karle itself. Finally in the Wardhâ plates the Râshṭrakûṭa King Kṛishṇarâja is extolled as a builder of Śiva shrineṣ, and in the Baroda grant as the constructor of "a temple of wonderful form in the fountain of Elapura." This Bhandarkar identified with the Kailâsa temple at Ellora (*Ind. Ant.*, XII, p. 128). Fleet had previously identified it with Yellâpur in North Kanara (Ibid., p. 162), but the presence of a later Râshṭrakûṭa inscription in the Tîn Thal cave (No. 15) at Ellora, and the style of the Kailâsa are consistent with Bhandarkar's identification.

The earliest caves of Ellora are Buddhist and date, as has been said, from the beginning of the sixth century. The earliest Brahmanical caves are early seventh century, while the Jain caves are eighth century. The village still ranks as an orthodox Śaiva *tîrtha*, and the little stream that leaps the scarp near cave XXIX is consequently dignified with the title of the Velgaṅgâ ('Ellora-Gaṅga'). Between the village and the caves is a temple and stepped well built by Ahalyâ Bâî, wife of Malhar Râo Holkar of Indore, in the eighteenth century. In the village itself is the shrine of a Muhammadan saint which brings about miracles. To the south of the village stretches out the sickle-shaped embankment of a surface drainage tank, undoubtedly the most ancient object in the neighbourhood. The village itself has no claims to antiquity. Its history is subsequent to the history of the caves, the preservation of the continuity of the sanctity of the site being largely due to the annual fair, as is so often the case in India,

It has been stated that the caves at Ajanta fall into two groups, there being a complete hiatus between the early caves and the work of the great period of Ajanta, circa 500 A.D. The Vihâra caves at Aurangâbâd and the early caves (I—V) at Ellora are approximately of the same period, though a few years later, as minor developments in plan show. The expansion of the Aurangâbâd community, however, was limited, perhaps owing to geological difficulties, or perhaps owing to lack of water. The problem of lay support probably decided the matter: there is no sign of a village site of any size between the caves and the modern city, over three miles away. This evidence seems to suggest that in the early centuries of our era, when Nâsik, Junnar, Paiṭhan, Karle and Kânheri were flourishing, trade deserted the Ajanta route, to return in the fifth century.

The history of Daulatâbâd is a long one. As Deogiri it is associated with the Yâdava dynasty, which arose in the twelfth century, after the fall of the Western Châlukyas and the Kalachuris, who succeeded them. In 1294 Alâu'd-dîn, governor of Central India under Jalâlu'd-dîn Khaljî, took it apparently by surprise, an event which marks the first Muhammadan intrusion into the Deccan. The place was ravaged in 1312 by Malik Kâfûr for non-payment of tribute. It revolted after the assassination of Alâu'd-din in 1316, but was retaken by Qutbu'd-din in 1318. In 1338 Muhammad Tughlaq Shâh conceived the idea of making it his capital and commanded the inhabitants of Delhi to remove thither, renaming it Daulatâbâd. According to Ibn Batûta it rivalled Delhi in size and splendour. Eventually it was absorbed into the Bahmanî kingdom. The near-by city, which finally came to be known as Aurangâbâd, was founded by Malik Ambar. The whole district passed into Mughal hands in 1632. Tavernier visited Daulatâbâd and the Ellora caves; and so did Thêvenot; but he says that the prosperity of the ancient capital had greatly decreased.

Immediately above the caves at Ellora there is an ancient site of great interest. Its position may be described with reference to the three streams which find their way over the scarp. The first of these crosses the ghât road about half way between the Guest House and the Kailâsa (cave XVI). The second stream runs down from the south corner of the curved embankment of a surface drainage tank, which lies on the high ground a little to the north of the Kailâsa and about half a mile east of it (*i.e.*, between these two streams rises the hill in which the Kailâsa is cut). The third stream is the Velgaṅgâ, which leaps the scarp immediately to the south of cave XXIX, which is provided with a water gate and steps down to the pool below. Between the second and third streams the ground rises about 400 feet, the general lie being easily discernible on the 1 in. map, which, however, does not mark the tank. Its local name appears to be Dûdhaî Talâo (*dûdhiyâ*, 'yielding milk') but the Ḍhâṅgar whom I questioned was rather sceptical of its purposes, for "who would build a tank on a hill-top?" It is in fact only just on the Ellora side of the watershed which gives rise to the Phûlmasta stream on the Daulatâbâd side. The embankment is of earth, and immediately to the north of it are two cross-tracks, one running north to the Velgaṅgâ, the other east, presumably to join the Rauza-Sonkhedâ track, which is marked on the map. Where they cross, these tracks are deeply worn beneath the surface of the land. Cultivation of a kind has evidently been carried on fairly recently, both on the plateau to the north of the tank and in the small triangular area, terraced in the hill-side immediately below the embankment. The whole area north of the tank is strewn, in the greatest profusion, with opal, bloodstone, and chalcedony artifacts and cores. These are somewhat larger than the average examples of Indian neolithic instruments. I found that fractured "blade" flakes were fairly common, and also an almost circular, beaked scraper, but could detect none of the well-known "pygmy" types. The large number of quartz crystals which also strew the ground do not seem to have been worked, although elsewhere in India and in Ceylon quartz implements are found in large numbers.

Along the Kailâsa Hill, approximately up to the line of the tank embankment, runs a double line, or "street," of roughly cut and laid stone platforms (*chabûtrâ*). Just below the tank this

"street" is met at right angles by a series of *chabûtrâs* in parallel lines, forming terraces along the slope of the hill. Near where the two "streets" meet there is a well-finished stone block about 16 feet long by 2 feet square. The tradition of this site has been preserved. The shepherd informed me that it was where the ancient emperors pitched their camp in the rains. To Dr. E. H. Hunt, later, he quoted the emperor Yunas (Yunas-Yunân), a local version of Alâu'd-dîn's princely name, also given by Grant Duff. Dr. Hunt found here a fragment of Celadon ware of the kind imported into India up to the end of the Mughal period, usually and significantly known as "Ghorî Ware."

## ON THE TEXT OF THE MAHÂVÎRACARITA.

BY DR. S. K. DE.

SINCE Dr. Hertel published, in January 1924, his striking monograph[1] on the textual problems connected with the *Mahâvîracarita,* much material on the subject has been made accessible by Todar Mall's recent edition of the drama published by the University of the Panjab.[2] It will not, therefore, be out of place to reopen the question and consider it in the light of the fresh data supplied by this new edition of the text.

Dr. Hertel very pertinently remarked that we did not possess any truly critical edition of the *Mahâvîracarita,* and that no edition gave even the scantiest critical material for settling the text. This reproach has now been happily removed by Todar Mall's edition, which is based upon ample manuscript material (18 Northern and Southern MSS.), and which gives very full critical apparatus.

The *editio princeps* of F. H. Trithen, published in London in 1848, was based on only three MSS., belonging to the India Office and the Bodleian, which have also been used by Todar Mall and marked by him as $I_1$, $I_2$, and W, respectively.[3] The first of these MSS. is fairly old, being dated in *saṃvat* 1665=1609 A.D.; but the other two are comparatively modern, one being dated in *saṃvat* 1857=1801 A.D., and the other conjectured to have been copied for Wilson about 1820 A.D.[4] Trithen's edition, however, gives no variant readings, nor any account of the MSS., but it admits collation of doubtful passages with their reproductions in Alaṃkâra literature. The next Calcutta edition of Târânâtha Tarkavâcaspati with his occasional but very scanty glosses, published in 1857, was reprinted (without mention of the fact) by his son, and is thus substantially the same as the Calcutta edition of Jîvânanda Vidyâsâgara, published in 1873. Târânâtha appears to have used Trithen's edition, which he refers to in his Bengali preface as "the text printed in England," but he also consulted a MS. of the drama which existed in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Library and which is presumably the same as the manuscript Sc of Todar Mall, complete in seven Acts.[5] Nothing, however, is said about the extent and character of the MS. used, nor are any variant readings noted. Anundaram Borooah's edition, published in Calcutta in 1877 with a Sanskrit commentary of his own, is based on no independent MS. material, but is prepared chiefly with the help of the editions of Trithen and Târânâtha, as well as with the aid of readings of quoted passages in Alaṃkâra works; but this edition makes the first attempt at a systematic and running interpretation of the text in its Sanskrit commentary.[6] The text in all these editions is frankly eclectic, but it follows one and the same

1 Entitled "A Note on Bhavabhûti and Vâkpatirâja" in *Asia Major* I, 1, pp. 1-9.

2 Edited with critical apparatus, introduction and notes by the late Todar Mall, Government of India Sanskrit Scholar at Oxford. Revised and prepared for the Press by Prof. A. A. Macdonell. Panjab University Oriental Publications, Oxford University Press, 1928. It is remarkable that although this edition is published in a revised form in 1928, no reference is made to Dr. Hertel's important article referred to above.

3 $I_1$=India Office no. 1140-4136 (Eggeling's Catalogue, pt. vii, p. 1581); $I_2$=India Office no. 943-4135 (Eggeling, *loc. cit.*); W=Bodleian MS. no. 260 (Wilson MS.229b) noticed in Aufrecht's *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 136.

4 No date is given in the MS. itself, but see Todar Mall, p. xiv, and Hertel, p. 3.

5 No. 481-242 in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of the CalcuttaSanskrit College*, pt. vi, p. 145. It is a modern copy made near Calcutta for one 'Phila-sâhaba' and dated in *saṃvat* 1879=1823 A.D.

6 Târânâtha remarks in his Bengali preface that many passages of the text are obscure to him and he has not ventured to write glosses on them.

recension which was presumably universally accepted in Northern India.[7] It may for practical purposes be taken as being represented by Trithen's *editio princeps*. Of later editions published in Bombay, Poona and elsewhere, the most noteworthy is that printed by the Nirṇay Sâgar Press, Bombay, and edited with Vîrarâghava's commentary by T. R. Ratnam Aiyar of Trichinopoly and S. Rangachariar of Srirangam. It gives no description of manuscript material utilised, nor does it notice any variant readings, except what is casually mentioned in Vîrarâghava's commentary itself. It is presumably based on Southern MSS., as its text agrees with the Mysore manuscript Mr of Todar Mall. This edition is important, not only because it gives the text of Vîrarâghava, but also because it presents for a portion of the text an entirely different recension, which has its origin probably in Southern India. Todar Mall's edition, however, brings to light a third recension, which is probably North Indian or rather Kashmirian, but which was hitherto unknown.

Todar Mall has given a fairly full account of the MSS. used by him, and it is not necessary to recapitulate it here. But it would be convenient to summarise at the outset the main differences between the three recensions mentioned above. Todar Mall divides his eighteen manuscripts into two groups: Northern (11 MS.) and Southern (7 MS.); but three different recensions for a portion of the text are distinguishable in them. All the eighteen Northern and Southern MSS. of Todar Mall, as well as all the printed editions of the drama, agree in giving the same text from Act I to the end of Act V, 46, the divergences being nothing more than the inevitable differences of reading of particular words or passages. Here also Todar Mall's Cambridge manuscript Cu (Northern), as well as his Southern manuscripts Mt, Mg, $T_1$, $T_2$ end.[8] Material divergences however begin from this point, and for the rest of the text we mark three distinct recensions: (1) From Act V, 46, to the end of Act VII (*i.e.*, to the end of the drama), the editions of Trithen, Târânâtha, Jîvânanda, Borooah and Śridhara, as well as Todar Mall's eight Northern manuscripts ($I_1$, $I_2$, W, E, Sc, Md, Alw and Bo),[9] give what has been called by Todar Mall Recension A and by Hertel the vulgata recension, this being the universally accepted text, or as Ratnam Aiyar puts it,[10] *sarvatra pracalitaḥ, pâṭhaḥ*. (2) But Ratnam Aiyar's edition, as well as Todar Mall's single Mysore manuscript Mr, gives a different text for this portion of the drama (*i.e.*, from Act V, 46, to the end of Act VII), and this recension, marked by Todar Mall as Recension C[11], is expressly attributed to one poet Subrahmaṇya. At the end of Act VII the manuscript Mr reads (Todar Mall, p. 306): *asmin nâṭake vâliprakaraṇe 'daurâtmyâd aribhiḥ'* (V, 46) *iti śloka-paryantena grantha-sandarbhena Bhavabhûtinâ tri-bhâga-parimitâ kathâ viracitâ| tataḥ 'avaśyaṃ ca śreyasvinâ mayâ bhavitavyam'* (prose-passage preceding V, 47, in this recension) *iti vâli-vâkyâd ârabhya bharata-vâkya-paryantena grantha-sandarbhena Subrahmaṇya-kavinâ kṛtsno'pi kathâśeṣaḥ pûritaḥ | tasya pollaru-vaṃśa-jaladhi-candrasya Veṅkṭeśâryatanûbhavasya Veṅkṭâmbâ-garbha-sambhavasya drâgevâd-vaitâtma-jñânasidhir astu'*. Ratnam Aiyar's footnote repeats (3rd. ed., 1910, p. 224) these words up to the end of *kathâ-śeṣaḥ pûritaḥ*, but omits the rest, probably basing the footnote on a similar colophon in the MS. utilised for that edition. These two Recensions A and C, *i.e.*, the vulgata and Subrahmanya's text, therefore, stand in sharp contrast to each other with regard

[7] The Poona editions, both of which were published in 1887, one by S. G. Jyotishi and the other by Śridhara Śâstrî with his own commentary, also follow this recension. There is also a Madras edition with the modern commentary of Lakṣmaṇa Sûri (New ed. 1904); but I have not seen it.

[8] Mt and Mg appear to be nos. 12583 and 12585 mentioned in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sank. MSS. in the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras*, vol. XXI, pp. 8451, 8453. But there are three other MSS., probably more recent acquisitions, in the same Library, which have not been collated by Todar Mall, but which are described in the above Catalogue. These are: (1) no. 12584 (p. 8452), going up to the end of Act V, (2) no. 12586 (p. 8455), with Vîrarâghava's commentary, containing Acts I-VII complete and (3) no. 12587 (p. 8455) which breaks off in Act IV.

[9] Of the remaining three Northern MSS. of Todar Mall, his Cambridge University manuscript Cu ends with V, 46; India Office MSS $I_1$ ends with Act V; Bengal Asiatic Society manuscript B follows Recension C.

[10] This text is given by him as an appendix to his edition.

[11] This recension is given in Appendix B, p. 286f.

to the portion of the text between Act V, 46, to the end of Act VII. (3) But the third recension disclosed by Todar Mall's Kashmir and Bengal manuscripts K and B[12] is somewhat peculiar. It is distinguished by reading a different text only from Act V, 46, to the end of that Act; for the rest of the text, *i.e.*, for Acts VI and VII, it agrees with the vulgata or Recension A. After giving the full text of V, 46, the manuscript K notes: *etâvad Bhavabhûteh, agre kavi-nâyaka-Vinâyakabhaṭṭair apûri.* From this point it adds a different text up to the end of Act V, and also for the last few syllables of the third foot and the whole of the fourth foot of V, 46.[13]

From what has been said above the following facts will be clear:—

(1) With regard to the text from Act I to the end of Act V, 46, there is agreement in all MSS. and editions of the drama.

(2) With regard to the text from Act V, 46, to the end of Act VII we have (*a*) the vulgata or the Recension A, (*b*) the text of Subrahmaṇya and (*c*) the text of Vinâyaka, which agrees partially with the vulgata in Acts VI and VII, but differs from the vulgata as well as from Subrahmaṇya's text in the portion from Act V, 46, to the end of that Act.

Now with regard to the text from Act I to the end of Act V, 46, there is not only universal agreement but we have also the fact that one Northern (Cu) and four Southern manuscripts (Mt, Mg, $T_1$, $T_2$) end at this point. It is also important to note that both Subrahmaṇya and Vinâyaka undertake independently to supplement the text only after V, 46. There is the distinct evidence of Vîrarâghava who says:[14] *etâvatyeva Bhavabhûteh sûktih itah param tu Subrahmaṇya-nâmnah kasyacit kaver vaca iti mûla eva*[15] *sphuṭîbhavisy ti' 'avaśyam ca' ityâdi* (the prose passage immediately following V, 46) *Subrahmaṇya-kaver vacâṃsyapi prâyaśo vyâkhyâsyante!*. This can only mean that the genuine text of Bhavabhûti was available to Vîrarâghava only up to the end of V, 46, and that he was apparently of opinion that this was the extent to which Bhavabhûti's text was composed, the remainder being a supplement written in later times by one (*kasyacit*) Subrahmaṇya-kavi. That this supplement came into existence some considerable time before Vîrarâghava is apparent from the fact that Vîrarâghava knew hardly anything of this "certain" Subrahmaṇya, but also from the indication given in his commentary that he must have used more than one MS. of Subrahmaṇya's text, of which he notices several variant readings. On the other hand, the manuscript K also indicates that the genuine work of Bhavabhûti extended up to the end of V, 46 (*etâvad Bhavabhûteh*) and that another supplement was composed by one Vinâyaka Bhaṭṭa. From this, either of two conclusions is possible: (1) that the genuine text of Bhavabhûti was available to the scribes and commentators up to the end of V, 46, and, as we have two independent supplements composed respectively in Northern and Southern India only after this point, the rest of the work was lost, or (2) that Bhavabhûti wrote the work only up to the end of V, 46, and for some reason or other left the drama incomplete. We have no data to establish definitely the correctness of either of these conclusions. At the same time it is clear that the text up to the end of V, 46, is undoubtedly the work of Bhavabhûti himself. The rest was either lost or never written by the dramatist, and attempts were made in later times to supplement it (a phenomenon which is not unusual in Sanskrit literature) by (1) the anonymous vulgata text, (2) by Vinâyaka Bhaṭṭa and (3) by Subrahmaṇya.

12 This agreement between Kashmir and Bengal manuscripts is notable; but Todar Mall' Calcutta Sanskrit College manuscript Sc follows the vulgata or Recension A. The manuscript B belongs to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

13 The reading of B is not clear from Todar Mall's description. At p. viii of the Introduction, we are told that "B is very fragmentary, covering as it does a little over two Acts"; and from p. xi it appears that it comprised Acts VI and VII, although we are not told what else it included. From the *variæ lectiones* noted in the text it seems that the MS. begins with the 4th *pâda* of V, 59, of Recension C (see p. 282) and ends with Act VII, following Recension C throughout.

14 This passage is given in the footnote to the commentary on V, 46 (p. 193) in Ratnam Aiyar's edition, with[*iti*] *Vîrarâghavah.*

15 This reference to a later passage of the text can only mean (as Hertel interprets it) the colophon of one or all of Vîrarâghava's own MSS. of the text.

It is difficult to identify Vinâyaka Bhaṭṭa. Of all the Vinâyakas mentioned by Aufrecht, one Vinâyaka Paṇḍita is quoted in *Śârṅgadhara-paddhati* (no. 1254), while another Vinâyaka is mentioned as the author of a metrical Pûrva-pîṭhikâ to *Daśakumâra-carita*. It is possible, however, to identify Subrahmaṇya from the details given about him by the Mysore MS., which tells us that he was the son of Veṅkaṭeśa and Veṅkaṭâmbâ and that he belonged to the Pollaru family. It appears to have been he who wrote a commentary on the *Prabodha-candrodaya*, called *Prauḍha-prakâśa*,[16] as well as a commentary entitled *Dharma-pradîpikâ* on a treatise on Aśauca called *Abhinava-ṣaḍaśîti*.[17] In the opening verses of both these works the same parentage is given, but the name of the family is mentioned as Ponḍûri.

With regard to Subrahmaṇya's supplement, or Recension C, which extends from Act V, 46, to the end of Act VII, no question arises, as it is homogeneous and distinctly attributed to a particular author. But the vulgata (or Recension A) and Vinâyaka's text (Recension B) have a large portion of the supplementary text in common, *viz.*, the whole of the text of Acts VI and VII which is the same in both recensions. That this portion is spurious admits of no doubt, and both Hertel and Todar Mall have brought forward enough evidence to prove it.[18] But how is it that both Recensions A and B have this portion in common, although they differ in giving two entirely divergent texts for the portion covered by the text from Act V, 46, to the end of Act V ?

Todar Mall has advanced (pp. viii, xviii-xix) a somewhat extraordinary theory that Bhavabhûti's original work must have come to a sudden close with Act V, 46, but that later on the dramatist revised this portion and brought the Act to a close. He maintains that the vulgata text or Recension A from Act V, 46, to the end of that Act represents this authentic added text of Bhavabhûti. The incomplete unrevised text up to the end of Act V, 46, is preserved in the MSS. of the Southern group ; the revised completed text up to the end of Act V travelled to the North where it appears in the MSS. of the Northern group.

About the alleged revision of the original text the evidence does not seem to be very convincing. The fact that in some MSS. better readings are found proves nothing, especially in the case of an author like Bhavabhûti who is perhaps less careful in phrasing than most poets and naturally tempted later emendations. Again, Todar Mall himself admits (p. ix) that the readings of the Southern MSS. are at places decidedly superior to those of the Northern. This strikes at the very root of his hypothesis of revision, although Todar Mall attempts to explain this anomaly away by supposing that these occasional superior readings were inevitable in the South, which is assumed to have been the home of Sanskrit culture where Bhavabhûti's works were more frequently studied. Of this supposition no convincing evidence is produced.

For his hypothesis that the portion from Act V, 46, to the end of that Act in the vulgata or Recension A represents the authentic text of Bhavabhûti, the following arguments are put forward. It is necessary to consider them in detail :

(1) Todar Mall writes :—"The oldest known MS. $I_1$, which is dated *saṃvat* 1665 (=1609 A.D.) runs without a break beyond V, 46, and does *not* mention that the portion of the Act after V, 46, is from the pen of a different author. Neither do the other MSS. belonging to Recension A come to a sudden stop in the middle of the Act. On the other hand, the MSS. of the other two recensions attribute the part preceding V, 46, and that following V, 46, to the end of Act V *in clear words* to different authors."

There are several inaccuracies in this argument. In the first place, the Cambridge University Manuscript Cu, an equally old Northern MS. supposed to be "a little over 300 years old," extends only up to V, 46, and its evidence cannot be lightly set aside. In the second place, if the MSS. of Recension A, which give the text without a break, do not mention (as the MSS. of other recensions do) that the portion after V, 46, is from the pen of a different author,

[16] Noticed with extracts in *Descriptive Catalogue of Sansk. MSS. in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscript Library*, vol. XXI, No. 12560, p. 8429.

[17] Noticed in the same Catalogue, vol. V, No. 3011, p. 2240.

[18] See Todar Mall, p. xix ; Hertel, p. 8.

they also do not mention that Acts VI and VII are spurious. Applying the same argument, we shall have to consider these Acts also as the authentic text of Bhavabhûti. It is difficult indeed to conclude anything definite from the fact that some MSS. of Recension A stop without a break at the end of Act V, for other MSS. of the same recension carry on the text without break to the end of Act VII. On the other hand, the evidence of the other two Recensions B and C is not in favour of the genuineness of anything beyond V, 46. The Kashmirian manuscript K, which is dated in *saṃvat* 1674 (=1618 A.D.), and which is therefore nearly as old as Todar Mall's $I_1$, considers only the portion ending with V, 46, as genuine, and regards *the whole of the remaining text* (*i.e.*, even including VI and VII) as the supplementary work of Vinâyaka. Four[19] Southern MSS. also either (1) stop abruptly at V, 46, or (2) as in the case of the Mysore MS. or Vîrarâghava's text (Recension C), regard *the whole of the remaining text* (*i.e.*, from V, 46, to the end of the drama) as the work of Subrahmaṇya. It is clear that both Vinâyaka and Subrahmaṇya undertake to write a supplement of the work, each in his way, after V, 46, and not after the end of Act V. If Bhavabhûti's own text has been preserved in Recension A up to the end of Act V (as both Hertel and Todar Mall argue), then we are driven to the rather unwarranted conclusion that not only Subrahmaṇya but also Vinâyaka took the unusual liberty of altering even the genuine text after V, 46, to the end of Act V. The very fact that both these authors were independently in agreement in completing the text only after V, 46, would make us pause before we seriously maintain that the Recension A preserves Bhavabhûti's genuine text up to the end of Act V.

(2) Todar Mall's second argument is more important. He points out that *Mahâvîracarita* V, 49, in Recension A is cited (with the words *yathâ Vîracarite* or *yathâ Mahâvîracarite*) in the Avaloka commentary on *Daśarûpaka* II, 50 (ed. Hall) and in *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* (on VI, 30, ed. Durgâprasâd, 1915, p. 309), and infers from this that "evidently the authors of these old works on Alaṃkâra considered the text of Recension A [*i.e.*, from V, 46, to the end of that Act] as the genuine text of Bhavabhûti." In considering this argument, it must be noted that the *Sâhitya-darpaṇa* cannot be taken as an *old* work on Alaṃkâra and that the context shews that it merely borrows or copies this illustrative quotation from *Daśarûpaka* in connexion with the discussion of *sâttvatî vṛtti* in the heroic and its four divisions. The citation in the *Daśarûpaka*, which alone we need therefore consider here, cannot however be so lightly brushed aside. But this single[20] citation by itself cannot, in our opinion, be taken as having a conclusive force. It only shows that Dhanika, author of the Avaloka commentary, regarded this verse as a part of the genuine text, and nothing more. It only indicates that in Dhanika's time, as in later times, the whole of the vulgata text[21] came to be generally accepted as genuine in the North (as *sarvatra pracalitaḥ pâṭhaḥ*) and we need not therefore be surprised that he did not regard it as spurious.

(3) Todar Mall's third argument that this portion of Recension A (*i.e.*, from V, 46, to the end of that Act) contains a couple of passages which appear to be repeated in the other dramas of the author, does not bear close scrutiny: for these slight repetitions of phrases (as in two cases in Act VI noted by Todar Mall himself) can be easily accounted for by the likely supposition that the unknown writer of the vulgata supplement wanted to imitate Bhavabhûti and probably appropriated these phrases from the latter.

(4) Todar Mall's fourth argument that Recension B runs to an unusual length and covers 75 verses (as against 16 of Recension A) need not be seriously considered; for this recension is distinctly ascribed to a different author, and the question therefore does not arise.

19 *Viz.*, Mt, Mg, $T_1$, and $T_2$. Only Madras Oriental Library MS. No. 12584 and 12586 (see above footnote 8) end with Act V, but there is nothing to show that they belong to the Southern group. The Tanjore MSS. $T_3$ and $T_4$ are obviously fragmentary, the former breaking off in Act V, the latter containing only three Acts.

20 The citation of *Mahâvîracarita*, V, 51, in *Sarasvatî-kaṇṭhâbharaṇa* (ed. Borooah, p. 351) is anonymous and proves nothing.

21 And not necessarily up to the end of Act V, for the absence of any quotations from Acts VI and VII proves nothing.

We are now in a position to conclude with great probability that (1) the text from Act I to the end of Act V, 46, forms the only authentic text of Bhavabhûti. and (2) that the vulgata or Recension A of the rest of the drama (and not merely of Acts VI and VII) is as spurious as Recensions B and C. which are expressly attributed to Vinâyaka and Subrahmanya respectively.

But one question still remains unsolved. We have already noted that Acts VI and VII have identical texts in both A and B recensions. Only the text from Act V, 46, to the end of Act V differ entirely in these two recensions, A giving a shorter and B a longer text for this portion. But Todar Mall's Kashmirian manuscript K, which presents Recension B and which is a fairly old MS. dated in 1618 A.D., reads after V, 46: *etâvad Bhavabhûteḥ ' agre kavi-nâyaka-Vinâyaka-bhaṭṭair apûri* . Now as this MS. (as well as B which gives also Recension B) includes Acts VI and VII and does not end with Act V, and as this inscription occurs after V, 46, the word *agre* must be taken to refer to the rest of the text from Act V, 46, to the end of Act VII. In other words, Vinâyaka must be taken as responsible not only for the text between Act V, 46, to the end of that Act, but also for Acts VI and VII in Recension B. But the text for Acts VI and VII in Recension B is identical with the text for those Acts in Recension A, which therefore must also be the work of Vinâyaka, but which was indiscriminately incorporated into the anonymous Recension A. In other words, the Recension A extends only from Act V, 46, to the end of that Act and does not include Acts VI and VII, for which it merely borrows the text of Recension B.

Todar Mall, however, appears to take *agre* as referring only to the portion between Act V, 46, to the end of that Act. In other words, he appears to think that Acts VI and VII in both Recensions A and B are of anonymous authorship; but with regard to the text between Act V, 46, to the end of that Act, the Recension A is anonymous, while Recension B is the work of Vinâyaka. But unfortunately there are no data to establish this point. I am inclined to believe, for reasons given above, that the whole of the text from Act V, 46, to the end of Act VII is the work of Vinâyaka. For the portion between Act V, 46, to the end of that Act, it is probable that there originally existed the longer text of Vinâyaka in Recension B, but subsequently a shorter anonymous text (as represented by Recension A) came into existence, receiving universal acceptance and even superseding the original text of Vinâyaka.

## MISCELLANEA.

### NOTES ON ASOKA'S INSCRIPTIONS.

*Rock Proclamations.*

(1) ***ekachâ*** in *ekachâ samâjâ* at Girnâr (RP. I); **variants:** *ekatiyâ* (*Kâlsî*, Jaugada), *ekatiya* (Mânsehrâ). Restored in Sanskrit, it would be *ekatya*, formed after the fashion of *dâkṣiṇâtya, amâtya, ihatya, niṣṭya* of Sanskrit (Pâṇini, IV, 2, 98, IV, 2, 104: *Kâśikâ*, pp. 316, 318), where, however, the formation is possible only from *avyayas*.

The meaning given to the term by Hultzsch (*C.I.I.*, vol. I, p. 2) namely, 'some' ("But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious......") is unacceptable. It does not bring out the significance of *ekatya*. The text is not *ekâ samâjâ*, but *ekachâ samâjâ*. *Ekatya* means 'of one.' *i.e.*, single-show *samâja*, as opposed to those where, as Professor F. W. Thomas has pointed out (*JRAS.*, 1914, p. 394), fights or contests took place. These latter were held between animal and animal, man and animal, or man and man, resulting in sights of cruelties, blood or death. These *samâjas* were prohibited, following the policy of mercy proclaimed in *dharma-lipi* No. 1. Those *samâjas* where a single living being performed, *i.e.*, non-duelling ones, were not prohibited. The description in the royal document is accurate and positive and not, as Hultzsch makes it, indefinite and undefined ('some').

(2) *Dhamma-lipi.*

Hultzsch translates this by 'rescript on morality'; Bühler, by 'religious edict.'

In 1915 (*Modern Review*, Calcutta, Jan., 1915, p. 81) I pointed out that the rendering 'edict' was inadmissible. Some of the *dharma-lipis*, *e.g.*, Rock series II, VIII and X, are not orders; they merely record facts. The term 'rescript,' connected as it is with Roman imperial edicts or Papal orders, is open to the same objection. The word *lipi* is explained, so to speak, by Aśoka himself by its use in the Sârnâth record. Two *lipis* of the same *śâsana* are directed to be dealt with, one *lipi* (*ikâ lipi*) of which was to be 'deposited' (Hultzsch) or 'inscribed' (Venis) in 'your office,' *i.e.*, the office of the *saṁgha*. Here *lipi* is a despatch, a document or a draft, used in the secondary sense of a 'copy.' *Śâsana* is the *râja-śâsana* of the Kauṭilîya *Artha-śâstra* (c. 31, or II. 10), the royal edict or order. *Lipi*, therefore, is not 'eser ' or 'edict.'

K. P. JAYASWAL.

## BOOK-NOTICE.

THE BHAGAVADGÎTÂ, TRANSLATED FROM THE SANSKRIT WITH AN INTRODUCTION, AN ARGUMENT AND A COMMENTARY BY W. DOUGLAS P. HILL. xii + 303 pp. 8vo. Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1928.

The Bhagavadgîtâ still holds its sway over the Hindu mind as being one of the most admirable and saintly poems ever brought forth by the human intellect. It still seems to interest and stimulate Western scholarship as much as it did a hundred years ago; and there is certainly not a year that passes without conferring upon us some learned contribution towards the understanding of this text—whether in one of the very numerous periodicals of Europe, India or America.

It is thus with every reason that Mr. Hill, formerly of King's College, Cambridge, and a late principal of Jay Narayan's High School at Benares, has undertaken to re-edit the Bhagavadgîtâ together with an introduction and an English translation. Let us admit at once that he has succeeded quite well with his not very easy task, and that he has given us a very useful handbook for lectures as well as for private studies. The text is admirably printed, like everything issued by the Oxford University Press. The English translation is clear and fluent and gives a very good idea of the not always very pellucid arguments of *Śrî Bhagavân.* The introduction contains what we might expect to find there, *viz.*, a collection of notices on Kṛṣṇa Vâsudeva and his cult, together with an exposition of the main doctrines of the Bhagavadgîtâ; there is also an ample and generally very helpful conspectus of the main contents of the poem. The commentary on the text limits itself to paraphrasing the native commentators. We might have wished it somewhat otherwise, but we shall by no means argue this point, as that is mainly a matter of taste. The present writer has already found opportunity to use Mr. Hill's work as a text-book for a series of lectures, and he can warmly recommend it for its sound qualities.

On the questions dealt with in the introduction we shall not dwell here, as they will partly be touched upon in a separate article in this journal. As for the doctrines of the Bhagavadgîtâ, the main impression of the present writer is that they have been strongly overrated. The poem in its present shape contains a most marvellous jumble of sublime doctrines and nonsensical platitudes; but that probably has got something to do with the origin and growth of the text. Anyhow, the astounding hypothesis of the late Professor Garbe concerning a Sâṃkhya and a later Vedânta version explains nothing, as it remains entirely fanciful.

The Bhagavadgîtâ pretends to be a text with next to no *variæ lectiones*, and consequently the text of Mr. Hill is on the whole identical with the *editio princeps* of Schlegel (and Lassen). The present writer has, however, pointed to the quotations from the Bhagavadgîtâ by Albîrûnî [1] as indicating the existence of another text, and he still believes this to be the case. Professor F. O. Schrader, who on this point cherishes a different opinion, has pointed out the existence of a text containing 745 verses [2]—instead of the traditional 700—which is in fact mentioned already in the *M. Bh.* vi, 43, 4-5. But the summary of that text given by Professor Schrader proves it to be extremely doubtful whether it can really claim any great age at all. Thus there is no room for textual conjectures although a few verses seem strongly to invite suggestions. To quote one or two instances: in 3, 23-29, we find the actual text reading thus:

*Yadi hy ahaṃ na vartteyaṃ jâtu karmaṇy atandritaḥ* |
*Mama vartmâ nu varttante manuṣyâḥ pârtha sarvaśaḥ* || 23 ||
*Utsîdeyur ime lokâ na kuryâṃ karma ced aham* |
*Saṃkarasya ca karttâ Ayâm upahanyâm imâḥ prajâḥ* || 24 ||

As these verses stand the latter half of v. 23 must needs form a sort of parenthesis, which is rather awkward. But this half-verse is identical with the second part of 4, 11, where everything is in order; and I should think it very probable that in our passage the text originally ran thus:

*mama varttmânu vartteran manuṣyâḥ pârtha sarvaśaḥ* |

which would make the whole a well defined and unimpeachable sentence. And in 11, 12, it would certainly ameliorate the sense to a considerable degree if we were allowed to read thus:

*divi sûryasahasrasya bhaved yugapad utthitâ* |
*yadi bhâḥ sadṛśi na syâd bhâsas tasya mahâtmanaḥ* ||

instead of the traditional *sadṛśi sâ syâd*, etc., which is certainly rather tame.

But these may be futile speculations. There are, however, several passages where we feel we must disagree with the learned author on points of translation, textual criticism, etc. And we shall now allow ourselves to touch upon a few of these passages.

In 1, 7, *nibodha* hardly means 'learn' but rather 'mark,' 'observe.' [3] In 1, 10, *aparyâpta* and *paryâpta* form an old *crux translatoris.* They cannot, however, mean 'too weak' and 'too strong' which in the mouth of Duryodhana sounds absurd: the sense must rather be that of 'full'='tightly closed,' 'packed together,' [4] which tallies fairly well with the next verse. 1, 23, does not, of course, form a continuation of 1, 22, but is a self-contained sentence; Schlegel correctly translates the words: *yotsyamânân avekṣe, 'haṃ ya ete' tra samâgatâḥ* by 'proelia-

[1] Cp. *JRAS*, 1925, p. 802. [2] Cp. *Aus Indiens Kultur Festgabe für R. v. Garbe* (1927), p. 171 f.

[3] Schlegel correctly translates 'animadverte.'

[4] Cp. *e.g.*, M. Bh. xv, 186: *dvârâṇi......paryâptâni bṛhanti ca* and *Kumâras.* III, 54: *paryâptapuṣpastabakâvanamrâ*, where the sense is somewhat the same.

turos equidem intelligo istos, qui huc convenere.' In 2, 2, Mr. Hill, like other translators, renders *Kaśmala* by 'despondency', but it is in reality identical with *moha*.[5] The verse 2, 11, has been correctly rendered by Mr. Hill, though it was at one time the object of a rather fanciful emendation,[6] which might perhaps have been mentioned in the commentary. On the curious construction of 2, 35, there is not the slightest remark though it has been commented upon by various scholars.[7]

On the verse 2, 46, there is a somewhat extensive literature, cf. Pavolini, *Album Kern*, p. 141 sq.; Fritzsche, *Vierteljahrsschrift für Philosophie u. Soziologie*, xxxi, 354; Belloni-Filippi, *ZDMG.*, lviii, 379 sq.; Jacobi, *ibid.* lviii, 383 sq.; Schrader, *ibid.* lxiv, 336 sq. Of all these scholars, Professors Pavolini and Schrader have, with the help of the native commentaries and parallel passages from Indian literature, interpreted the passage quite intelligibly: it simply means: 'as much use as there is in a tank when everything else is flooded by water,' etc. In 2, 53, the rendering of *śrutivipratipannâ* by 'perplexed by what is heard' is probably a slip, as it gives not the slightest sense; it must mean 'turned away from holy lore (*śruti*).' In 2, 54, Boehtlingk, *Sitz. ber d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1897, p. 8 sq., wanted to read *bhûsâ* for *bhâsâ* which is, of course, fanciful; in the second half of this verse the translation ought to run thus: 'Does the man of steadfast mind talk? Does he sit[8] (immovable)? Does he move about?'

With the verse 3, 13 cp. (except Manu iii, 118) *RV. X*, 117, 6, as well as Professor Sieg, *Sagenstoffe*, p. 9, and the present writer, *ZDMG.*, lxvi, 46. In the translation of 3, 16, we ought to reject the word 'with,' and read 'he who . . turns not the wheel,' to obtain the correct sense. *Lokasaṃgraha* in 3, 20 (and elsewhere) scarcely means 'guidance,' but rather 'support' of the world.

In 5, 4, 'children' should, of course, be 'fools.' In 5, 8, *manyeta* is not very aptly rendered by the simple 'thinks.' As for 5, 10, the present writer would venture the humble question whether a lotus-leaf can really be 'smeared' by water; the English word, anyhow, does not here render the real sense of *lipyate*. In 5, 11, *âtmaśuddhaye* most probably must be co-ordinated with *saṅgaṃ tyaktvâ*. In 5, 17, the words: 'their stain by knowledge cleansed' would translate an expression *jñânanirdhûtakalmaṣâḥ* but not the present reading '*nirdhûta*'; and in 5, 18, *vinaya* scarcely means 'humility.'

*Saṃkalpa* in 6, 2-24, is not exactly 'purpose,' but rather 'wish.' And in 6, 43, I doubt whether *tato bhûyaḥ* really means 'thence. . . .once more'; personally I should rather prefer 'still more than formerly.' In 8, 17, the translation correctly presupposes that we read *ye* for *yad* which is, however, in Mr. Hill's text. And in 9, 33: *lokam imam prâpya* will most probably mean: 'thou who hast come into this world.'

*Pûrve catvâro manavaḥ* in 10, 6, must, no doubt, go together and not as *pûrve catvâro* + *manavaḥ*. Likewise in 10, 13, *Asita* and *Devala* are not two separate persons, but the well-known old seer *Asita Devala* who visited the child Siddhârtha, the future Buddha.[9] In 10, 28, 'the Forefather Kandarpa' should be 'the Procreator K.' The translation, in 11, 30, of *tejobhir âpûrya jagat samagram* by: 'thou fillest the whole universe with the glory,' would be correct if for 'glory' were read 'flames.' In 11, 32, *ṛte'pi tvâm* are correctly rendered by Schlegel: 'te solo excepto.' In 11, 37, the translation of *tatparam* by 'that Supreme' is senseless; the correct rendering is found in the quotation given in the footnote. And in 17, 19, *mûḍhagrâheṇa* is less aptly rendered by: 'with fond conviction.'

We have also noted some slight misprints in the Sanskrit text which may perhaps be mentioned here. Thus in 2, 37, read *bhakṣyase mahîm*; in 2, 53, *sthâsyati*; in 4, 22, *nibadhyate*; in 5, 14, *karmaphalasaṃyogaṃ*; in 6, 23, *yogo, 'nirviṇṇacetasâ* (thus correctly the translation); in 9, 15, *ekatvena*; in 11, 16, *viśvarûpa* (thus the translation); in 14, 26, *brahmabhûyâya*; in 15, 4, *prapadyed* (cp. p. 238, n. 1); in 18, 31, *pârtha*. In 11, 41, *mahimânaṃ tavedam* is probably not a misprint though Schlegel-Lassen have the correct *tavemam*; and in 11, 43, the author mentions the correct reading *guror garîyân* in the footnote, but without making use of it in his text and translation—*gurur garîyân* is, of course, next to senseless.

Dr. Rajwade some years ago published a fairly extensive list of grammatical and literary misdoings committed by the author(s) of the Bhagavadgîtâ.[10] That paper, in spite of its usefulness, was in the main a failure, for epic texts like this one cannot be judged by the standards of Pâṇini and Patañjali or of the authorities on Alaṃkâra. But, no doubt, the Bhagavadgîtâ contains shocking things from a grammatical point of view such as *prasaviṣyadhvam* (3, 10), *nivasiṣyasi* (12, 8), *mâ śucaḥ* (16, 5) or the vocative *he sakheti* in 11, 41.[11] Mr. Hill has, however, withheld his opinion on these absurdities, which is perhaps the wisest course to follow.

We have allowed ourselves to criticise a few minor points in Mr. Hill's work. But on the whole we have found it thoroughly satisfactory and should like to congratulate him upon his fair amount of success.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

[5] Schlegel correctly: 'perturbatio.'

[6] Cp. Speyer, *ZDMG.*, lvi, 123 sq., *contra* Boehtlingh, *ibid.* lvi, 209; Oldenberg, *Gott. Nachrichten*, 1919, p. 332, n. 3.

[7] Cp. Schlegel-Lassen, *Bhagavadgîtâ*, p. xxix n.; Johansson, *Monde Oriental* ii, 84; Rajwade *Bhandarkar, Comm.*, vol. p. 329.

[8] Cp. 2, 61.

[9] On him cp. Windisch, *Festschrift E. Kuhn*, p. 6 sq.

[10] Cp. *Bhandarkar, Comm.*, vol. p. 325 sq.

[11] As for this last form I do not believe in Rajwade's explanation (*sakhe iti*) but rather think with Lassen that it is due to the (correct) form *sakheti* in the previous line



NASŪN INSCRIPTION OF ĪŚANABHAṬA, *V. S.* 887.

*Note.*—Scale 11/20 ths of original.

## NÂSÛN INSCRIPTION OF ÎŚÂNABHAṬA OF VIKRAMA SAṀVAT 887.

BY R. R. HALDER.

THIS fragmentary inscription, engraved on the back of the lower part of a broken image, was found at **Nâsûn** in Kharwâ estate in Ajmer-Merwâra by Ṭhâkur Gopâlasiṁha of Kharwâ, who presented it to the Râjpûtânâ Museum, Ajmer. It was noticed in the *Annual Report* of the Museum for the year 1920-21.

The inscription consists of 16 lines, comprising twenty verses followed by nearly three lines of prose at the end. The upper part of the stone being broken and its surface having peeled off at several places, much of the writing has been lost, and the letters here and there are indistinct.

The **characters** are of the northern type of alphabet, generally known as *Kuṭila lipi*, and belonging to the ninth century A.D. They include some letters which are generally found in inscriptions of earlier date. For instance, ट of पीट in l. 6 ; च्छ of °च्छट्टौ° and च्छंदो° in ll. 7 and 13, respectively ; र्यं of °र्यंतौ in l. 11 ; ट of °भट° in l. 12 ; ह of °हीना in l. 13 ; ज of जज्ज° in l. 16, etc., show their earlier forms. The subscript *u* and *û* are written in different ways, as in °नुकंपी (l. 5), °श्रुता (l. 13) and पूर्व्वे° (l. 6), दूरत: (l. 8), etc. Similarly, श is written differently, as in शुभा° (l. 12), °वीशान° (l. 14), and °शते° (l. 15). The numerical symbol for 7 in 17 (l. 11) and in 887 (l. 15) is also worthy of note.

The **language** is Sanskrit with some occasional mistakes, which are shown in the footnotes accompanying the text. In respect of **orthography** the following may be noted :—

Consonants are doubled (1) with a superscript *r*, as in °विनिर्ग्गत° (l. 6), °र्क्क° (l. 10), °निर्द्देश° (l. 12), etc. ; (2) with a subscript *r*, as in तत्त्रा (l. 9), यत्त्रा° (l. 9), यत्त्र (l. 15), etc. पृ is used for प्रि in पृयंवद° (l. 8), *Anusvâra* is used for nasals in °कंपी (l. 5), च्छंदो° (l. 13), त्संवत्सा° (l. 15), etc. Other mistakes and irregularities are pointed out in the footnotes accompanying the text.

The contents of the inscription may be thus summarised :—

After the first fifteen verses, the meaning of which is not clear (the verses being incomplete), the inscription records the name of Îśânabhaṭa as the son of Dhanika in verse 16. Verse 17 eulogises the god Śiva, while the next verse informs us that the image of Nîlalohita (Śiva) was set up by the *guru* (preceptor) Gâmuṇḍasvâmî. In verse 19 we are told that the verses were composed by Kṛṣṇa, son of Bhaṭṭa Govinda, by the order of Îśânabhaṭa. In the prose lines at the end, we are informed that this *Praśasti* was written by the chieftain **Iśânabhaṭa, son of Dhanika,** for the sake of his *guru* Gâmuṇḍasvâmî ; that the idol was caused to be made by the monk Jajjasvâmî, and that the inscription was engraved by Deddaṭa, son of Atigaṇâdita. The prose portion (l. 15) also contains the **date** as the second day of the dark half of **Vaiśâkha, saṁvat 887,** corresponding to the 4th April 830 A.D.

The year is given in words as well as in symbols.

The inscription records the installation of an image of Śiva by Gâmuṇḍasvâmî. It has also some historical interest in that it mentions the name of the chieftain Îśânabhaṭa, son of Dhanika. Now, the date of Dhanika, according to this inscription, may be placed about Saṁvat 867 (A.D. 810), if a rule of twenty years be assigned to Îśânabhaṭa. This date of Dhanika agrees with that of the Guhila chief Dhanika ruling at Dhavagartâ (Dhôṛ in the Jahâzpur district of the Udaipur State) and mentioned in the Ḍabôk inscription[1] of Dhavalappadeva, dated Harṣa Saṁvat 207 (A.D. 813). Thus, from these two inscriptions it would appear that the two Dhanikas are identical and that this chieftain ruled over that part of the country which extended from Nâsûn (the findspot of this inscription) to Dhôṛ. Another ruler named Dhanika, belonging to the Guhila family, is mentioned in the Châṭsû inscription[1] of Bâlâditya, in which, as opposed to the present inscription, he is said to be the great-grandson of Îśânabhaṭa. He, therefore, appears to be a different person from the Dhanika of this record, who is said to be the father of Îśânabhaṭa. Again, from the Châṭsû inscription we know that

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, p. 11.

Dhanika mentioned therein was the fifth predecessor of Harsarâja, who was contemporary[2] with the imperial Pratihâra King Bhoja (V.S. 900-38, A.D. 843-81) of Kanauj. His date will therefore, fall about S. 820 (A.D. 763), if an average rule of twenty years be assigned to each of his successors. Thus from the dates as well as from the genealogies given in two inscriptions (Châṭsû and the present), it is probable that these two Dhanikas were different persons and flourished at different periods, though they may both have belonged to the Guhila family. Similarly, it might be shown that there were different Îśânabhaṭas.

It will be seen, moreover, from the above that the Guhilas, besides their main branch ruling at Nâgdâ, Âhâḍa (Âghâṭa) and Chitor, etc., were also in control of the territory extending from Châṭsû in Jaipur State to Dhôṛ in Mewâr, most probably in subordination to the imperial Pratihâras of Kanauj, who at the period in question held sway over nearly the whole of Râjpûtânâ.

*Text.*[3]

1. — — — — — — — — — — — — प्रशान्त — — — — — — — — — —
2. — — — — — — — — — — — — समा — त — — — — — — —
3. — — — — — प — लीलया मनुप्र — — त्य — — — —
4. — — — — — — — ता याति व — त्र — दातास्य भुक्तो — तिव स्य — — — —
5. स्याभिमान:[4] दोषमस्यैकमाहुः परमिह यदसौ [ सर्वे ] लोकानुकंपी ॥ १५ ॥ श्रीवक्र प —
6. गा [ मुण्ड ] स्वामियोगर्गाठविनिर्गतयोगेश्वरं मत्वा न — त्रि — : उत्तरसुभगा ! पूर्व्वपश्चिमभास्करः श्रीमवदातः — —
7. रग — द्वं — त [5]विच्छद्गौषिकपिण्डगामुण्डस्वामिनं श्री — — श्वर श्री — — श्वर्रा श्रीगाउण्डस्वाम्येकपिण्डश्चैकमूर्त्ति [ र ] —
8. परे तस्मिन्नानाः श्रुत्वा श्रीधनिकात्मजो नृप मसौ श्रीशान पुर्व्वोभट: । [6]भर्त्तधर्मरुचिं [7]प्रियंवदमपि त्यक्तानृतं दूरतः
9. [8]साधुं सज्जनवच्छलं[9] खलजनत्रस्तं[10] शुचिं ज्ञानिनं । द्रष्टया[11] पाद [ द्व ] [12]य तस्य न मतिस्ताव [ त्स ] [13]तत्राः गतः ॥ १६ ॥ यत्रास्ते गु —
10. रु म्यदर्कसदृगो दीह्या न चोष्णास्य सा निःशेषे नृपः — — म परः पापापहो दर्शना — — — भवदस्य धारय —
11. मसौ श्रीमानुमावल्लभः धर्म्माधर्म्मविनाशकापर पद [14]प्रातिर्यतो जायते ॥ १७ ॥ गामुण्डस्वामिगुरुणा स्थापितो नी —
12. त्नोहितः । द्रष्टव्योयं [15]नमःस्यश्च स्मर्तव्यश्च शुभार्थिभिः [16]॥ १८ ॥ श्रीशानभटनिर्देशाद्रुद्रगोविन्दसूनुना कृष्णे —
13. न रचिता श्लोकाः कीर्तिचिन्मूढचेतसा ॥ २० ॥[17] [18]च्छंदोहीना यति भ्रष्टा [19]अपशब्दयुता अपि कीर्त्तिमेते करिष्यन्ति कर्त्तु —
14. र्यावत्रिम नितिमिताः ॥ २१ ॥[20] लिखिता चेयं प्रशस्ता मण्डलाधिप श्रीमदीशान — भटन श्रीधनिकसूनुना श्रीगा —
15. मुण्डस्वामिगुर्व्वर्थं यदत्त [21]मुण आमंत्वार्याः[22] ॥ ० ॥ संवत्सरशतेष्वष्टसु सप्ताशीत्यधिकष्वङ्कतोपि ८८७ वै —
16. शाख वदि द्वितीया ॥ ० ॥ [23]कारावकोत्त [24]तपसीजज्जस्वामि । उत्कीरणा[25] चेयं प्रशस्ता देहटेनातिगणादितसूतेन [ ॥ ][26]

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, p. 12.
[3] From the stone.
[4] Read °मानो.
[5] Read विच्छद्रा.
[6] Read भर्तृधर्म°.
[7] Read प्रियं°.
[8] Read साधुं.
[9] Read °वत्सलं.
[10] Read °त्रस्तं.
[11] Read दृष्ट्वा.
[12] Read °द्वय
[13] Read तत्रा गत
[14] Read प्राप्तियतो.
[15] Read नमस्यश्च
[16] Read १८.
[17] Read १९.
[18] Read छन्दो°.
[19] Read °शब्द°.
[20] Read २०.
[21] Read भुक्तं.
[22] Read लाम्यन्स्वार्याः
[23] Read कारापकों.
[24] Read तपस्वी°.
[25] Read उत्कीर्णा.
[26] Read सुतेन.

# BENGAL'S CONTRIBUTION TO PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT.

BY CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

(*Continued from vol. LVIII, p. 233.*)

## Vaiṣṇavism.

Every religion is found to have a philosophical system of its own on the basis of which the doctrines and tenets peculiar to it should be explained. And Neo-Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal was not an exception to this rule. It also evolved a full-fledged philosophy of its own, which, in course of time, came to be known as Gauḍîya Vaiṣṇava philosophy. This is properly a sub-school of Vedânta, being based primarily on the Madhva system, though it was influenced by the Nimbârka and Ballabha schools as well. But it differs in some points at least from the system of Madhva. Thus, according to the latter, the object of adoration is Viṣṇu alone, no divinity being ascribed to his consort Lakṣmî. But according to the Gauḍîya school, Viṣṇu together with his consort should be worshipped. Devotion in conjunction with action, assert the Mâdhvas, leads to salvation. Devotion, pure and unmixed, is the cause of salvation —this is the view of the school of Caitanya. According to the school of Madhva, salvation can be attained by Brâhmaṇ devotees alone, but the Gauḍîya school is more liberal and asserts the equal right of all, irrespective of any distinction of caste, to that supreme goal of life. The most prominent distinguishing features of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism are (1) the doctrine of *Acintya-bhedâbheda* (incomprehensible difference—non-difference), (2) prominence given to *vṛndâvanalîlâ* of Kṛṣṇa, in contradistinction to the different Vaiṣṇava schools of the South.

The work which the followers of this school regard as the most important and authoritative is the *Bhâgavata-purâṇa*. This Purâṇa, they suppose, was composed to elucidate the Vedânta *sûtras* and is regarded by them as *the commentary* on the said *sûtras*. Thus the major portion of the philosophical works of this school is covered by direct commentaries on the Bhâgavata and by independent works composed to elucidate and systematically present the views of it. Of direct commentaries mention may be made of the works of Sanâtana, Jîva, Viśvanâtha, Baladeva. Besides these, the *Bṛhad-bhâgavatâmṛta* of Sanâtana and *Laghu-bhâgavatâmṛta* of Rûpa, which is an abridgement of the former, deal with the teachings of the Bhâgavata.

The most important, popular and scholarly work that sets forth in detail the philosophy of the Bhâgavata is the *Bhâgavata*° or *Ṣaṭ-sandarbha* of Jîva Gosvâmin (Ed. by Syamalal Gosvamin, Calcutta). It consists of six books, viz., *Tattvasandarbha*, *Bhâgavata*°, *Paramâtma*°, *Śrîkṛṣṇa*°, *Bhakti*° and *Prîti*°. The present work is stated to have been based on a work of Gopâla Bhaṭṭa, the famous disciple of Caitanya, which appears to have been fragmentary and incomplete. An abridgement of this voluminous work, presumably by the author himself, is the *Sârasaṃgraha* (CS., X, p. 96).

But works on the Bhâgavata alone could secure no recognition for the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas among those of other provinces, for a school was required to have commentaries on the Vedânta *sûtras*, the *Bhagavad-gîtâ* and *Upaniṣads* to entitle itself to that recognition. And, it is told, that it was to win that recognition for this school that Baladeva Vidyâbhûṣaṇa composed a commentary on the *Vedânta-sûtra*, called the *Govindabhâṣya* (Purana Karyalaya, Calcutta—1301 B.S.). This embodies the doctrines peculiar to the system. Baladeva flourished sometime in the middle of the eighteenth century. Thus possibly he was chronologically about the last among the host of scholars who, from time to time, commented on that highly popular work—the *Vedânta-sûtras*. But this was not the only work that Baladeva composed. Like Rûpa and Jîva, he was a polymath, writing on a variety of subjects—philosophy, rhetoric, prosody, etc. Other philosophical works composed by him were :— (1) Commentary on the *Bhagavad-gîtâ* (published by the Gauḍîya maṭha, Calcutta), (2) Commentary on the ten *upaniṣads*, *Îśa*, *Kena*, *Kaṭha*, *Praśna*, *Muṇḍaka*, *Mâṇḍukya*, *Aitareya*, *Tait-*

*tirîya*, *Cchândogya* and *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, (3) *Siddhântaratna* or *Bhâṣya-pîṭhaka* (Saraswati Bhavan Series), (4) *Prameya-ratnâvalî* (S.S.P. Series), an elementary treatise on the Vaiṣṇava philosophy of Bengal. This work follows the school of Madhva *in toto*, as is indicated by the author in the introductory portions of his work. (5) *Vedânta-syamantaka*, which seems to deal with the elements of the Vedânta philosophy.

It was probably about the time of Baladeva that Anûpa-nârâyaṇa Śiromaṇi, who was apparently a follower of the school of Caitanya, wrote a gloss entitled *Samañjasâvṛtti*[16] on the *Vedânta-sûtra*. At the end of his work he dedicates it to Caitanya and refers to Rûpa and Svarûpa in respectful terms. But as he was not one of the recognised *gosvâmins* held in high respect by the Vaiṣṇavas, his work is little known.

Similar fate seems to have attended other works also which were composed from time to time. Of these, reference may be made to the *Tattvadîpikâ*—a short Vaiṣṇava treatise of great interest by Vâsudeva Sârvabhauma, the great Naiyâyika and teacher of Caitanya (Sarasvati Bhavan Series—vol. IV, p. 68).

## Buddhism.

### *Traces of Buddhist Culture in Bengal.*

Bengal was pre-eminently a land of Buddhism, at least before the revival of Brâhmaṇism took place finally during the Sena rule, though previous attempts to consolidate Brâhmaṇism are traditionally believed to have been made by kings like Âdiśûra and Śyâmalavarman. The Chinese pilgrims refer to Buddhist monasteries in different parts of Bengal, which were all centres of Buddhist culture. She lived under the rule of Buddhist kings—the Pâlas—for several centuries together. Bengal produced fine Buddhist icons and some of the greatest Buddhist scholars whose names are known far and wide. Though from about the eighth century most of these scholars of Bengal had their field of activity outside Bengal in the universities of Nâlandâ, Vikramaśilâ, and sometime in far-off Tibet, there can be no gainsaying the fact that there were centres of Buddhistic culture in Bengal as well up to a fairly late period. The Mahâvihâra of Jagaddala, the locality of which is not yet known, but which is believed to have been somewhere in Bengal, is even supposed to have been to Bengal what Nâlandâ was to Magadha (JBORS., 1919, p. 508). Buddhistic works were studied and copied here as in other *vihâras*. And we know of two Buddhistic works copied in Bengal during the reign of Harivarmadeva (*circa* eleventh century). These are *Aṣṭasâhasrikâ-prajñâ-pâramitâ* (R. D. Banerji—*Baṅglâr Itihâsa*—2nd ed., p. 304), and *Laghukâlacakraṭîkâ* (A.S.B.—I., No. 67). The latter work, as is recorded in the manuscript itself, seems to have been recited on the banks of the river Veng in Jessore for five times. It was under the Sena rule that Brâhmaṇism strongly asserted itself in Bengal at the instance of Ballâlasena, who is supposed to have reorganised Hindu Society in Bengal in its entirety and placed Brâhmaṇism on a solid foundation. But there is evidence of Buddhist culture in Bengal as late as the fifteenth century, if not later, when a manuscript of the *Bodhicaryâvatâra* of Śântideva was copied at Venugrâma in 1492 V. S. (A.S.B.—I., 19).

And it seems that, in spite of the efforts of Sena kings and those that followed them, Buddhism lingered on in some form or other difficult to be distinguished from the more popular Brâhmaṇism. And this has been shown by Mm. H. P. Shastri in his '*Discovery of Living Buddhism in Bengal.*'

### *Bengal's Contribution to Buddhist Literature.*

Old Buddhist works would naturally be expected to be found in plenty in this land of Buddhism. But curious though it may seem, that is far from the actual state of things. Very few Buddhist works of Bengal are known to have been found in their Sanskrit original, and even those that have been found were discovered in places that were far from Bengal—in

[16] A manuscript of the work is in the S. S. P.

Nepal for instance. It was in Nepal also that the Buddhist works copied in Bengal were found. A good many works, however, fortunately for us, are preserved in their translations, in Tibetan in which the locality of the authors is found to have been mentioned in many cases.

*Candragomin.*

The earliest Bengali Buddhist scholar of whom we know anything was perhaps Candragomin, who belonged to the school of Asaṅga. He is stated to have been a grammarian, philosopher and poet, and enjoyed high renown in the Buddhist literary world. He is supposed to have flourished sometime about the fifth or sixth century of the Christian era (Nariman—*Lit. Hist. of Sans. Buddhism*, p. 100). It is known from Tibetan records that he was born in Varendrî in Bengal (Târânâtha—pp. 148 ff., 159 ff., *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan*—S. C. Das—p. 95, 139).[17] Several works of his are known. Of these, *Śiṣyalekhâ-dharma-kâvya*, which is in the form of an epistle by the author to his disciple, propounds the Buddhist doctrine in elegant *kâvva* style (Nariman—*loc. cit.*). We know at least two more works composed by him. Of these, *Lokânanda*, which exists in a Tibetan version alone, is a drama (*Sanskrit Drama*, Keith, p. 168), and *Cândra-vyâkaraṇa* (edited by Dr. Bruno Liebich—Leipzig, 1902) is an independent original grammar.

*Śîlabhadra.*

After him probably came Śîlabhadra, the teacher of the great Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang. He is stated to have been the author of several well-known treatises (*On Yuan Chwang*—Watters—vol. II, p. 109, 165). But unfortunately none of his works are known to have survived. Some of his works are preserved in their Chinese translations.

*Śântideva.*

After Śîlabhadra we may mention Śântideva. who is supposed to have written sometime between 648 to 816 A.D. (H. P. Shastri—*Bauddha-gâna-o-dohâ*—Introd., p. 23). In the Tanjur his home is stated to have been in Zahore, which has been sought to be identified with a small village called Sâbhâr in the District of Dacca (see under Śântarakṣita *infra*). The Tibetan writer Târânâtha, however, in his History of Buddhism assigns him to Śurâṣṭra. But Mm. H. P. Sastri is inclined to take him to be a Bengalî, one ground for this, among several others, being that one of his works contains passages in Bengalî (JBORS., 1919, p. 502-3). Śântideva was a great and well-known scholar of Buddhism. Some of his works deal with Buddhist Tantra. Two of his works—*Śikṣâ-samuccaya* (Ed. by Bendall—*Bibliotheca Buddhica*—St. Petersburg, 1897) and *Bodhicaryâvatâra* (*Bib. Ind.*)—have been published.

*Śântarakṣita.*

The next name is that of Śântarakṣita, who was a great scholar of Buddhism of his time and was the High Priest of the monastery of Nâlandâ. His fame travelled beyond the limits of India, and he was invited by the king of Tibet to preach Buddhism in the land of snow. In compliance with this invitation, Śântarakṣita proceeded to Tibet and was fully successful in his great mission. In fact it was Śântarakṣita who first laid the foundation of Buddhism in the land where Bon fetishism was the prevalent faith. It is, however, a matter for great regret that we get no light about his life and works from any Indian source. All that is preserved of him is in Tibetan. He is called Śântarakṣita, Śântirakṣita and Âcârya Bodhisattva in Tibetan. Details about his life-story as contained in Tibetan works were collected by that great Tibetan scholar, S. C. Das, in vol. I of *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society* where he definitely calls Śântarakṣita an inhabitant of Gauḍa, and also by Dr. S. C. Vidyabhushana in his *History of Indian Logic* (p. 323). The latter work represents him as having descended from the royal family of Zahore, which has been identified on phonetic grounds with the small village of Sâbhâr in the district of Dacca (Bengal), where ruins of old palaces and other

17 I am indebted for these references to Drs. N. P. Chakravarti and P. C. Bagchi of the Calcutta University.

objects testifying to its antiquity and splendour have been found. (B. Bhattacharya—Foreword to *Tattvasaṅgraha*, p. xiii.) The locality was no doubt a centre of Buddhism. It was about this region that the great Buddhist scholar, Dîpaṅkara Śrîjñâna, was born, and many Buddhist Tântrik images are said to have been found there.

As regards the time when Śânta flourished, we are informed by Tibetan works that he erected the monastery of Sam-ye in Tibet in the year 749 A.D., and that he died there in 762 A.D. Thus he lived in the first half of the eighth century of the Christian era.

As has already been stated, he was a great scholar. He was well-versed not only in the texts of Mahâyâna Buddhism, but also in different systems of Indian philosophy, which he quotes and refutes in his monumental work *Tattvasaṅgraha* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series). This work gives a brilliant exposition of Mahâyâna Buddhism in relation to other systems of Indian philosophy, of which the shallowness is sought to be established. He wrote a good many works, of which very few have been preserved in their Sanskrit original. The only works of which the Sanskrit originals are known to exist are two, *Tattvasaṅgraha* and *Tattva-siddhi*. Besides these, he wrote several other works which are available now only in their Tibetan translations. Eight of these are mentioned by Mr. Bhattacharya (*op. cit.*, pp. xx, xxi). It will be noticed that most of these works related to Buddhist Tantra.

*Jetâri.*

Next in chronological order would probably be Jetâri, whose father was a Brâhmaṇ named Garbhapâda, who lived in Varendrî at the court of Râja Sanâtana, a vassal of the Pâla kings. The famous Dîpaṅkara (born in 980 A.D.), when very young, is said to have been sent by his parents for education to Jetâri. King Mahâpâla (who ruled up to 940 A.D.) is said to have conferred on him the title of *Paṇḍita* of the University of Vikramaśilâ. He thus seems to have flourished in the beginning of the tenth century. He was the author of three works on Buddhist Logic, which are found in their Tibetan translations.[18]

*Dîpaṅkara.*

Now we come to Dipaṅkara Śrîjñâna, who, as has already been stated, was a pupil of Jetâri in his early years. He is also known by the name of Atîśa. Nothing definite is known of him from any Indian source. We are fortunate in getting a fairly detailed account of his life and works in Tibetan works, on which was based the long and informing account of him given in the *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, vol. I, p. 9 ff. From the latter we know that Dipaṅkara was born in 980 A.D. in the royal family of Gauḍa at Vikramapura in Baṅgala. His father was Kalyâṇa Śrî, and his mother Prabhâvatî. He probably belonged to the same Kṣatriya race from which Śântarakṣita had hailed. His name before his initiation was Candragarbha. At a comparatively young age he became a great scholar, versed equally in Brâhmaṇic and Buddhist lore. As a reward for his great scholarship he was made the High Priest of the monastery of Vikramaśilâ. At the repeated invitation of the king of Tibet he went to that 'forbidden land' to reform the Buddhism of Tibet, which had much degenerated at that time. He worked hard for the regeneration of Tibetan Buddhism and met with his death at the ripe old age of seventy three in 1053 A.D. at a place in Tibet near Lhasa, far away from his native land. He is still held in high respect all over Tibet and has almost been deified therein. He wrote a good many works, none of which, however, are known to exist in their Sanskrit original. Twenty works of his, of which the translations are found in the Tibetan Tangur, have been mentioned by S. C. Das in his article already referred to.

*Ratnâkara Śânti.*

Ratnâkara Śânti flourished sometime about the tenth century. He may be identical with Śânti, two of whose songs in Bengali are known to have come down (*Bauddha-gâna-o-dohâ*—H.P.S., Intro., p. 28). He was the author of a good many Buddhist works, of which

[18] The account of Jetâri is based on that of Dr. S. C. Vidyabhusana *op. cit.*, p. 337.

several belong to Buddhist Tantra, while two of his works on Buddhist logic are known (*Ibid.*—Appendix on list of Buddhist Tantra works, S. C. Vidyabhusana—*op. cit.*, p. 343).

*Luipâda.*

Another Buddhist scholar who has almost been deified and held in high respect, not only in some parts of Bengal but also in Mayurbhanj, Nepal and Tibet, is definitely called a Bengalî in the Tanjur. He is stated to have been assisted in his *Abhisamaya-vibhaṅga* by Dîpaṅkara Śrîjñâna (H. P. Shastri, *op. cit.*—Intro., p. 15). He thus seems to have flourished about the middle of the tenth century. His connection with Bengal is definitely referred to in the Tanjur. He was the author of several Buddhist Tântrika works, which are found in the Tanjur.

*Râmacandra.*

We may next mention another Bengali scholar, whose field of activity was in Ceylon, where his name is still held in great honour. His name is Râmacandra Kavi-bhâratî, on whom was conferred the dignified title of Bauddhâgama-Cakravartî by Parâkramabâhu, the then ruling king of Ceylon. Fortunately for us he has left behind much useful personal account in his works. In the colophon of his works he calls himself *Gauḍa-deśîya* (one who belongs to the Gauḍa land) and once at least Sad-Gauḍa (a respected Bengali). In the concluding verses of his *Vṛttaratnâkara-pañcikâ* he refers to Râhula—the celebrated Buddhist scholar of Ceylon—as his teacher through whose teachings he embraced Buddhism. Even before his conversion he seems to have been a great scholar and was proficient in Tarka, Vyâkaraṇa, Śruti, Smṛti, Mahâkâvya, Âgama, Alaṅkâra, Chandaḥ, Jyotiṣa and Nâṭaka. He hailed, as he himself says, from the village of Vîravati, the present location of which is not known. His father was Gaṇapati and his mother Devî. He refers to two of his younger brothers—Halâyudha and Âṅgirasa. His time is approximately known from the date of composition of his *Vṛttaratnâkara-pañcikâ*, which was 1999 Buddha era, or 1245 A.D.

A fact that is important from the view point of social history is that in all his works he calls himself both a follower of Buddhism and a Brâhmaṇ (*bhûsura*, *dharaṇî-devaḥ*, *kṣiti-suraḥ*). It should be noted that even Maṅgalamuni, who translated Râmacandra's *Bhakti-śataka* into Sinhalese, calls him a *dvija*.

Three works of Râmacandra are known :-

1. *Bhakti-śataka*, which is in 107 beautiful verses, praises Buddha and Buddhism (published in Nâgarî by the Buddhist Text Society—1896, also in Sinhalese characters by M. P. Ekarayaka, Bharati Press, Colombo). 2. *Vṛttamâlâ*—a work on prosody, which incidentally gives an account of the celebrated monk Mahânetraprasâda (M. P. Ekarayaka, Bharati Press, Colombo). 3. *Vṛttaratnâkara-pañcikâ*—a commentary on the well-known work on prosody, the *Vṛttaratnâkara* of Kedârabhaṭṭa (Nirnaya Sagara Press, Bombay).[19]

*Some less known Buddhist Authors.*

There were some other scholars also whose names are not as well-known as those mentioned above. The works of some of these are found in the Tanjur. We may mention the names of Vibhûticandra, Kṛṣṇâcârya, Advayavajra, the last two of whom are known to have composed works in Bengalî also (Mm. H. P. Shastri, *op. cit.*—Intro.; JBORS., 1919, p. 507-8). Besides these, one Pradjñâvarman, who wrote a commentary on the *Udânavarga* is stated, in the introduction to the Tibetan translation of his work, to have hailed from Kâvâ in Bhongala or Bhangala, which may not unlikely be identified with Bengal (Rockhill —*Udânavarga*, Intro. p. xii)

19 I am indebted to Prof. R. Siddhartha of the Ceylon University College for kindly supplying me with some valuable information regarding Râmacandra's works and the place occupied by him in the estimation of the people of Ceylon.

## A LIFE OF NAND ṚISHI.

By PANDIT ANAND KOUL, President, Srinagar Municipality. (*Retired.*)

(*Continued from vol. LVIII, p. 224.*)

The peon, on hearing this advice, repented and thenceforth desisted from troubling anyone.

A farmer named Sung once came to Nand Ṛishi and told him that he was dissatisfied with his past deeds and wanted to renounce the world and become one of his followers. Nand Ṛishi directed a disciple of his named Mung to make over to Sung the duties he was performing. For some time Sung performed these duties, and then took leave to go home to see his own family. At home his family were so pleased to have him back to live with them that they would not let him return to Nand Ṛishi. A long time thus elapsed. Nand Ṛishi once remembered him, remarking—

*Âv Sung tset tsyung,*
*Nit bihenâvyâv Mungun vâs.*
*Âsi zon bhuvi suna sund sung ;*
*Wuchhon hat, lach tah sâs.*
*Âsi he tâzi thavahon ukharas ;*
*Charbari gandahos baras sati.*
*Chhuh nah tâzi, samih nah kharas :*
*Din doh bhari gharas satî.*

Sung came, the heart was glad,
We kept him in Mung's place.
We thought he would become a golden weight :
We shall see him outweigh a hundred, a thousand and a lakh.
Had he been a steed we would have kept him in the stable ;
We would have tied him with ropes attached to the door.
He is not a steed, not even an ass ;
He will spend his days at home.

When Sung heard that Nand Ṛishi was remembering him, he left his home and returned to his preceptor, to whom he remained devoted until his death.

A number of men once came to see Nand Ṛishi and hinted at his belonging to a low caste of watchers. Nand Ṛishi remarked :—

*Push-dyul avazot :*
*Kheyas nah gur gupun tah gâv.*
*Suh yelih shâhas sheri wot,*
*Suh avazot drenth katih âv ?*

The flower-seller's *dyul* (grass with which a bouquet is tied) is of low birth :
Neither pony, nor cattle, nor cow will eat it.
When it reached the head of the king
Where did it [then] appear of low birth ?

Nand Ṛishi was once going through a forest, where he saw a number of men pretending to meditate on God, but living in ease and comfort and having no true love of Him. He rebuked them in the following words :—

*Kali-yugi ghara ghara Ṛishi lâgan.*
*Yitha pâtar lâgan rangan.*
*Nish-budh atyant wâni lâgan :*
*Waran nah muth kapas tah ann ;*
*Akrut khenas tsûran ulgan ;*
*Lukan tatih tah lagan wan.*

The people of the *Kali-yuga* [iron age] in every house will pretend to be *rishis* [saints],
As a prostitute does at dancing [she sings morality].

They will pretend to be innocent and extremely gentle ;
They will not sow beans, cotton-seeds and grains (*i.e.*, earn their bread by honest labour) ;
They will excel thieves in living by unlawful means ;
To hide themselves they will repair to a forest.

He further attacked hypocrisy in these words :—

*Paran penah sati Rishi no banak—*
*Yandar-muhuli tul nah kala thud zâh.*
*Guphi atsanah Dai no labak—*
*Nûl tah gagur drâi nah wâjih manzah zâh.*
*Shrânau sati manah no shrotsak—*
*Gâd tah wudur buth khati nah zâh.*
*Upas dinah sati Dai yud toshihe*
*Drâlidan leli wai ladun nah zâh.*

By bowing down, thou shalt not become a rishi—
The pounder in the rice-mill did not ever raise up its head.
By entering a cave, God cannot be attained—
The mongoose and rat never come out of their holes.
By bathing, the mind will not be cleansed—
The fish and otter never ascend the bank.
If God were pleased by fasting
The indigent had never cooked food in the pot [in his own house].

A similar saying is found in Bâwâ Nânak's teachings :—

*Kâm gâle sidh sâdh ; khwâja khasiyân.*
*Dudh piwe sidh sâdh ; bâlak bachhyân.*
*Tan nâwe sidh sâdh ; mendak machhyân.*
*Nânak ! sat samvâd, so gal achhyân.*

A saint may subdue desire : [it is extinct in] eunuchs.
A saint may drink milk : [it is done by] infants and calves.
A saint may wash his body ; [it is done by] frogs and fish.
Nânak ! speak the truth. Those words are good.

Once Nand Rishi saw a hypocritical priest at a mosque twirling a rosary in his hand, who took six platefuls of rice, which were brought to him by six different persons at different times, to each of whom he said he had had no food at all that day. He then rebuked him thus :—

*Tasbih châni chhem gunasâ hisho ;*
*Murîd dîshit karân kham.*
*Sheh chinih khetham hisham hisho :*
*Tsah ai pîr tah rahzan kam ?*

Thy rosary is like a snake :
Thou bendest it on seeing the disciples.
Thou hast eaten six platefuls, one like another :
If thou art a priest, then who are robbers ?

In regard to dislikes, which man or beast naturally have, Nand Rishi remarked :—

*Gur, khar, wutsh âramas khare.*
*Watshis khare tsâm.*
*Nîtsis drâlidas potsh khare.*
*Nushi khare zâm.*

Pony, ass and calf are disliked by the vegetable-grower.
The fleshy matter in the palate is disliked by the calf.
A guest is disliked by the vile wretch.
A husband's sister is disliked by the daughter-in-law.

Apropos of the proclivities of one's family members, Nand Ṛishi said :—

*Kûr chhai makaz wan deodâras—*
*Tsaṭit kares guni lâḍî.*
*Gubur chhui tâzi bacha âkhiratas—*
*Ladit palana karus swârî.*
*Boi chhui phal kul bakhtâwaras—*
*Piyas muhim tah kares yârî.*
*Rani chhai khani andar piṭâras—*
*Wandas tah wathis kares yârî.*

A daughter is like an axe to the forest of deodars—
It will fell it and make heaps of logs.
A son is like an Arabian colt in the world to come—
Thou canst put a saddle on him and ride.
A brother is like a fruit tree to a lucky person—
When there be need it will provide help.
The wife is like a quilt in a basket—
It will be of use in the winter and in the open.

*War hajih munḍare par nai âsihe ;*
*Nushi nai âsihe hash tah zâm ;*
*Muqadamas patah nai phukadam âsihe ;*
*Gâmas tulihe shâmas tâm.*

If there were not a mallet for [use upon] a knotted block of wood ;
If there were not a mother-in-law and sister-in-law to the daughter-in-law ;
If there were not an overseer [to look] after the *lambardâr* :
He would harass the village till evening.

On the vicissitudes of life, Nand Ṛishi lamented thus :—

*Hânzanih hânzan wulga pâzan ;*
*Hanḍi bihan sabhan tah khash wâzan.*
*Sah atsan guphan tah shâl grazan ;*
*Hanih mandorih ḍolan gâsh paharen.*

Boat-women will serve *wulga* (one of the best kinds of rice) to boatmen ;
The sheep will sit to dine, and the cooks will be slaughtered.
Tigers will enter the caves and jackals will howl ;
Castles will remain deserted, and huts will have light.

*Runâh pâliki ari nakh dit tas ;*
*Akh chhas nah paramats takhta sipâr.*
*Trukhâh tâh karân tahandis rakhtas ;*
*Bakhtas budh chhai khitmatgâr.*

A limbless [man] is being carried in a palankin by the able-bodied ;
He has not read a single section of the Qurân.
A clever man is folding his dress ;
In times of good fortune intelligence serves as a slave.

*Lâlan handen timan robakhânan,*
*Jânan dapân âsi uhrinui gatsh.*
*Sundara dechham hûri wakhanan ;*
*Tsâmara sati âsah ḍuwân laish.*
*Tatih meh az ḍiṭhim kapas ruwân.*
*Meh wuchh, Nasarah, tsah tih wuchhnih gatsh.*

In those glittering halls of lords,
The great were told to shrink back.

I saw pretty damsels singing songs there ;
They were sweeping the dust with yaks' tails.
There I now observed cotton being sown.
I saw, O Nasar, thou mightest also go to see it.

Naṣru'd-dîn was one of the four disciples of Nand Ṛishi, namely, Naṣru'd-dîn (Autâr), Bâmu'd-dîn (Bhûm Sâdhu), Zainu'd-dîn (Zaya Singh) and Latîfu'd-dîn (Âdit Raina).

*Nasar Bâbâ, bozto gurah sandi watsan.*
*Sorah sandih wuḍih âsih morah sund tâj ;*
*Vethah ârah hukhan henar grazan ;*
*Adah, ha mâlih, âsi wândar râj.*
Nasar Bâbâ, listen to the word of your preceptor.
The crest of the peacock will be on the head of a pig ;
The Jehlam and its tributaries will dry up and the drains will roar ;
Then, O father, will be the reign of monkeys.

Nand Ṛishi advised seeking good company and shunning the bad, contrasting the two in forcible terms. He shows that the rogue will wrong the good, attacking him with crooked words, if he is not careful.

*Nunden satin doh din bharize—*
*Lagiyo shâh wulge kanz.*
*Badan satin zâh tih no phirze—*
*Atsizih nah tamanen bânan manz.*
Spend thy days with the good—
The *shâh wulga* [one of the best kinds of rice] will get pounded.
Never go about with the wicked—
Do not walk close to pots covered with soot [else thou shalt get soiled].

On man's attempts to secure worldly objects, which, of course, result in disappointment, Nand Ṛishi observed :—

*Sun trâvit sartalih riwum ;*
*Kartal phuṭram karimas drâti.*
*Doh lug darah tai bânbari pevum ;*
*Agun tshiwum bânah nah wâti.*
I cast off gold and hankered after brass ;
I broke a sword and made a sickle of it.
The day began to end, and in haste I commenced to light a fire [on the hearth] ;
The flame went out, but the cooking pots were not ready.

In regard to the imperative necessity of devotion to God, Nand Ṛishi observed :—

*Yin gharâh, gatshani gharâh ;*
*Kângarâ gatsham tapani kitsai.*
*Gura ! kun wâtah nah pilih nah narâh ;*
*Sat chham châni âkhir buh tsai.*
There is a moment for coming [birth] and a moment for going [death]
A moment I want for devotion.
O Preceptor ! I cannot reach anywhere nor can [my] arm reach thee ;
I have faith in thee that I am thou after all.

Once Nand Ṛishi spoke about the futility of performing *namâz* without concentrating the mind on God :—

*Puz yud bozak pânts numrak ;*
*Natah mâz ai numrak rachhi nah mâz ;*

*Shivas satin yalih myul karak ;*
*Sidhi tsch, Rishi Mâli, teli namâz.*
If thou listeneth to truth, thou oughtest to subdue the five (senses, *i.e.*, passion, etc.) ;
It thou lowereth only thy fleshly body, the fleshly body will not save thee :
If thou maketh union with Śiva.
Then only, O Rishi Mâli, will prayer avail thee.

A Persian poet has rendered the above in the following couplet :—

*Sar-râ bazamîn chi mî-nihî bahr-i namâz ?*
*Ân-râ bazamîn binih ki dar sar dârî.*
Why art thou bowing down thy head on the earth for the sake of praying ?
Bow down to earth that which is in thy head (*i.e.*, thy pride and arrogance).

In regard to natural disabilities, Nand Rishi once remarked :—

*Dandah rust kyâh karih dânis ?*
*Hûnis kyâh karih mukhtahâr ?*
*Run kyâh karih khunih kamâne ?*
*Un kyâh zâne padmâne ?*
Of what use is a walnut to a toothless person ?
Of what use is a pearl necklace to a dog ?
Of what use is a bow to an elbowless person ?
Of what estimation is a pretty woman to a blind man ?

Come good, come evil, there is an end," was the subject on which Nand Rishi once spoke to his favourite disciple, Nasar Bâbâ, as follows :—

*Vetha wâwas tan nani, suh tih dohâ, Nasaro.*
*Tun wugarah tah seni pani, suh tih dohâ, Nasaro.*
*Nishi rani tah warani khani, suh tih dohâ, Nasaro.*
*Warah batah tah gâ lah gani, suh tih dohâ, Nasaro.*
When the body was bared to the wind of the Jehlam, that day has passed, O Nasar.
When we had thin curry and unsalted vegetables only to eat, that day too has gone, O Nasar.
When the wife was near and warm clothing covered the bed, that day too has gone by, O Nasar.
When boiled rice and sliced fish were provided for us, that day also has passed, O Nasar.

Nand Rishi breathed his last at Rupawan village on 26th Ramazân (Shab-i-Qadr), *i.e.*, 26th Poh, 842 Hijra (1438 A.D.) at the age of 63 years, 1 month and 20 days. His body was carried to Tsrâr, and was buried on the mound called Nafia Teng. His funeral was attended by thousands of people, among whom was the then king of Kashmîr, Zainu'l-âbidîn. Bâbâ Dâûd Khâki, who was a highly learned man during the time of Ya'qûb Chak (1584 A.D.), wrote an epitaph in loving memory of Nand Rishi in Persian verse, which may be translated into English as follows :—

Shaikh Nûru'd-din Rishi, the preceptor of all *rishis*,
Was a good hermit and had much communion with God.
In addition to leading a retired and solitary life he was also one of those in this world who keep fasts ;
He had given up eating flesh, honey, milk and onions for many years ;
He was a man of revelation and miracles and had a fine command of speech,
And he had no known spiritual guide, as a good-natured narrator has stated.

# PERIODS IN INDIAN HISTORY.*

BY F. J. RICHARDS, M.A., I.C.S. (*Retired.*)

THE scheme submitted for discussion in the Indian Section of the Royal Anthropological Institute on January 19th, 1926, was to divide the historical period into three "Major" Divisions:—

1. Early, B.C. 600 to 300 A.D.
2. Medieval, 300 to 1500 A.D.
3. Modern, 1500 to 1900 A.D.

and to divide each of these into three "Minor" Periods.[1]

Civilization is a "recurrent phenomenon" in India as elsewhere. There are periods of expansion and periods of shrinkage, of vigour and decay, of integration and disruption. The purpose of the discussion is not to supersede the periods already recognized by scholars and historians, but to correlate them with the ebb and flow of culture within India and beyond its borders. To this end dynastic terms such as "Sunga," "Andhra," "Indo-Greek" are unsuited, because they are applicable only to limited areas and are, in part, concurrent. Religious terms such as "Buddhist" or "Muhammadan" as applied to India are no more definite than the "Pagan," "Papal" or "Protestant" periods of Europe.[2] Even "Rajput," "Maratha," "Mughal" connote different periods in different areas. Terms are needed sufficiently elastic to cover accepted terminology in all areas. They should indicate *sequence*, and each period should stand in definite relation to those cycles of *fusion* and *fission* which make up Indian history.

## I. Dynastic Periods.

The framework of Indian chronology is dynastic, and is based on the evidence of (1) inscriptions, (2) coins, (3) foreign writers, chiefly Græco-Roman, Moslem and Chinese. The adjustment of literary and archæological material to the dynastic chronology is largely conjectural. The so-called "Indo-Sumerian" culture of Harappa and other sites, and also most of the so-called "Vedic" Period are outside the scope of this discussion.

The propriety of the "Major" Periods suggested, opening with 600 B.C., 300 A.D. and 1500 A.D. (roughly parallel to the Cambridge History scheme of Ancient, Medieval and Modern) is not challenged. There is some difference of opinion, however, as to how these Periods should be subdivided.

For the *Early Period* the divisions suggested are—

I. 600—300 B.C.
II. 300—1 B.C.
III. 1—300 A.D.

I. The Period 600—300 B.C. answers roughly to the Hellenic Period[3] of Europe, the Achæmenid Empire of Persia (558-330) and the close of the Chou Dynasty (1122—249) in China. In N. India it covers the rise of Buddhism and Jainism and the gradual consolidation in the Lower Gangetic Plain of the Saisunâga Kingdom of Magadha, culminating in c. 320 B.C. in the establishment of the Mauryan Empire. Foreign influence is represented by the Persian conquest of the N.W. (512) and the invasion of Alexander (327-324).

II and III. The Period 300 B.C. to 300 A.D. covers the Hellenistic Period of Greece and the rise to imperial rank of Rome, the Tsin and Han Dynasties of China and that of the Parthian Arsacids in W. Asia. In N. India this Period falls into two phases :—

(1) The Mauryan Empire at its zenith under Asoka and its partition between (*a*) the Sungas, (*b*) the Andhras of the N. Deccan, (*c*) the Greeks from Bactria and (*d*) at a later stage the Sakas and Pahlavas from Iran.

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* This scheme has been reproduced as submitted to the Indian Research Committee, R.A.I. (without diacritical marks).

1 Many useful suggestions were offered in drawing up the scheme and in course of the discussion. These will be referred to as the points arise.

For brevity centuries are occasionally referred to by Roman numerals, with or (where the context permits) without the letters B.C. or A.D.

2 Sind was "Muhammadan" in VIII A.D., South India was not "Muhammadan" even in XIII A.D.

3 More correctly, its zenith and decline; it began about 760 B.C.

(2) The rise and decline of the Kushan Empire in N. W. India and C. Asia, and the subsequent struggle between the Kushan Satraps and the Later Andhras.

The history of S. India in the Early Period is obscure, but two facts are certain; (1) in III B.C. Asoka was in touch with the three traditional Kingdoms of the South, Chera, Chola and Pandya; (2) in I A.D. Roman traders were busy in Malabar and the Tamil country, as numerous hoards of *denarii* and the *Periplus* testify.

Prof. Rapson suggests a slight re-adjustment of these subdivisions, *viz.* :—

"I. 600—350 B.C., characterised by Persian dominion in N.W. India and a number of independent Kingdoms in the valley of the Jumna and Ganges.

"II. 350—50 B.C., to include the extension of the Macedonian Empire to N.W. India and characterised by the subsequent rise of the Maurya Empire in India and the later Greek invasions.

"III. 50 B.C.—300 A.D. Roughly from the Partho-Scythian Empire in N.W. India to the rise of the Gupta Empire."

It is not very material whether "Early I" closes with 350 or 325 or 300 B.C. In any case the period 326—305 B.C. is a transitional phase in India, beginning with Alexander's invasion and ending in Seleucus I Nicator's treaty with Chandragupta, and the Maurya Empire is associated with Hellenistic rather than with Hellenic Greece, with the Seleucids rather than with Macedon.

On the other hand, Partho-Scythian rule marks a phase of disintegration; it is the Kushan epoch which was really formative. For the advent of the Kushans A.D. 50 is the most favoured date, but unfortunately this is not undisputed.[4] The date 1 A.D. is suggested as a rough compromise.

As regards foreign contacts, the Mauryas were in touch with Mediterranean Greeks, the Kushans with Imperial Rome, but the main thrust came from China. In about 165 B.C. the Hiung-nu, foiled in their attempts on China, turned on their neighbours the Yueh-chi, and sent them hurtling across Asia to the Oxus valley. The impetus drove the "Scythians" on to the Bactrian Greeks and the Parthians, and nearly broke them (*c.* 138—123 B.C.). The last phase of the movement was the reconstruction of Yueh-chi power under the leadership of the Kushans. The Hans followed this up with the occupation of Turkestan and kept touch with the Yueh-chi till well into III A.D.[5]

For the *Medieval Period*[6] the divisions suggested are—

I. 300—650 A.D.
II. 650[7]—1200 A.D.
III. 1200—1500 A.D.

I. The Period 300—650 A.D. corresponds roughly to the struggle between the Christian Roman Empire and the Persian Sassanids and the period of Chinese disintegration. The crucial event in Europe is the transfer of imperial headquarters from Rome to Constantinople, the beginning of that germanization of the Western Roman Empire which culminated in its destruction in 476 A.D. In N. India the period is divided into two phases by the Huna Invasion (*c.* 480—528 A.D.). It is commonly called the "Gupta Period," though in the later phase the Guptas cease to be imperial.[8] The death of Harsha (647 A.D.) is, however, generally accepted as cardinal.

[4] Some place Kanishka in I B.C., others in II A.D. [5] See Stein, *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, p. 385.

[6] Exception has been taken by some to the term "Medieval"; but the term is in frequent use, though in different senses, *e.g.*,

(1) S. Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India*, 720—1794 A.D.

(2) Prof. E. J. Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 147, 78—1000 A.D.

(3) J. Kennedy, *Imp. Gaz.* 2. 303, 650—1200 A.D.

(4) Sir John Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 7, *c.* 350—1200.

[7] The year 650 seems preferable to the year 750 proposed in the original scheme.

[8] Fleet's dating of the Imperial Guptas is challenged by Dr. Shama Sastry (*Arch. Rep. Mysore*, 1923, p. 23).

II. The Period 650—1200 covers the struggle between the Byzantine Empire and Islam, and the second great expansion of China under the T'ang Dynasty (618—907 A.D.), and the subsequent struggle with the " Tartars " (Khitan 937—1125, Kin 1127—1234). In N. India it answers to the "Rajput Period" (the " Hindu Period " of Kennedy[9]), a period of conflicting states centring round Harsha's capital, Kanauj. Three phases may be distinguished. They correspond roughly to the three phases of the Caliphate, (A) zenith, (B) decline, (C) subjection (to the Seljuks, etc.).

A. 650—800, during which the running was made in turn by Tibet, Kashmir, (Karkota or Naga Dynasty), and the earlier Palas of Bengal.

B. 800—1000, when the hegemony fell to the Pratiharas (or Parihars) of Bhinmal, to be challenged in turn by Rashtrakutas from the Deccan and Chandels from Mahoba, and broken by Mahmud of Ghazni.

C. 1000—1200, during which, the Ghaznavi cataclysm over, politics reverted to type, and power was fought for by Chandels, Palas, Paramaras of Malwa, Kalachuris of Chedi, Chalukyas of Gujarat, Senas of Bengal, Gaharwars of Benares and Chauhans of Delhi, till, in the last decade of XII A.D., the Ghori armies made a clean sweep of Hindu sovereignty right up to the borders of Assam.

It has been suggested that the " Hindu Period " should end at 1000 A.D. But, though the phase 1000—1200 is a clear cut interlude between the Ghaznavi and Ghori invasions, in character it belongs to the period which preceded it and not to that which followed. Muhammadan influence dates from the Arab invasion of Sind (712) or earlier ; the Ghaznavi raids, it is true, brought the Panjab under Muslim rule, but the rest of N. India went on as before ; politically the period 650—1200 A.D. is of uniform type, the new epoch begins with Muhammad Ghori.

III. The Period 1200—1500 covers the closing epoch of the Roman Empire and Mongol dominion in Asia. There are two phases, the tide turning in about 1350, when the Mings ousted the Mongols from China (1368) and the Ottomans displaced them in the West. In N. India the Delhi Sultanate, too, presents two phases ; the ebb set in with the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq (d. 1351) and the disruption of his empire into the Provincial Sultanates of Kashmir, Jaunpur, Bengal, Malwa, Gujarat, Khandesh, and the Deccan Bahmanis.

In S. India the Medieval Period is more coherent. Apart from minor dynasties, which need not here be discussed, interest, in the period 650—1200, centres in the Chalukyas (Solankis) of the W. Deccan. Their history falls into three phases :

A. 550—753, during which the Chalukyas ruled at Badami (in Dharwar District in the S. of the present Bombay Presidency), and founded an Eastern Branch at Vengi (in the Kistna-Godavari deltaic plain).

B. 753—973, when the W. Chalukyas were eclipsed by the Rashtrakutas.

C. 973—1200, when the W. Chalukyas re-established their power and ruled from Kalyani (in Bidar District, Hyderabad).

In the first phase the Chalukyas were pitted against the Pallavas of Conjeeveram, in the second the Rashtrakutas established themselves in Gujarat also and penetrated even to Kanauj ; their suzerainty was recognized generally by the States of the South, but the E. Chalukyas held their own ; in the third phase the W. Chalukyas also ruled in Gujarat but in the S. and E. their power was successfully challenged by the Tamil Cholas, who in the course of XI A.D. coalesced with the E. Chalukyas and even penetrated to the Ganges Valley.

Disruption set in towards the close of XII A.D. ; from 1162 to 1183 the sovereignty was usurped by the Kalachuris ; their dominions were divided between (1) the Yadavas in the N.W., (2) the Kakatiyas in the N.E. and (3) the Hoysalas in the S.W., while the Cholas were

[9] *Imp. Gaz.* 2, p. 303.

hard pressed by their Pandya feudatories and only saved from extinction by the intervention of the Hoysalas.

The Period 1200—1500 thus opens with S. India divided between four warring States. These lasted till the beginning of XIV A.D., when the armies of Alâu'd-dîn Khaljî of Delhi broke them. Out of the wreckage arose the Empire of Vijayanagar which held the Kistna against the Bahmani Sultans till 1500 and after.

Correlations, historical and cultural, between N. and S. India have not received the attention they deserve ; events in the two areas are closely related. The Chalukyas and their successors in title had to fight on two fronts (North and South), and sometimes the East, too, was hostile. Pressure from the North meant weakness on the South front; weakness in the North invited a northward move, or in the alternative, left them free to press southwards.

Thus in 620 A.D. the Chalukyas had to meet an invasion by Harsha, and this gave the Pallavas their opportunity ; they took it ; in 642 A.D. they captured Badami and the Chalukyas for a few years ceased to exist. Then Harsha died (647) and his empire crumbled ; the Chalukyas recovered and from 655 onwards the Pallavas were on the defensive : the date ±650 A.D. is the real turning point.

So too in 1350 A.D., when the disruption of the Tughlaq Empire enabled Vijayanagar to consolidate the South.

Another interesting feature of S. Indian history is the concurrent decadence of Chalukyas and Cholas in 1150—1200, a decline presumably born of prosperity. A like thing happened in the closing years of XV A.D. when both Vijayanagar and the Bahmanis were the prey of revolution. The Bahmani Empire split into five separate Sultanates. Vijayanagar recovered unity under its third and most famous dynasty.

The *Modern Period* from 1500 A.D. onwards covers the zenith and decline of the Ottoman Empire, the revival of Persia under the Safavids and of China under the Manchus, and the first serious intervention in world history of the States of W. Europe.

In India the Sultanates gave place to the Mughals, whose collapse led to the Great Anarchy of XVIII A.D., followed by the British Peace.

To recapitulate ; the epochs selected are—

1. EARLY :
   - I. Pre-Maurya or Saisunaga.
   - II. The Mauryan Empire and its dismemberment.
   - III. The Kushans.
2. MEDIEVAL :
   - I. The Gupta Empire and its disruption.
   - II. The Rajput Period in the North and the Chalukyan Period in the South.
   - III. The Delhi Sultanate, its expansion and decline.
3. MODERN : Mughal and European.

This scheme is more than " dynastic " ; it is a record of political growth and decay, and politics is a very vital branch of cultural history. The reflection of these vicissitudes on other branches of culture may be tested by a few examples.

## II. Cultural Periods.

### 1. *Language*.

A. ARYAN :

Linguists recognise two periods in the evolution of Sanskrit, I " Vedic " and II " Classical " ; and three in the evolution of the vernaculars, (Prakrits) Primary, Secondary and Tertiary. (*Imp. Gaz.* i. 360).

The crystallization of the Vedic language into Sanskrit was completed some time in the period 600—300 B.C.[10]

[10] The process of standardization presumably covered a considerable period, during which archaic and literary forms were used side by side. It culminated in the grammar of Panini to whom the date 350—300 B.C. is usually assigned, though some put him as early as 500 B.C.

The "Primary Prakrits" belong to the Vedic Period. The "Secondary Prakrits" cover the period 550 B.C. to 1000 A.D. The "Tertiary Prakrits" are the modern vernaculars. Their phonetic and grammatical evolution is parallel to that of the modern Romance languages from Latin.

Roughly speaking, for general purposes Prakrits dominate the Early Period, Sanskrit the Medieval Period and the modern vernaculars the Modern Period. The period 1—300 A.D. may be regarded as "transitional." Thus Prakrit was the language in which the Buddha and Mahavira preached, the Buddhist and Jain canons were compiled and Asoka's edicts engraved. Sanskrit, presumably, was the language of the learned few, and it is not till about 150 A.D. that it appears in public documents. Thence onward the use of Sanskrit grew apace, till under the Guptas it was recognized as the literary *lingua franca* of India. The effect on the vernaculars was unhappy; to evade the stigma of vulgarity they were sanskritized.

The supremacy of Sanskrit was not seriously challenged till the period 1200—1500 A.D., when modern vernaculars entered the field of literature; by the end of that period they were firmly established.

In the Modern Period yet another element was added under Mughal influence; W. Hindi, the vernacular of the Upper Gangetic Valley was persianized, and in the form of Hindostani became the *lingua franca* of all N. and C. India.

B. DRAVIDIAN:

The chief Dravidian languages of the South (Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese and Malayalam) preserved their identity throughout, though the vocabularies of all except Tamil became heavily sanskritized during the Medieval Period.

2. *Script.*

Two alphabets were used throughout the Early Period, *viz.* (1) Kharoshthi, (2) Brahmi.

Kharoshthi is of Aramaic origin and confined mainly to N.W. India (and C. Asia), and was probably introduced by the Persians; it lingered on till V A.D. but left no descendants. Brahmi, the parent of most Indian alphabets, is of Phœnician type, perhaps brought by traders from Mesopotamia.

Asoka used both scripts; so did the Kushans. Of Brahmi, Asoka used two varieties; in the break-up of the Mauryan Empire Asoka's North types were carried on by the Mathura Satraps and the Kushans, his South types by the Malwa and Gujarat Satraps and the Andhras.

The Guptas failed to standardize; they used both North and South types in several varieties. Diversity persisted and the Medieval Period presents a bewildering variety of scripts, two or more of which are often used at a time in the same area. Up to 650 A.D. the art of writing was unstable; North and South characters were strangely mixed. In the Middle Medieval Period, however, things got more uniform, local varieties disappear and by 1000 A.D. Aryan India writes in some form or other of Nagari; Dravidian India either in Kanarese-Telugu, or Tamil-Grantha, or Tamil. By the end of the Medieval Period the scripts differ little from their present-day form.

The Arabic scripts of India also tell their tale. Two scripts, *Kufic* and *Naskh*, existed side by side in Islam till XIII A.D., when *Kufic* went out of use. Hence *Naskh* was the script of the Delhi Sultanate. Meanwhile (in XIV A.D.) *Nasta'līq* developed in Persia under Pahlavi influence. *Nasta'līq* [with its variant (*Shikasta*)] became the dominant script of the Mughals.[11]

(*To be continued.*)

[11] *Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, No. 29.

## BOOK-NOTICES.

FALAKÎ-I-SHÎRWÂNÎ, HIS TIMES, LIFE AND WORKS, by Hadi Hasan. James G. Furlong Fund. Vol. VI. The Royal Asiatic Society. 1929.

This short fasciculus of 96 pages constitutes an introduction to an edition of the complete extant remains of an early Persian poet, who lived in the first half of the twelfth century and was a pupil of the great poet Khâqânî, who lived from 1106 to 1185 A.D. It is not possible to fix the date of birth or death of Falakî with any accuracy, but it is clear from Khâqânî's reference to him that he died young and that the date ordinarily accepted for his death (577 A.H.) is much too late. Like his master, Falakî was a court poet of the small principality of Shîrwân or Sharwân, which lay between the Christian kingdom of Georgia and the Caspian Sea.

There is no preface or introduction to this little book. The reader is left without any information as to the personality of the author, who does not explain how and why his attention was attracted to the works, of no great quantity or quality, of a comparatively insignificant poet, who, like 'Umar Khayyâm, was primarily an astronomer. There can be no doubt, however, that Mr. Hadi Hasan (assuming this not to be a *nom de plume*) is a competent and trained scholar, with a thorough knowledge not only of the Persian language and literature but also of western methods of criticism and the use of manuscripts. He shows a marked interest in questions of history and particularly of chronology. Chronological points arising out of the poems are handled with great skill and acumen. The way in which it is proved that two particular codes of Falakî must have been written in the years 521 and 522 A.H. is most interesting and also quite convincing. On some historical points aid has been obtained from numismatics.

The text of Falakî as determined by the present editor consists of 1197 couplets, 70 more than are included in the longest extant collection, *viz.*, that which is contained in a manuscript in the Munich library. This Munich *dîwân* comprises 20 *qasîdas* in alphabetical order, 3 *tarkîb-bands*, one prison poem, 5 quatrains and some *ghazals* and fragments, amounting altogether to 1135 couplets. Three of these couplets, however, occur twice over, and if we subtract these and two couplets proved to belong to Shams-i-Tabrîz (*i.e.*, to Maulânâ Rûmî) and three attributable to Qaṭrân, a balance of 1127 is left.

In addition to the couplets found in the Munich *diwân*, a collection of 108 couplets attributed to Falakî has been made by the editor, mostly from two MS. copies of an anthology arranged by Taqiu'udin Kâshî in 985 A.H., which are in the British Museum and in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

This would have given an aggregate of 1235, but out of this one couplet has been omitted as assignable to Adîb-i-Ṣâbir, and a whole prison-poem of 37 couplets attributed to Sa'd-i-Salmân has also been excluded, leaving a balance of 1197, as previously mentioned.

From the poems of Falakî which have been quoted and translated by the editor in this introductory fasciculus, it is impossible to form a high opinion of Falakî's poetical merits. A fairer estimate of their value may perhaps be formed when the whole works are available *en masse*. This introduction is certainly a first-rate piece of work. The manner in which such diverse questions as the date of Falakî's death, his relations with Khâqânî, and the correct name of the Shîrwân king who imprisoned Khâqânî—this is shown on metrical grounds combined with evidence from the Georgian chronicles to have been Akhsatân—and to whom Niẓâmî dedicated his Lailâ and Majnûn, and many other debateable points have been handled, must command no small degree of admiration from those who are interested in Oriental scholarship.

R. P. DEWHURST.

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BULLETIN DE L'ECOLE FRANCAISE D'EXTREME ORIENT, Tomes XXVI, XXVII. 11 × 7½; pp. 552 and 703. Hanoi, 1927 and 1928.

These Bulletins, replete with matter of value to all scholars interested in the Far East, maintain the high standard for which they are so widely known. Volume XXVI is dedicated to the memory of M. Charles Maybon, whose zealous and fruitful labours in various capacities were prematurely cut short in that year through a fatal accident when he was on leave in France. The contents include a French-Mán dictionary, being an important study of the language of the *Kim-di-mun*, 'the people who live at the foot of the mountains,' in Tonkin and the adjoining Chinese territory, by M. F. M Savina of the *Société des Missions Étrangères* of Paris, and a selection of three Japanese lyrical dramas, with a transliteration of the Japanese text, a translation in French and numerous annotations by Lt.-Col. Renondeau. In addition to these longer articles, we have an interesting note by M. Henri Marchal on certain peculiar architectural features of the Nak Pan remains, not observable elsewhere in Cambodia, and a description of excavations at two sites at Quang-binh in Annam written by the late M. L. Aurousseau, whose sad death since we deeply deplore.

In volume XXVII Col. Renondeau continues his study of Japanese lyrical dramas, adding five more plays to those published in the preceding volume. The following article by M. Henri Parmentier forms the eighth of his series of *Notes on Indo-Chinese Archæology* and deals with the modifications undergone by the Bayon in the course of its construction In anticipation of a larger work which he contemplates, M. Parmentier sets forth in this article reasons for holding that the Bayon as extant differs from the edifice originally planned and that numerous religious elements of the decoration have been

altered, chiefly with a view to suppressing the Buddhistic features and substituting Śaivite forms. As will be remembered, this question has also been dealt with by Prof. L. Finot, as well as by M. P. Stern in his recent work on the Bayon and the Evolution of Khmer Art. We next find a very interesting account of the Tsa Khmu, one of the mountaineer tribes scattered over Lai-châu and Phongsaly, by MM. Henri Roux and Tran-van-chu, illustrated by appropriate photographs, and concluding with a short Khmu vocabulary. Special attention may perhaps be directed to the scholarly and suggestive note by M. Victor Goloubew on the horse Balâha, the legend about which is the subject of a group of sculpture at Nak Pan, of bas-reliefs at the Bayon and at Barabudur in Java and Pagan in Burmah, of a panel on a Mathurâ railing in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and of a fresco in Cave XVII at Ajanta.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

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PANJAB UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL PUBLICATIONS. THE SAUNDARANANDA OF AŚVAGHOṢA. CRITICALLY EDITED WITH NOTES BY E. H. JOHNSTON. xv + 175 pp. 8°. Published for the University of the Panjab, Lahore. Oxford University Press, London: Humphrey Milford, 1928.

The *Panjab University Oriental Publications* have hitherto brought us two very valuable works in new and thoroughly revised editions, *viz.*, Bhavabhûti's *Mahâvîracarita*, edited by the late Todar Mall and Professor Macdonell, and Aśvaghoṣa's *Saundaranandakâvya*, edited by Mr. Johnston. The latter work has not been long known, and the only existing edition—that by MM. Haraprasad Shastri in the *Bibliotheca Indica*—in spite of its obvious merits, does not satisfy the craving for a real critical edition. Mr. Johnston has brought to this very difficult task his undoubted critical acumen and his most thorough acquaintance with the works of Aśvaghoṣa: and he has succeeded in giving us a text which is perhaps not perfect—for that were to ask for too much under the present circumstances—but as excellent as could with every right be expected.

Of manuscripts there are only two known, both belonging to the Library of H. H. the Mahârâja of Nepal. Of these, the old palm-leaf one is generally trustworthy but has, unfortunately, been much damaged in various ways and is now incomplete. The younger paper manuscript, dating probably from the eighteenth century, seems complete but is badly written and gives much material which cannot be used without being duly corrected. Beside the manuscripts, Mr. Johnston has also availed himself of the *editio princeps* as well as of several well-known papers by Speyer, Hultzsch, Gawroński, Professor Jacobi and other scholars. In this way he has constituted his text, which does undoubtedly contain obscure passages, but which can still be read rather fluently and with a fair amount of pleasure.

On a few minor points we should like, with due respect and diffidence, to differ from the learned editor; but these are points of very limited importance. Thus, *e.g.*, in iv, 39, we ought undoubtedly to read with Gawroński *pradhyânaśûnya sthiraniścalâkṣî* instead of "*sthita*" of the manuscripts. Likewise in v, 52, the conjecture of Hultzsch—*pravâpyamâṇeṣu*—alone seems correct. In i, 3, the second *ca* certainly must be superfluous; and there is a small number of very unimportant and easily corrected misprints, upon which we shall, of course, not enter here.

We allow ourselves sincerely to congratulate Mr. Johnston upon his undoubtedly great success as an editor of a very knotty text. If we be not misinformed, he is now preparing a translation of the *Saundarananda*, which will certainly be of great value and interest to his fellow-scholars. We express a hope that after achieving this task, Mr. Johnston will contemplate re-editing the *Buddhacarita*, which, in spite of Cowell's excellent edition, is in bad need of going through a thorough revision. No living scholar would be better prepared for such a task than is Mr. Johnston.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

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SOUTH-INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS, vol. III, Part IV, by RAO BAHADUR H. KRISHNA SASTRI. Pp. 441 to 480, with Preface, Introduction and Index to vol. III, pp. xvi + 22 + 44. Madras, 1929.

Chôḷas and Pâṇḍyas have been neighbours since the days of Aśoka. The frontier between them is marked by the group of hills that lie to the north of Madura and by the arid course of the (Southern) Veḷḷâr, which carries their storm water to the sea. More than once the Pâṇḍyas pressed northwards into the fertile Kâvêri-fed Chôḷa-maṇḍalam ("Coromandel"), and the Choḷas, when in turn they pushed southwards, treated the Pâṇḍyas with respect, and appointed "Pâṇḍya" governors to rule them.

The records of Pâṇḍya history are all too meagre, though the Pâṇḍya city of Madura was the home of Tamil literature. Of the pregnant period that preceded the rise of the Chôḷa Empire in the tenth century almost nothing was known till the discovery of the Vêḷvikuḍi and Sinnamanûr Plates (1906-7). The former was edited by H. Krishna Sastri in vol. XVII of *Epigraphia Indica*, the latter is the main theme of this fourth (and last) part of vol. III of *South Indian Inscriptions*, Parts I and II of which were issued by Hultzsch in 1899 and 1903, Part III by Krishna Sastri in 1920.

Clearly and concisely Krishna Sastri tells how the Pâṇḍyas, during the pietist reign of the Râshṭrakûṭa Emperor, Amôghavarsha (814-877), advanced against Chôḷas and Pallavas as far as the Poṇṇaiyâr, fought stoutly in the plains which Clive and Lawrence afterwards made famous, till finally, after Amôghavarsha's death, the Chôḷas took the Pâṇḍya capital, and broke their power.

Seven Chôḷa plates of minor interest are also published in this issue. In an Introduction to the completed volume Krishna Sastri sums up the history of the Chôḷas down to the conquests of Râjêndra I in the Ganges Valley and Sumatra. But the Preface, alas! is by another hand, for Krishna Sastri did not live to see this last work of his through the Press. In his ripe scholarship, and that of his predecessor, Venkayya, Hultzsch's labours have borne splendid fruit, and Krishna Sastri's death is a grievous loss to epigraphic research and to the many friends he was always so willing to help and advise.

Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, a successor of proved merit, has given the finishing touches to Krishna Sastri's work, and it is he who edits the minor Chôḷa plates.

F. J. RICHARDS.

GESETZBUCH UND PURÂṆA. (INDISCHE FORSCHUNGEN begründet von A. HILLEBRANDT, in zwanglosen Heften herausgegeben von B. LIEBICH. HEFT 7.) J. J. MEYER. xiii + 122 pp. 8°. Breslau, M. and H. Marcus, 1929.

Dr. J. J. Meyer, shortly after publishing his very bulky translation of the *Kauṭilīya* and his important work, *Über das Wesen der indischen Rechtsschriften*, has now produced still another volume dealing with the interrelations between Purâṇa and law-book in Ancient India. The work is mainly a polemic against Dr. H. Losch, who, in his thesis on the *Yâjñavalkyasmṛti*, tried to subvert the previous arguments of Dr. Meyer and to prove that the *Smṛti* has been pieced together from fragments taken out of the Purâṇas, and that no individual authors of Hindu law-books existed.

Dr. Meyer pleads his cause in a spirited way, and his work as usual is full of learned and valuable information. Personally the present writer feels inclined to think that Dr. Meyer's arguments carry a good deal of weight and are, as a rule, of a stronger nature than those of his opponent. It is, therefore, a great pity that this book, like the previous one, should show a lack of proper arrangement and be couched in a language that is only partly understandable.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

FOLKTALES OF THE LAND OF IND, by M. N. VENKATASWAMI with a foreword by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. Madras Methodist Publishing House, 1927.

Mr. Venkataswami is a well-known student of Indian folktales, and has in this book given one more instalment of his efforts in preserving those to be found in Southern India. He states exactly the *provenance* of each tale, has classified his collection and has drawn up, evidently with much labour, an index of their contents which should be valuable to students. He has also added notes on points peculiar to India which require explanation. The book is thus of value to students in general.

The preface is somewhat grandiloquent for a book in English, but Sir N. Chandavarkar's foreword is frank and interesting. The story he tells of his childhood (p. xi) reveals a breadth of religious view on the part of purely Hindu parents, which should put to shame many a Christian teacher of childhood. Of the *Notes*, I select, for the benefit of readers of this journal, that on Gandharva Laws of Marriage (p. 17): In the absence of a priest the contracting parties enter a temple and in the presence of the deity garland themselves or throw wreaths of flowers on each other's neck and thus they are said to become man and wife in perfect legitimate manner. The right of contracting Gandharva marriages is vested in royal personages, and this too only permitted in the absence of priests.

Altogether the book is not one to be lightly set aside by the student.

R. C. TEMPLE.

LES CHANTS MYSTIQUES DE KÂṆHA ET DE SARAHA. LES DOHÂ KOṢA (en apabhraṃśa, avec les versions tibétains) et LES CARYÂ (en vieux-bengali) avec introduction, vocabulaires et notes édités et traduits par M. SHAHIDULLAH. xii + 234 pp. 8°. Paris, 1928.

Scholars interested in the study of religion, as well as in that of philology, will feel thankful to Mr. Shahidullah for providing them with an edition, with introductory and explanatory notes, of these interesting mystic songs of Kâṇha and Saraha. The *Dohâ-Koṣa* are the only Buddhist texts in Apabhraṃśa that have so far become known, and their importance has been pointed out in brief already by Professor Jacobi.[1]

To call these works Buddhist is, of course, scarcely correct, for what they preserve of the old doctrine of the followers of the Enlightened One is next to nothing. It is more suitable to speak of them as Tantric; and their vocabulary, as explained by Mr. Shahidullah (p. 9 sq.), is of the specifically Tantric trend which may well evoke interest, but which is mainly—like the doctrines it is used to interpret—of a very repulsive nature. However, in the history of Indian (and Tibetan) religion, *Tantra* has played and is playing a great rôle. And no one interested in the manifold developments of what, for want of a better name, we persist in calling Hinduism, can venture wholly to look away from it, unsavoury though it be from every point of view.

The grammatical parts of Mr. Shahidullah's work are sound and full of interest. With his etymological suggestions we are not always at one, but, having found opportunity to go into some detail elsewhere,[2] we shall not enter upon that thorny subject here. On the whole Mr. Shahidullah is to be congratulated for having achieved a good and sound piece of work.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

[1] Cp. *Sanatkumâracarita*, p. xxvii.

[2] In a review shortly to be published in *Le Monde Oriental*.

# NOTES ON KHOTAN AND LADAKH.

*(From a Tibetan point of view.)*

By Prof. A. H. FRANCKE, Ph.D.

*(Continued from vol. LVIII, p. 152.)*

## IV.

## The End of Buddhism in Turkestan.

After the year 745 A.D., when the Uigurs had beaten the other Turkish tribes, who were related to them, their power increased in Central Asia. It was only balanced by that of the Tibetans, who were, however, soon weakened by their internal religious wars, which became disastrous when king Ral-pa-can was murdered by his brother Glaṅ-dar-ma, and when Buddhists and Bonpos fought for the supremacy. These quarrels lasted till c. 840 A.D. and robbed Tibet of her entire power, so that Turkestan became an easy prey to the Turks.

As regards Islâm, it had been at the gates of the country since the eighth century, but not before the middle of the tenth century, when the ruler of Kashgar accepted its doctrines, did it become a danger. Then large portions of Turkestan were conquered by the Muhammadan Turks : Yarkand, Khotan, Kuchâ, and finally the most eastern territories. That was the time of emigration of the Turkestan Buddhists into India and Tibet. It apparently started in the days of Glaṅ-dar-ma, and continued during the tenth and eleventh centuries, coming to an end about the year 1200 A.D. It had two principal phases : the first was the enmity of the Bonpos to the Buddhists in the ninth century, and the second the enmity of the Muhammadans to the Buddhists in the tenth and eleventh centuries. This emigration is referred to in the prophecies of Li-yul and Gośriṅga. Rockhill gives an extract about it in his *Life of the Buddha*. It was found also embodied in the list of kings of Khotan, evidently in the wrong place, and had to be taken out of the context and treated as a separate chapter.

Rockhill's story (*Life of the Buddha*, p. 240 f.) is somewhat as follows : 1500 years after the Buddha's *nirvâṇa*, there was a king of Khotan, who was an unbeliever and persecuted the priests. Irreligious ministers and other enemies confiscated the buildings of the Buddhists, and so the congregation assembled in the Thsar-ma Monastery and resolved to emigrate. After a number of miracles, Vaiśravaṇa, in the shape of a white ox, led the emigrants to Thsal-byi, whence a message was sent to the king of Tibet, who at the time was the seventh successor to the king who had introduced Buddhism into Tibet. His wife was a Chinese princess, a Koṅ-jo. The king of Tibet invited them to come, and they soon arrived at Bru-shal or Gilgit. There they were joined by more emigrants from An-tse (Kuchâ), Shu-lig (Kashgar), Tokara (near Kuchâ), Gilgit and Kashmîr. In Bru-shal they were told that the king of Tibet was a Bodhisattva. They went to him, and lived for three years in peace in Tibet. Then an epidemic broke out in the country, which carried off many people. Even the queen was seized by it and died. The king thereupon ordered the emigrants to leave the country. At first they went to Gandhâra, where they became witnesses of the murder of the king by his brother, similar to that of Ral-pa-can. Finally they went to Central India, where they came to rest.

Rockhill, in searching for the Tibetan king who lived seven generations after Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, came to the conclusion that he must be Ral-pa-can, although there is no evidence that this king was married to a Chinese princess. This king might certainly have welcomed Buddhist emigrants ; but, as he could not be credited with turning them out after a stay of three years only, Rockhill decided that this unfriendly act was executed by his murderer and successor, Glaṅ-dar-ma.

Now let us leave Rockhill, and let us try to explain matters from a Tibetan point of view. As regards Tibet, the first great persecution of Buddhists certainly took place under Glaṅ-dar-ma, the Bonpo, c. 814 A.D. Although it was started in Tibet, it may have passed over to Turkestan ; for in those days Turkestan was a province of the Tibetan empire. If we examine the names of the Tibetan officers and soldiers stationed in Turkestan at that time, we notice that Buddhist names are very rare among them. Most of the names are of

the Bonpo type, and, as the Bonpos were fierce enemies of the Buddhist cause, it is only natural that they should have destroyed Buddhist sanctuaries not only in Tibet, but in Turkestan as well. These Bonpos may also have tried to seduce from Buddhism the authorities of Turkestan, the kings of Khotan and Kashgar. How far they succeeded in this attempt, we do not know. But, as it is stated in the prophecies that " there came up a king, who was not a believer," that idea may not be without foundation. Although it is very difficult in the case of the Turkestan ruins to fix the date of their destruction, Sir Aurel Stein as well as Dr. von Lecoq believe in the probability of a number of buildings being destroyed a long time before the Musulmans entered the country.

The second period of devastation is that connected with the Musulman conquest between the tenth and the twelfth centuries; and that the writer of the Khotan prophecies knew of those times also is plainly shown by his account of the emigration. He says that the Buddhist emigrants not only came from Turkestan, but from Kashmîr and Gilgit as well, and such an emigration from these last countries is only known to have occurred in Muhammadan times. The country they went to is not Lhasa-Tibet, but Ladakh or Western Tibet, Lhasa-Tibet was in a state of rebellion and turmoil for several centuries after Glaṅ-dar-ma, while Western Tibet was not only at rest and in prosperity, but was then enjoying the second establishment of Buddhism within its limits. The Guge kings are well known as heralds of the Buddhist cause, and the inscription of Tabo shows plainly that the kings of Leh were united with them in the same aim.

Let us now turn our attention to the repeated statement of the prophecies, that the king of Tibet of the time of the emigration was a Bodhisattva. It is interesting to note that one of the Ladakhî kings of those times actually had the name of Bodhisattva (Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpâ). He was a cousin of the Guge king Byaṅ-chub-'od, together with whom he is mentioned in the Tabo inscription. Byaṅ-chub-'od in 1038 A.D. invited Atîśa to Tibet, and this circumstance led to a great revival of Buddhism in that country. This period is occasionally referred to as that of the second introduction of Buddhism into Tibet, as stated before. We learn from the contemporary Tabo inscription that Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpâ of Leh was then " the great king," and Byaṅ-chub-'od of Guge was his vassal. Both monarchs seem to have taken orders, and on that occasion they may have received their Buddhist names.

The popular tradition of Ladakh has much to tell about the immigration of Kashmîr monks into Ladakh in those days, and of the erection of several monasteries.[9] And it may be that the report of the turning out of the Buddhists after a stay of only three years is not without foundation: for although the rulers may have wished to lodge all the exiled Buddhists within their territories, the productive power of the country did not allow them to keep them all. Even nowadays, the government of Kashmîr, in co-operation with the British Indian government, is obliged to limit the number of visitors to Ladakh each summer. If that were not done, the many European visitors to Ladakh would soon cause a famine. So it is quite probable that in the eleventh century the multitude of Buddhist exiles from Turkestan, Kashmîr, Gilgit (and even the Panjab) was greater than it was possible to feed in Ladakh; and the outbreak of an epidemic may have been used as a plausible reason for turning the greater part out again.

After the rigorous introduction of Islâm into Turkestan, the country deteriorated in many respects, but the influence of Chinese culture made itself felt again. This is shown by the numerous Chinese coins dating from c. 1000-1200 A.D., which are found at so many ruined sites in Turkestan. This has also been shown by our table of collected Chinese coins. Muhammadan coins are much rarer in Turkestan. As regards Buddhism and Christianity, they seem to have lingered on in poor health for some time in Turkestan, and in the days of Timûr they came to a sudden and tragical end.

As regards remains dating from these times of persecution and emigration, besides the coins mentioned above, there is not much to be shown. Paper scraps with Arabic writing are occasionally found among old Tibetan and Śâkyan rubbish but these have not yet

[9] See Lha-lun temple, M.A.S.I., No 39, p. 1.

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INDIAN CHARACTERS ON CLAY TABLETS FROM LEH, CONTAINING A *YE-DHARMA* FORMULA.
(CIRCA 1000 A.D.)

Dr. Spitzer *scripsit.*

been made an object of earnest study. But a few antiquities which come from the Ladakh side may prove to be of interest. The pilgrims from Turkestan and Kashmîr apparently brought their matrices for clay tablets, to be used at burials, with them and used them in their new Ladakhî home; and it is remarkable how many clay tablets found in Ladakh are covered with writing. In many cases this writing is not Tibetan, but an Indian script of the tenth or eleventh century. On the accompanying plate, Dr. Spitzer has collected all the Indian characters found on such tablets as come from the vicinity of Leh. As Bühler's tables show, the characters are those of c. 1000 A.D. The similarity of type and design of the tablets becomes noticeable on a comparison of some of the Leh originals with those represented in *Serindia*.

## V.

## Nubra-Khapulu.

When going to India from Turkestan, most people go by way of Yarkand. The Buddhist teacher, who is said to have taken that route from Roruka, probably also passed through that town. But as the ancient trade road lay a little to the north of the present route, the then caravanserai of Yarkand may also have been situated a little to the north of the present town. The town of Roruka has been identified by Sir Aurel Stein with Phimo or a place near by (Ho-lao-lo-chia). This is the locality where, according to Hsüan-tsang, as well as in popular tradition, the great rain of sand and jewels took place, which buried the town, whose sinful people had once covered a holy man with sand and earth, playing him a bad joke. This is one of the places of Turkestan where local tradition is in agreement with the *Divyâvadâna* tale of Roruka. Another identification is more of iconographic interest. In the treasure caves at Qyzil near Kuchâ is found a picture representing king Rudrâyana of Roruka with his wife dancing before him. (See picture No. 34 in E. Wadschmidt's *Gandhâra.*) This shows that this legend was well known in those parts of Turkestan. Now a place a little to the north-east of Yarkand is, according to my opinion, connected with another tale of the Roruka legend. When I was in Yarkand in 1914, I asked the Aksakals if they had any information of remains of Buddhist antiquities in the vicinity. They said that there was a site with ruins in the desert between Yarkand and Karghalik, which had been visited by several travellers, among them Sir George Macartney; but none of them had found anything besides an old pair of leather boots. Each disappointed archæologist had apparently buried this pair of boots again when he discovered them, and this may account for the fact that his successor had the same surprise again. This tale of the Aksakals I had almost forgotten when I was reminded of it by my study of the Roruka tale in the *Kanjur*. There we read that the teacher Mahâkâtyâyana had made up his mind to visit India. When he was on the way to the Sindhu, a goddess, who had her abode on the northern road, asked him to leave her a keepsake, that she might worship it. Then Mahâkâtyâyana remembered the following words, once pronounced by the Buddha: "In the middle land people can do without boots (*pula*) furnished with leather-straps!" Thinking of this, he made a present of his boots to the goddess. The latter ordered a sanctuary to be erected for them, which became known by the name of Pulasthandila (*lham-gyi-gzhi*). It is probably this "boots-sanctuary" which was found by all these travellers on the old Yarkand-Karghalik road. As regards the kind of boots buried here, we have a nice illustration of them in *Ancient Khotan*, plate LXI. The boots shown in this picture are of the same kind as the boots worn nowadays in Turkestan. They are much used on long rides in winter.

When travelling to Ladakh by way of Yarkand, the first country with traces of cultivation reached after a long march of nearly 20 days across the Kuen-lun, Karakorum, the Dabzang-plain and the Sa-ser glacier, is Nubra. The name of this province is Tibetan and means 'western district.' [The name occurs already in a document of the eighth century excavated in Turkestan (MI. IV, 8).] It is interesting that many local names on the road, right up to the Nubra valley, are of Turkish origin, *e.g.*, Karakorum, Gumbas, Chung-tash, Korol-dawan. Also the Tibetan speaking inhabitants of Nubra are, according to Dr. K. Marx,

all able to understand a certain amount of Turkish. This is due to the Yarkand-Leh road which leads through this province of Ladakh.

As popular tradition has it, in former days Nubra formed part of Baltistân. This may be correct. As Nubra is situated on the Shayog river and on a tributary to the same, it may have formed part of the principality of Khapulu, which is found in the lower valley of the Shayog: but Khapulu also was a vassal state of the Ladakh kingdom, at least during the last centuries of this empire. In earlier times Khapulu seems to have been independent and a dangerous rival of Ladakh. That was in the days of the famous king Stobs-yab-sgo-pa, who is called Sultân Yagu in Cunningham's list of Khapulu kings. [Yagu developed from the Tibetan *Yab-sgo (pa)*.] In Cunningham's list Sultân Yagu is placed eighteen generations before Sultân Bairâm, who can be dated, and belongs to the sixteenth century. Eighteen generations would mean about six centuries, so that we should have to place him in the tenth century. This king Stobs-yab-sgo-pa is also found named in the Zańs-dkar *Chronicle*. There he appears as the robber of the queen, and is placed in those early days when Zańs-dkar was still part of the Kashmîr state, that is previous to 1000 A.D. In a popular song (see *Ind. Antiquary*, 1909, Ten Ancient Historical Songs, No. IV), we hear of Yab-sgo-pa's victory over the Ladakhîs on the shores of Lake Mon-dur. This lake, which was not yet identified when this song was published, can be located now. It is the lake Thso-mo-ri-ri (Tsomorari on the map) of Rub-cu. On the lake is situated the solitary monastery of Dkor-mdzod, and in its vicinity are found ancient graves called *mon-dur*, that is 'graves of the Mons' (Indian mountain tribes). About one point we may be certain. In the days of old king Yab-sgo-pa the religion of the principality of Khapulu, including that of Nubra, was Buddhism. When Islâm entered Baltistân we do not know for certain, but it appears that it did not enter all parts of the country at the same time.

From the first part of the sixteenth century we have, however, some little information. At that time Khapulu was ruled by Sultân Bairâm, who lived occasionally in Nubra, where he left an inscription, in which he is called Bhagram-mir. Going by this name, he was apparently a confessor of Muhammadanism. In Nubra he was suddenly overtaken by the Turkomans (*c.* 1532 A.D.) who had crossed the Karakorum range and the Sa-ser pass. He had to choose between taking their side or giving up his rule altogether. He elected to take the former course, and as Bahram Chu (Jo) he showed them the way to the principality of Shigar. Thus we read in Mîrzâ Haidar's *Târîkh-i-Rashîdî*. At this point the history of Nubra seems to branch off from the history of Khapulu. Khapulu as well as its chief, Sultân Bairâm, became entirely Muhammadan, whilst Nubra under Thse-dbań-brtan-pa and, after him, under the Ladakhî kings, remained Buddhist. That this Mughal invasion of Khapulu took place about the time when it changed its religion, is further indicated by the age of the principal mosque of Khapulu, Chag-Chang, which is believed to be 400 years old. (See Miss Duncan's *Summer Ride*, pp. 200-239.) Thse-dbań-brtan-pa was apparently one of the last native rulers of Nubra and, probably, of Khapulu origin. His name is found in an inscription from Sńun-dar (Hundar), where also his son, Mgon-po-rnam-rgyal, is mentioned. Later inscriptions give only the names of Ladakhî kings, who made Nubra their summer resort and called it Ldum-ra, or 'fruit-garden.' The first Ladakhî king who paid a long visit to Nubra was Grags-pa-'abum (1400-1440 A.D.), the founder of the Rnam-rgyal dynasty of Ladakh. His name is found in an inscription at Khyuń-rdzoń-mkhar, the castle of Sńun-dar.

The principality of Khapulu remained in the hands of the Ladakhî kings when it had become Muhammadan. Every now and then, the Chief of Khapulu was attacked by one or other of the Baltî tribes during the seventeenth or eighteenth century, and in every case he promptly applied to the Ladakhîs for help. (See *Minor Chronicles*, XVI, XVII.)

At first sight it may appear astonishing that the valley of the Shayog river was divided so distinctly into a Muhammadan and a Buddhist half. The reason for this fact may be found in the character of the road along the Shayog river from east to west, which, after

leaving Nubra, is so bad that hardly anybody can venture to travel on it : it is hardly ever used nowadays. In spite of this difficulty of communication between Nubra and Khapulu proper, Muhammadanism has ventured on another raid into Nubra, and has been successful in one respect. It has conquered the lowest castes of inhabitants of Nubra, *viz.*, the castes of the blacksmiths and musicians. They have become adherents of the Shia sect. These people dress quite differently from the rest of the population of Nubra. The hair of the men is no longer plaited into a long pigtail, but allowed to hang down over the ears at half length, similar to the modern custom of European ladies. Also the cap worn by the musicians is that of the Baltîs. As Nubra has got this little touch of Muhammadanism, Khapulu has also preserved a few relics of its former Buddhism. Let me mention first of all the telescopic trumpets, which are found in all Lamaistic monasteries. They were not abandoned in Khapulu, when the state became Muhammadan, but were kept up and used at every festivity of whatever character. Then when Dr. de Filippi visited this country, he found there the ruins of stoves for burning the dead. This custom also was given up on the change of religion, for the Muhammadans bury their dead. It is very probable that on proper search several inscriptions of the Lamaistic formula *Om-maṇi-padme-hum* will be found in Khapulu, as have actually come to light at the neighbouring town of Khar-maṅ : but up to the present nobody has searched the country properly.

A still further attack of the Muhammadans on Nubra was made at a later date, *viz.*, during the reign of king Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, in the first part of the sixteenth century. The mother of this king, the daughter of the Baltî chief 'Alî Mîr Sher K͟hân, who had married 'aJam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal, remained Muhammadan all her lifetime. She is credited with the erection of three mosques : (1) one in Leh, (2) one in Tiṅ-mo-sgaṅ and (3) one in Sṅun-dar (Hundar) in Nubra. This queen died when on a visit to Nubra, and was buried in front of her own mosque. The peasant who had to look after the grave became a Buddhist in later years. This did not hinder him from performing his duties, and he regularly lighted the lamp inside the mosque. But after his death decay set in, and the mosque soon became a heap of ruins, when suddenly in 1918, the Muhammadans of Sṅun-dar (the musicians) woke up to their duty, and rebuilt the mosque.

When I travelled through the Nubra valley in 1914, I found no antiquities of importance until I entered the side valley of mKhar-gsar ('new castle'), below mKhar-rdzoṅ. (All the inscriptions mentioned above had already been traced by some of my Tibetan friends on former visits to the valley.) This place (mKhar-gsar) is situated on a little brook, a tributary of the Shayog, and consists of four farms nowadays. As the site round about the houses is filled up with extensive ruins of *stûpas*, visitors are led to believe that here must be the site of a former Buddhist establishment of some importance. Besides the *stûpas*, there were several graves, and we noticed that many of the *stûpas* were filled with Buddhist clay tablets inscribed with an ancient type of Indian characters, which date from early mediæval times. As stated above, these tablets may point to the period of emigration of Buddhist monks from Turkestan, Kashmîr and India. My companion, Dr. Körber, took several photos of this interesting site. I never heard of the fate of these pictures, and was highly astonished to find them as illustrations in Laufer's *Milaraspa*, published in the *Folkwang Verlag*.

One local name found in Nubra, and mentioned above, is of historical importance ; it is the name of the town of Sṅun-dar (Hundar). The word *sṅun-dar* or *sṅon-dar* is found in the report of the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet. There it is stated that the times from Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po to Glaṅ-dar-ma, *viz.*, 600-830 A.D., are called *sṅun-dar* or 'first spread' of Buddhism. Then follows a period of downfall and persecution. After the year 1000 A.D., when Atîśa visited Tibet, follows a period called *phyi-dar* or 'later spread' (of Buddhism). The local name of Sṅun-dar, found in Nubra, seems to testify to the fact that Buddhism was introduced here during the times of the first spread of Buddhism.

*(To be continued.)*

## SOME REMARKS ON THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ.

BY PROF. JARL CHARPENTIER, PH D., UPSALA.

### I.

THE Bhagavadgītā since a very remote period occupies a high position among the sacred books of the Hindus. Of native commentaries, composed by more or less famous authors from the great Śaṃkara onwards there is certainly no lack : and modern scholars, European, Hindu, and American, have produced an astounding mass of books and papers dealing with this famous text from various points of view.[1] However, many problems connected with the Bhagavadgītā still remain unsolved, and there is not even unity of opinion among scholars concerning the elementary questions of the origin and development of the poem. Such being the case, it may perhaps be pardonable if a scholar who, like the present writer, can lay claim to no special authority on problems of this wide scope, still ventures a few remarks on some of them. It goes without saying that no final solutions will probably be reached within the scope of the following scanty pages : however, a few scattered remarks will perhaps not be found altogether without value. It also goes without saying that of all literature, ancient and modern, connected with the Bhagavadgītā only very little can be taken into account here. That a certain book or paper is not quoted in the following pages does not, however, necessarily mean, that it has not come under the writer's perusal.[2] These short preliminary remarks may serve alike as an explanation of, and an excuse for, the pages that follow.

* * *

To the Indian commentators, quite naturally, the problem of the original shape of the Bhagavadgītā does not present itself. To them it has always been a text of great authority and sanctity, an *upaniṣad* (as it styles itself) or a *smṛti*,[3] and there could, of course, be no question of criticising it according to the principles of European scholarship. Already at a very early time a completely uniform text of the Gītā with next to no *variæ lectiones* had been established : and although we now know, thanks to the learned investigations of Professor F. O. Schrader, that there does really exist another and more extensive text of the poem, this one does not seem to have played any important part with the Hindu *paṇḍits* of yore.[4] Textual problems as we know them scarcely exist in India ; and they would, of course, be totally non-existent in the case of a text enjoying the enormous authority of the Gītā.

The Bhagavadgītā, through the translation of Sir Charles Wilkins (1785)[5] became known in Europe during the very infancy of Sanskrit studies, and soon evoked great interest and admiration. In 1823 A. W. von Schlegel edited a critical text of the poem together with a Latin translation, which is still perhaps the best one available.[6] And in 1826 there appeared a paper by the great Wilhelm von Humboldt, entitled *Ueber die unter dem Namen*

[1] A good and fairly complete bibliography is found in the preface of the Dutch translation of the Bhagavadgītā by Boissevain (3rd ed., 1919).

[2] It seems, however, unfortunate that I have not had access to a paper by Mr. D. S. Sarma in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, vol. iii, pt. i, entitled *One of the Sources of the Bhagavadgītā*.

[3] According to the commentaries, the author of the *Brahmasūtras* considered the Bhagavadgītā to be a *smṛti*. To this question we shall return presently.

[4] Cp., however, Schrader, *Festgabe R. von Garbe*, p. 178 f.

[5] This translation is generally said to have been the first one of a Sanskrit work printed in Europe. That, however, is scarcely quite correct, as already the well-known book by Abr. Roger *De Open-deure tot het verborgen Heydendom* (1651, reprinted by Professor Caland in 1915) contained, as an appendix, a translation of the *Vairāgya-* and *Nīti-Śataka*. Translations from Sanskrit that were possibly made by Jesuit Fathers have so far not been published.

[6] Schlegel's edition was extensively reviewed by several scholars, amongst others by Langlois, *JA.*, iv, 105 f., 236 f. ; v, 240 f. ; vi, 232 f. Against this rather severe and partial review Schlegel defended himself (*JA.*, ix, 3 f.), and he was strongly defended by von Humboldt, *Ind. Bibl.*, ii, 219 f., 328 f.

*Bhagavadgītā bekannte Episode des Mahābhārata*, which is still not only readable but one of the most important that has hitherto been published on the subject of the Gītā.[7]

Humboldt, apart from his philosophical remarks, which may here be left alone, made some sagacious observations on the original shape of the work (p. 46 f.). That it was from the beginning divided into chapters or cantos seemed to him a natural conclusion. He found, however, that the poem could be brought to a perfectly befitting end by stopping with the eleventh canto and adding to this the verses xviii. 63—78. Canto xviii again, according to him, marks no real stop, as after it there might as well follow any number of chapters. Humboldt also called attention to the obvious differences that prevail between cantos i—xi on the one hand and xii—xviii on the other.

These sagacious observations have, however, been generally left unnoticed. During the eighty years that passed between the publication of Humboldt's paper and the first edition of Garbe's translation (1905) but little was suggested concerning the original shape of the Gītā. Thus Weber[8] regarded the poem as having been patched together from various pieces, and Holtzmann[9] forty years later (1893) was not averse to the suggestion that the Bhagavadgītā had undergone more than one redaction. Hopkins[10] also found that the Gītā had "clearly been rewritten by a modernising hand," and that on the ground of its contents and metre alike. And Deussen,[11] to depart slightly from the chronological order, found that the Gītā had been put together from three fairly equal pieces, *viz.*, an ethical one (cantos i—vi), a metaphysical one (cantos vii—xii), and a psychological one (cantos xiii—xviii). Probably no one with the exception of Deussen himself ever felt fully convinced that such could have been the case.

But of the efforts to divide up the whole of the Bhagavadgītā into widely differing parts none has become more famous than that of the late Professor Garbe.[12] His theories are too well known to need any detailed repetition. He sees in the present Gītā the result of two quite different redactions: in the old and original one the cult of the supreme God Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu is based on the philosophical system of the Sāṃkhya-Yoga, while the later redaction tries to graft upon this uniform and logical exposition the pantheistic doctrines of the Vedānta. Thus this curious jumble of discrepancies and illogical arguments resolves itself into what is really two different works. To Garbe, who cherished these opinions, the quite obvious conclusion was that it would be possible to divide the poem into these two different parts. And consequently we find that in his translation he printed with different styles the original part and the Vedantic additions of the poem. The result of this analysis is that out of the 700 verses of the Gītā, 170 are rejected as being later additions. Garbe, of course, does not claim absolute authority for his statements, and he willingly admits that there may still be some verses that have escaped his criticism.

Several scholars expressed their unhesitating acceptance of Garbe's theories: and the present writer well remembers that at one time, shortly after he had commenced his Sanskrit studies, they were quite fashionable. The scholar who gave his most unreserved applause to them was one of great authority, *viz.*, Professor Winternitz.[13] Not only was he quite at one with Garbe in rejecting those 170 verses, but he wanted to delete from the original poem another 200 verses, which seemed to him to be of a later date. However, his otherwise most sound judgment seems momentarily to have left him, when he looks upon the dry and

7 This paper has been printed in the *Abh. d. hist.-phil. Klass. d. Kgl. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1826, pp. 1-64.

8 Cp. *Ind. Stud.*, ii, 394.

9 Cp. *Das Mahābhārata und seine Teile*, ii, 163 f.

10 *The Great Epic of India*, p. 234 f.; cp. also p. 225, and Garbe, *Die Bhagavadgītā*, p. 24, n. 1.

11 Cp. *Der Gesang des Heiligen, eine philosophische Episode des Mahābhāratam* (1911).

12 Cp. *Die Bhagavadgītā aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt mit einer Einleitung über ihre ursprüngliche Gestalt, ihre Lehren und ihr Alter* (1905: 2nd ed., 1921); cp. also *Indien und das Christenthum* (1914), p. 228 f.

13 Cp. *VOJ.* xxi, 194 f.

uninspiring canto xii as being the very acme of Gītā poetry, while the sublime canto xi appears to him to be quite miserable trash. We feel sorry to admit that in this case Professor Winternitz's arguments seem to us just as little conclusive and convincing as those proffered by Garbe himself.

However, Garbe's theory did not meet with acceptance from all sides. Opposition came from scholars of very great authority, such as Oldenberg and Professor Jacobi, an opposition upon which we shall shortly dwell.

Oldenberg, in an article called *Bemerkungen zur Bhagavadgītā*,[14] somewhat strongly criticised the theories of Garbe from two different points of view. He himself, like some other scholars,[15] has made it highly probable that there existed once an older *seśvara sāṃkhya*, which did not deny the existence of *brahman*, the Universal Soul. The argumentation of Oldenberg as usual shows his brilliant *sens commun*, and we cannot abstain from quoting the following words, which ought to be carefully borne in mind by every scholar concerned with Indian modes of thought: "Trifft dies[16] zu, so entfällt damit die Möglichkeit, aus dem Durcheinandergehen von Ausserungen, welche die charakteristische Sprache des Sāṃkhya reden und von Bekenntnissen zum Brahman auf Übereinanderlagerung verschiedener Schichten zu schliessen. Wer diesen Schluss zieht, scheint mir allzusehr in den Anschauungen der grossen klassischen Lehrtexte und der Polemiken, die in späterer Zeit zwischen Sāṃkhya and Vedānta hin und her gingen, befangen zu sein, das fertig entwickelte in die Zeit, wo die Entwicklung noch im Fliessen war, zu übertragen." Oldenberg also emphasizes the need of carefulness in suggesting the existence of an original *nirīśvara yoga*. We should like to add that the very nature of the Yoga appears to us totally to preclude such a supposition.[17]

However, Oldenberg also attacked Garbe's theories in detail, proving by numerous examples that the verses rejected by this scholar did often destroy the connection of ideas pervading different cantos, and that consequently this method of rejecting all the verses savouring of Vedānta could only lead to further confusion.[18] It seems to the present writer that everyone who carefully reads through the original text together with Garbe's translation can only whole-heartedly subscribe to this criticism by Oldenberg. To quote only one instance which has been partly touched upon by Oldenberg; Garbe rejects the verse iv, 24:

*brahmārpaṇam brahma havir brahmāgnau brahmaṇā hutam* |
*brahmaiva tena gantavyam brahmakarmasamādhinā*

but wants to keep the following one (iv, 25);

*daivam evāpare yajñaṃ yoginaḥ paryupāsate* |
*brahmāgnāv apare yajñaṃ yajñenaivopajuhvati*

This, of course, is pure assumption; but it becomes even worse when we find that in the translation the first *brahmāgnau* is rendered by: "das Brahman ist im Opferfeuer," while the second one is said to mean: "in dem Feuer der Heiligkeit"! The following verses (iv, 26—30), which describe various kinds of sacrifices, are all preserved by Garbe, who, however, rejects the concluding one (iv, 32):

*evam bahuvidhā yajñā vitatā brahmaṇo mukhe* |
*karmajān viddhi tān sarvān evaṃ jñātvā vimokṣyase* ||

A method which operates in this way seems to me worse than no method at all.

14 *Nachrichten d. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1919, p. 321 f.

15 Cp. Oldenberg, *Die Lehre der Upanishaden*, p. 206 f.; *Nachrichten d. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1917, p. 218 f., as well as Dahlmann, *Die Sāṃkhya-Philosophie*, p. 5, and Edgerton, *A. J. Phil.*, xlv, p. 7 f.

16 Viz., the suggested existence of the *Seśvara Sāṃkhya*.

17 Cp. also Jacobi, *Deutsche Lit. Zeit.*, 1921, 721 f.

18 Oldenberg admits that the vv. iii, 9-18, which contain the general theory of sacrifice, may possibly be an interpolation. This may be possible, or even probable, but not on the grounds adduced by Garbe. Cp. also Jacobi, *Deutsche Lit. Zeit.*, 1921, 720 f.

If, however, Oldenberg's criticism must needs evoke our consent, his own reconstruction of the original Bhagavadgītā would scarcely do so to the same degree. After all, Oldenberg finds that the first great part of the poem ends with canto vi, and the second with canto xii, while the last six cantos are to him obviously a later addition.[19] His arguments, and seemingly also his results, are different from those of Deussen ; but on the whole he has, like him, divided up the poem in an unnatural and nowise convincing way.

After the issue of Garbe's second edition Professor Jacobi published a review of his book, which drew from the translator a somewhat spirited reply and gave rise to still more articles from the two combatants.[20] The arguments, however, are chiefly of a philosophical nature and cannot be repeated here. All that can be said is that Professor Jacobi, with his unsurpassed mastery of the later philosophical *sūtras*, has made out a seemingly strong case for himself but which would scarcely be very convincing to anyone who did not for other reasons doubt the validity of Garbe's theories. The latter scholar's first reply seems rather happy, and he is, for example, no doubt right in his suggestion that the date of the Brahmasūtras cannot be fixed with any certainty in the way attempted by Professor Jacobi. The two last contributions to the discussion however, are mainly a display of learning, which in this case can lead to no tangible result.

Garbe's theory of a theistic (Sāṃkhya) and a pantheistic[21] (Vedānta) Bhagavadgītā that have been melted into one can scarcely be refuted on purely historical reasons, as we are too fragmentarily informed of the chronological interrelations of the various philosophical systems. And the judgment of his method in rejecting or preserving verses will always be purely subjective, although to an unbiassed mind it seems obvious that he has rather spoilt the text than restored it. However, Garbe's argumentation, of course, presupposes that Sāṃkhya (Yoga) and Vedānta existed as real philosophical systems at the time of the first and second redaction of the Bhagavadgītā. For, only if they did exist as such and are, within the text of the Gītā, discernible as such, can there be any talk of separating the special tenets of each philosophical system in the way that Garbe has tried to do it. That this is not the case has, however, been proved in an incontrovertible way by Professor Edgerton in an excellent article,[22] which has attracted by far too little attention. We shall allow ourselves to quote a few conclusive words from that (p. 5 f.), words that prove without possibility of refutation the exact state of things as far as the Gītā is concerned : '*Nowhere*[23] *is there a suggestion that it*[24]*—or Yoga either—means any particular system of metaphysical truth.* In the Gītā Sānkhya and Yoga are not metaphysical, speculative systems, not what we should call philosophies at all, but ways of gaining salvation ; *that and nothing else.* Moreover, that and nothing else is what they are in all Indian literature until a late time—until far down in the Christian era.'[25] If such be the case- and I cannot think that anybody

[19] Oldenberg, following Professor F. O. Schrader (and Professor Jacobi), thinks that the real Gītā begins with the verse ii, 39 : *eṣā te 'bhihitā sāṃkhye buddhir yoge tv imāṃ śṛṇu buddhyā yukto yathā Pārtha karmabandhaṃ prahāsyasi.* We shall return to this point presently.

[20] Cp. Jacobi, *Deutsche Lit. Zeit.*, 1921, 715 f. ; 1922, 265 f. ; Garbe *ibid.*, 1922, 97 f., 604 f.

[21] Certain German scholars—e.g., Professors Otto and von Glasenapp—nowadays prefer a new expression 'theopanistic' or 'theopantistic' instead of 'pantheistic.' *Chacun a son goût* ; but it scarcely seems possible that a term, senseless in itself, should gain any permanent favour.

[22] *A.J.Phil.*, vol. xlv, pp. 1-46.

[23] *Viz.*, in the Bhagavadgītā.

[24] *Viz.*, Sāṃkhya.

[25] In the last part of his article (p. 36 f.) Professor Edgerton has nicely defined the real sense of the words *sāṃkhya* and *yoga*. The first one according to him means something like 'method (of salvation) based on calculation,' the second one means 'disciplined activity,' etc. "Sānkhya seeks salvation by *knowing* something ; yoga by *doing* something." The present writer long ago (*ZDMG.*, lxv, 846 f., in a review of Professor Tuxen's excellent Yoga book) had suggested that yoga in reality means something like 'practice' (the *practical* division of the sāṃkhya-yoga system which is in reality one, cp. *ekaṃ sāṃkhyaṃ ca yogaṃ ca yaḥ paśyati sa paśyati*, etc.) ; and he feels very pleased to find his humble suggestion fully corroborated by a scholar so well at home in these matters as is Professor Edgerton. On a curious use of the word *yoga* (= *nyāya* or *vaiśeṣika*) cp. K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya, *JRAS.*, 1927, p. 854 f.

would be able to controvert the argumentation of Professor Edgerton—there can, of course, be no talk whatsoever about separating the tenets of different philosophical systems within the Gītā—simply because there are none.[26] And in such case we need not further trouble ourselves with the ingenious but impossible theories of Garbe.

Other scholars go to the opposite extreme and find in the Bhagavadgītā a work of complete and insoluble unity. For instance, Professor Oltramare, in a lecture presented to the 17th Congress of Orientalists at Oxford, which has since been printed,[27] considers that the whole of the Gītā, as we have it now, belonged to the original Mahābhārata, and that this text is a uniform whole and without any internal discrepancies. A young Sanskritist, M. Étienne Lamotte, whose name we meet with for the first time in a recently published work,[28] holds much the same opinion, and we come to know through him that other renowned scholars, like MM. de la Vallée Poussin and Formichi, are also convinced of the original unity of the Gītā. With all due respect to these prominent authorities we would fain suggest that if the unity of the poem can possibly be maintained on purely philosophical grounds, it cannot be upheld because of the manifold other difficulties that would ensue from such a theory. The opinions of these scholars are the reverse of those of Garbe: but in reality they are just as unacceptable.

We shall, however, now make an end with this rapid survey of former opinions and put forth in the following our own modest suggestions.

* * *

Some twenty years ago Professor F. O. Schrader published a short but important paragraph[29] on what he called the 'old' Bhagavadgītā. In this passage he gave it as his opinion that the original Gītā, which belonged to a 'pre-Vaiṣṇavite Mahābhārata,' came to an end with the verse ii, 38, of the present text. To this oldest Gītā there might, however, possibly have been added a few more *ślokas* of the same tenor ere the Bhāgavatas fixed upon it and made it the introduction to the present text.

Several years later Professor Jacobi in a short paper[30] arrived at results which are not very unlike the conclusion of Professor Schrader. Jacobi regards canto i of the present Gītā as belonging to the original epic text; and out of canto ii he selected verses 1—6, 9—12, 18, 25—27 and 30—37, to which he has finally added xviii, 73, as a fitting conclusion to the whole. He emphasizes, however, that this reconstruction is only a tentative one.

In a similar way Oldenberg[31] wanted to reconstruct the oldest part of the Gītā. According to him it should have consisted of canto i and canto ii, vv. 1—38. Still he admits the possibility of vv. 26—27 and 38 being later additions.

*(To be continued.)*

[26] Professor Edgerton's conclusions should not be contested because *sāṃkhya* and *yoga* are mentioned in the Kauṭilīya. First of all that work does not with certainty belong to the fourth century B.C.; and then the translation of the words *sāṃkhyaṃ yogo lokāyataṃ cety ānvīkṣikī*, which have been badly misinterpreted, has been put right by Professor Winternitz (*Indologica Pragensia*, i. 2 f.)

[27] Cp. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. xcvii, p. 161 f.)

[28] *Notes sur la Bhagavadgītā* (Société Belge d'Études Orientales), Paris, 1929.

[29] Cp. *ZDMG.*, lxiv (1910), p. 339 f.

[30] *ZDMG.*, lxxii (1918), p. 323 f.

[31] Cp. *Nachrichten d. Ges. d. Wiss. Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1919, p. 332 f. Oldenberg, *l.c.*, p. 334, n. 1, quite correctly criticises the very formal way in which Professor Jacobi has tried to explain the words *anāryajuṣṭam asvargyam akīrtikaram* in ii, 2.

# ORIGIN OF THE CASTE SYSTEM IN INDIA.

BY THE LATE S. CHARLES HILL.

I. *The Caste System peculiar to India and its bond of union.*—Of all the many strange things with which the European meets in India, the strangest is the Caste System. At first it may appear ludicrous or even cruel and repellent, but the more one sees and thinks of it, the more it grips the imagination, until at last it gets to be simple, natural and inevitable. On this subject Professor Vincent Smith (*Oxford History of India*, 1923, pp. ix-x) writes :—"The political unity of all India, though never attained perfectly in fact, always was the ideal of the people throughout the centuries........The diverse peoples of India have developed a peculiar type of culture or civilization utterly different from any other type in the world. That civilization may be summed up in the term Hinduism. India primarily is a Hindu country, the land of the Brahmans, who have succeeded by means of peaceful penetration, not by the sword, in carrying their ideas into every corner of India. Caste, the characteristic Brahman institution, utterly unknown in Burma, Tibet and other border lands, dominates the whole of India and exercises no small influence over the powerful Muhammadan minority." And again (*ibid.*, p. 42) :—"Talk about the abolition or even the automatic extinction of caste is futile.......The system grew up of itself in remote antiquity because it suited India, and will last for untold centuries because it still suits India on the whole, in spite of its many inconveniences. Hindu society without caste is inconceivable. Reformers must be content to make the best of a system which cannot be destroyed."

II. *Nature of Caste. Its strength and power of absorption.*—The word *Caste* is of Portuguese origin and simply denotes Purity, *i.e.*, Purity of Birth or Breed. Under this system the whole Hindu population is divided into distinct groups, the members of any one of which neither eat with nor intermarry with the members of any other, and even in some cases consider themselves defiled by the touch or even shadow of members of certain of the lowest groups. Whilst the system is aristocratic in that birth is considered essential to the possession of certain qualities, it is democratic in the fact that the system is based solely on the goodwill of the whole of the people, that the members of each group are all theoretically on an equal footing and that the importance of a man is based on character and not on wealth, rank, position or even ability.

How strong the system is, is shown, as Dr. Farquhar tells us (Smith's *Oxford History*, p. 261), by the fact that Caste has found its way back into every Hindu sect that has disowned it. It has absorbed whole bodies of invaders like the Marâṭhâs. It has even affected people protected by definite and clearly stated forms of religion, which teach the equality and brotherhood of all men, like the Muhammadans and the Portuguese, who have been long settled in the country. The descendants of the Portuguese in the Sundarbans are said to have formed themselves at one time into seven castes.

III. *Increase in the number of castes intended to preserve Caste Purity.*—Accepting absolutely its divine origin. Hindus will sacrifice anything and everything to the preservation of the purity of their caste, yet, whilst any cause, however slight or accidental, is considered sufficient reason for expulsion from one's caste, the usual punishment, if it can so be called, is the formation of a new caste when the breach is great or intentional, and of a sub-caste when it is slight or accidental. Thus the expulsion or secession of one or more members from a caste merely results in the formation of a new caste or sub-caste, pure in itself and leaving the purity of the parent caste undefiled. The final effect of this particularity, continued through many centuries, is that now there are more than 2,000 castes or sub-castes which, in respect of their modes of origin, have been classed in the *Imperial Gazetteer* under the following types, *viz.* :—(1) Tribal, (2) Functional or Occupational, (3) Sectarian, (4) Castes formed by crossing, (5) National, showing traces of more elaborate organization than the Tribal, (6) Castes formed by migration and (7) Castes formed by changes of custom. But neither from this classification, nor from the arrangement of all the castes into a list of graduated importance, as has been attempted for the purposes of the Census, is any light thrown upon the origin of Caste.

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IV. *The four original castes.*—In fact such mechanical treatment of the subject tends rather to increased obscurity, and we have to go back to the ancient tradition, in accordance with which all Hindus were originally divided into four castes only, *viz.*, "The Brahmans, destined to fulfil the high functions of spiritual priesthood and to show the way of salvation to their fellowmen, [who] issue from the head of the Creator ; the Kshatriyas, endowed with physical force and destined to undergo the fatigues of war, [who] have their origin in the shoulders and arms of Brahma ; the Vaiśyas, whose duty it is to provide the food, the clothing and other bodily necessities of man, [who] are born in the belly of the god ; and the Sudras, whose lot is servitude and rude labour in the fields, [who] issue from his feet." (Abbé Dubois, *Hindu Manners and Customs*, p. 47.) Of these castes, the first three are considered twice-born and are entitled to wear the sacred thread, though the Vaiśya receives it only upon marriage. From this it will be seen that the Hindu legislators, like all social legislators, holding as a cardinal principle (*Dubois*, p. 30) that every member of the community should be useful, prescribed for each caste its peculiar public duty, but as State exigencies often ignore all rules, so also they allowed the necessary latitude. Thus we are told by Dubois (pp. 31-32) : "It must here be remarked, however, that the four great professions without which a civilized nation could not exist, namely the army, agriculture, commerce and weaving, are held everywhere in the highest esteem. All castes from the Brahman to the Pariah are permitted to follow the first three, and the fourth can be followed by all the principal classes of Sudras." From this we may, perhaps, conclude that, originally, it was not so much the occupation as the way in which and the motives from which it was followed that distinguished the different castes.

All Hindus, included in the hundreds (the *Imperial Gazetteer* says nearly 2,400) of now existent castes, belong to one or other of the four original castes and some suppose, therefore, that the whole Caste System is only the Indian modification of a division of Society into four classes—priests, warriors, cultivators and artisans—such as once existed in Persia, Egypt and Arabia ; but if that were all that is to be said upon the subject, why should the system have collapsed everywhere else and yet retained such extraordinary vitality in India ?

V. *Suggested reason and occasion for the institution of the Hindu Caste System, viz., the necessity of finding a stable system of Society after the breakdown of an older civilization.*—The Article on Caste in the *Imperial Gazetteer* (I, 348) concludes with the statement that "the origin of Caste is, from the nature of the case, an insoluble problem. We can only frame more or less plausible conjectures, derived from the analogy of observed facts." This is certainly true if by *origin* we mean the name of its author and the date of its institution, but, if we mean the *cause* and *object*, I think it is one of those things, like names in large letters on a crowded map, the very obviousness of which makes them hard to discern. If it can be shown that any course of intelligent action or thought leads definitely and inevitably to a particular end, desirable or otherwise, it is, I think, not unreasonable to suppose that this end was the cause or motive, *i.e.*, the origin, of that course of action or thought. In this case, as Vincent Smith observes (*Oxford History*, p. 41) :—"The chief attribute of the Caste System is its stability." Is it then not more than probable that the reason for establishing this system was the hope that in it would be found a permanent basis for a stable form of Society ? Again, if it is clear that a particular course of action or thought would, in all probability, be suggested by only one particular kind of event, and if it were known that such events had repeatedly happened in times not far removed, is it not most probable that such an event did actually happen and did furnish the occasion for that course of action or thought ? Now the search for a more stable form of Society would not suggest itself as a problem for serious consideration in a time of social rest or peace, but would be most likely to do so after some great upheaval like a revolution or *coup-d'état* or after some great catastrophe like a foreign conquest, followed by the breakdown of the Social system and resulting, in the former case, in the slaughter or flight of the late rulers and, in the latter case, in the flight of those of the conquered people, naturally

the boldest and most intelligent, who refused to submit to the yoke of a foreign and perhaps barbarous conqueror. In the case of the Aryans I do not think it likely that they left their original home in consequence of a rebellion or *coup-d'état* which expelled a dethroned prince or an unpopular teacher, because in that case the very fidelity which had caused them to follow him into exile would almost certainly have caused them to perpetuate and not, as the Aryans did, conceal or even forget his name. I think it more probable that they were the refugee remnant of a conquered people, who would not submit to their conquerors and, with their priests and petty chiefs, set out for a new country. Under such circumstances their leaders, horrified at what had happened, might well have cast about in their minds to discover what were the causes of decay that had brought about the fall of their State and have anxiously sought for some system of Society, which offered a greater probability of permanent strength or which would, at any rate, enable them to retain their social organization and so bear such a catastrophe with equanimity. That the Caste System is capable of achieving the latter object is shown by the energy with which the Hindus adhere to it, at the same time as they show an apparently extraordinary apathy to the form of government and indifference to changes in it, which has attracted the attention of many observers of Indian life and to which I shall have occasion to refer again. We now know that, in what we are still forced to call prehistoric times, more than one great civilization rose and fell either from internal decay or overwhelming external pressure. Is it not then most likely that the reason why the Aryan invaders of India, a cultured people as we gather from their early literature, left their own country to seek a new home was some such great catastrophe and that the Caste System was the system devised by them to prevent the possibility of its recurrence or, if it occurred, still to retain their Social System ?

VI. *Reason why the name of the Hindu Legislator is unknown.*—It has already been observed that the Hindus ascribe the origin of the Caste System to divine inspiration, as Manu (*Institutes of Manu* compiled by the sage Bhrigu between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D. See Vincent Smith's *Oxford History*, p. 42) taught in symbolic language, when he said that the four great castes sprang directly from the body of Brahma. But in order that any teaching, divine or human, shall be immediately and willingly accepted by the masses it must be in complete accord with Reason and Religion, meaning here by Religion the accepted belief as to the relation of Man to the Supreme Being. It is, I think, highly probable, though our knowledge on this subject is but meagre, that the Caste System, as originally promulgated, not only appeared eminently reasonable, but was also in complete accord with the religious beliefs of the early Aryans.[1] That we do not know the name of the sage or prophet through whom the inspiration was delivered, or the time in which he lived is not really relevant, for the self-effacement, which he made the chief characteristic of the true Brahman, would naturally have prevented him from allowing his name to be known, not only as a personal duty, but in humble and pious recognition of the fact that all good ideas come to Man not of himself but from the Supreme Being. For similar reasons he would present his scheme not as a new discovery but as a reformation of modern abuses in the original divine plan.

VII. *Increase in the number of castes a means of preserving caste purity. Interrelation of the different castes. Brahman perfection. Rajput honour.*—Turning then to the Caste System as it now exists, one's first conclusion, from seeing so many castes and these daily increasing in number, would be that, far from the system forming a stable basis for Society, it encourages a blind instinct towards disintegration, but looking a little closer we see, as I have already pointed out, that the mere formation of a new caste is in itself an effort to preserve caste purity, being merely an acknowledgment of the necessity, according to the divine plan, for the creation of a new type of man, which will add to the perfection of the

1 The Abbé Dubois (*Hindu Manners*, p. 30) says :—"These ancient lawgivers ....anxious to provide durable and inviolable rules for the different castes comprising the Hindu nation, saw no surer way of attaining their object than by combining in an unmistakable manner those two great foundations of orderly government—religion and politics."

ladder or scale of castes, which is the national ideal that binds all Hindus together whatever their caste may be. Nowhere do we find amongst the Hindus any evidence of that centrifugal and hostile tendency of portions of Society to withdraw from the main body and to form Trades, Guilds and other Fraternities organised to protect their own interests against those of the community. As a new leaf draws life from, and gives life to, the plant upon which it grows, so each new caste takes strength from and, at the same time, nourishes the parent system. Further, as a matter of fact, though we talk of higher and lower castes and though the haughtiness of the Brahmans is now proverbial, no caste was originally considered superior or inferior, except in the sense that its bodily type represented a more or less advanced stage in the human habitations which must be, in turn, occupied by the Soul. The *Bhagavadgītā* says :—" The wise regard a Brahman gifted with knowledge and modesty, a cow, an elephant, a dog and a Swapaka [*i.e.*, one whose duty it is to carry out unclaimed dead bodies] as alike." In other words, though in the Sudra the body is predominant, in the Vaiśya the Reason, in the Kshatriya the Heart, and in the Brahman the Soul, all castes are equally manifestations of Brahma though of different qualities. The relation between a higher and a lower caste is then more like that between an adult and a child than that between a noble and a serf of the same nationality.

VIII. *Caste distinctions entirely dependent upon Character.*—Instead therefore of allowing ourselves to be misled by the outward show of Hinduism we must concentrate our attention on what the Hindu religious writings tell us of what is required of true members of the different castes. According to the *Bhagavadgītā*, to be truly wise one must have learnt :—

(1) To control the Body in its appetites and desires, so that it does not injure itself or impede the free action of the Soul.

(2) To act for the benefit of the community without hope of reward or even care whether one's action is successful or not, so long as one's duty, as laid down by the requirements of Caste, is performed.

(3) To act towards all others without partiality.

(4) To resign oneself with absolute patience to pain and suffering and loss and to feel no exultation in success.

" He, my servant, is dear unto me, who is free from enmity, the friend of all nature, merciful, exempt from pride and egoism, the same in pain and pleasure, patient of wrongs, contented, constantly devout, of subdued passions and firm resolves, and whose heart and mind are fixed on me alone.

" He also is my beloved, of whom mankind are not afraid and who of mankind is not afraid : who is free from the influence of joy, impatience and the dread of harm.

" He, my servant, is dear unto me, who wants nothing, is just and pure, impartial, free from distraction of mind, and who has renounced every enterprise. He also is worthy of my love, who neither rejoiceth nor findeth fault : who neither lamenteth nor coveteth, and, being my servant, hath renounced both good and evil. He also is my beloved servant, who is the same to friend and foe, in honour and dishonour, in cold and in heat, in pain and in pleasure ; who is unsolicitous about the event of things : to whom praise and blame are as one ; who is silent and pleased with whatever cometh to pass ; homeless and who is of a steady mind." (*Bhagavadgītā*, XII.) In other words, to fit oneself for the position of a Ruler, one must have overcome all human weaknesses and renounced all material rewards. This is possible for the Brahman born, almost if not wholly impossible for any other. It is not necessary to enter upon the requirements of other castes, for the above is sufficient to show that what differentiates them is simply Character, and we can appreciate what Elphinstone says (Smith's ***Oxford History***, pp. 431-2) of the Rajputs, who are Kshatriyas :—" A Rajput warrior, so long as he does not dishonour his race, seems almost indifferent to the result of any contest he is engaged in." For all castes the saying of the *Bhagavadgītā* holds good, *viz.* :—

" One's own duty [*i.e.*, *dharma* or caste rules] though defective, is better than another's duty well performed. Better is death in one's own duty : another's duty is full of danger."

(*To be continued.*)

# BOOK-NOTICES.

VEDISCHE MYTHOLOGIE, von Alfred Hillebrandt; second and revised edition in 2 vols.: vol. I, 9½"×6¼"; pp. 547. Breslau, 1927.

All Sanskritists are familiar with the late Professor Hillebrandt's long-pursued and deep study of the Vedas. This is a second and revised edition of his *Vedische Mythologie*. The matter has been re-arranged and many improvements made in the manner of presenting it, while several portions have been rewritten. After preliminary sections on Uṣas, the Aśvins and Agni, the main portion of the volume is devoted to the elaboration of his well-known views on the importance, or even predominance, of the moon in the religion of Vedic times. The many developments in research and criticism that have been made since he first propounded his ideas on this subject have not caused him to change his opinion to any substantial extent, nor convinced him that any of his critics had come to a more correct interpretation. If the *soma* element of the sacrifice (the plant and its juice that supplied the *amṛta*) be rightly accepted as a symbol or synonym of the moon—so intimately associated in early mythology with immortality and resurrection—we must admit the importance of lunar beliefs at the time; and we are disposed to agree with M. Auguste Barth that Professor Hillebrandt has correctly equated *soma* with the moon: but it is doubtful whether some other equations proposed can be considered as established.

Since Professor Hillebrandt first formulated his conclusions on this subject, the investigations of several students of the past have disclosed the great antiquity of moon worship and its possible ascendancy even over that of the sun among primitive peoples. The influence of old moon myths may perhaps survive in the frequent references to 'pressers' and 'non-pressers' (of the *soma*) and the insistence upon the importance of securing the aid of Indra, who was so devoted to the ambrosial juice, with which he is even identified. We have abundant evidence also, of course, in the *RV.* of the high importance attached to the power and influences of the sun, no less than ten hymns being devoted to Sûrya as the sun-god. We must not, as Professor Hillebrandt is careful to point out, regard the *RV.* as a mythology of primitive times (*Urmythologie*) nor even as the beginning of Indian mythology, but only as a section, or reach, in the ever-flowing stream of mythological conceptions. The primitive mind incorporated new ideas with the old traditions, treating them as new aspects or attributes, till the old myths gradually became overlaid or transformed. To cite a single example, Indra himself loses his pre-eminent position, surviving the Vedic period as the patron deity of the Kṣatriyas. To-day he is almost insignificant, though still regarded as the rain and storm god in popular belief. Traces of the old distinction between the followers of the sun and moon cults are probably to be found in the ethnic divisions of the *sûryavaṁśi* and *soma-* (or *candra-*) *vaṁśi* races, to which the proudest clans in India yet trace their ancestry.

In Appendix II Professor Hillebrandt deals very exhaustively with the questions of the identity and domicile of the Paṇis, so often referred to in the *RV.*, and he has conclusively established—as has in fact been generally accepted—that Paṇi was the name of a people or tribe, and not merely a term for a 'miser' or 'non-giver' or 'unbeliever.' The further suggestions of a geographical nature made in this appendix as to the locale of certain tribes mentioned in the *RV.*, such as the Paṇis, Pârâvatas, and Bṛsayas, and the original Sarasvatî river, are, as he himself justly claims, of wide-reaching import; and when the ancient history of the area between India and Irân has been more fully elucidated by archæological exploration, his views may prove to be well founded.

The work has been excellently printed, and the indexes provided are most useful. The second volume is now appearing.

C. E. A. W. O.

THE DOLMENS OF THE PULNEY HILLS, by the REV. A. ANGLADE, S.J., and the REV. L. V. NEWTON, S.J. Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 36; pp. viii + 14, with 7 plates. Calcutta, 1928.

Fifty years ago the rude stone monuments of South India were much in fashion, but archæologists seem to have grown shy of the awkward problems they present. Meanwhile the monuments themselves are vanishing under the ruthless march of "civilization"; the road contractor is fast converting them into road metal. Fathers Anglade and Newton deserve thanks for retrieving a few facts from the wreckage. The megaliths of the Palni Hills (so usually spelt) are in several features unique. Wisely concentrating on the monuments of a limited area, the authors of this monograph have done a very thorough piece of work. Digging and theories they leave to experts; but their evidence, set forth by map, plan, photograph, and concise description, is a record of solid value.

Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities* (vol. I, 1882), contain much information regarding the distribution of megaliths in S. India, but his lead has not been followed. The publication of this Memoir is a welcome augury of reviving interest. Many secrets of India's past are locked up in these ancient monuments, and, even if they be deemed unworthy of the law's protection, a descriptive list of those that survive would be a useful basis for future research.

F. J. RICHARDS.

BIBLIOTHEQUE DES GEOGRAPHES ARABES, Tome I, Introduction a l'astronomie nautique arabe, par Gabriel Ferrand. 9¾" × 6½"; pp. xii+272. Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1928.

M. Ferrand is rendering a paramount service to students of the history of geographical knowledge by making available to those not acquainted with Arabic the most important texts of the early Arab geographers. He is thus supplementing the work

done by the learned M. J. de Goeje of Leyden in editing the original Arabic texts in his *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum*. No more competent scholar could be found for this task than M. Ferrand, who has already done so much to elucidate the geographical knowledge of the Chinese and Arabian and other early travellers and writers in his works, *L'Empire sumatranais de Çrivijaya*, *Voyage du marchand Sulayman*, *le Tuḥfat al-albāb*, etc. In the present volume the editor has incorporated the results of the researches of another great Orientalist, the late M. Léopold de Saussure, a brilliant member of a famous scientific family and perhaps the best authority on the subject of the early Chinese knowledge of astronomy. In fact M. de Saussure's *Commentaire des instructions nautiques*, recorded in response to certain references made to him by M. Ferrand on points that seemed at first sight to defy interpretation, is one of the most valuable documents that has yet appeared in this connexion. From it, for example, we obtain a clear explanation of the exact meaning of the terms *isba'*, *dhubbān*, *tirfā* and *bāshī*, so frequently used in the Arab sailing instructions and so often misunderstood. This volume constitutes an indispensable introduction to the study of the records of the Arab navigators. We congratulate the learned editor on its publication, and look forward to the appearance of the other volumes of the series now in the press or in course of preparation.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

DIE RAMA-SAGE BEI DER MALAIEN, IHRE HERKUNFT UND GESTALTUNG. (Alt-und Neu-Indische Studien herausgegeben vom Seminar fur Kultur und Geschichte Indiens an der Hamburgischen Universitat. I.) 123 pp. By A. ZIESENISS. Hamburg, 1928.

The Mahâbhârata, through the magnificent exertions of the Bhandarkar Institute and its able leaders, is now being critically edited, by which many of its central problems will obtain their final solution. For the second great epic, the Râmâyana, nothing like that is being done or could, perhaps, so far be done.[1] Its versions are manifold and differ so strongly that we may well feel diffident whether at any time they could be proved to derive from one and the same original. But probably there existed a quite old cycle of legends connected with Râma, the son of Daśaratha, the main part of which was at an early date set into immortal verses by the Âdikavi. From this common stock were derived Northern, Southern and Eastern Râmâyanas, which cannot, of course, represent exact counterparts of the epic of Vâlmîki, but which, though mostly of a decidedly late origin, may well have preserved older material not known to or discarded by the poet of yore.

With the spread of Hindu culture to the Eastern Archipelago the tales of Râma and Lakshmana, Sitâ, Râvana and Hanuman also began to spread amongst the inhabitants of Java and Bali, whose monuments and literature alike testify to their great popularity with the inhabitants of those islands. Some years ago (1925), Dr. Stutterheim, in his book *Rama-Legend und Rama-Reliefs in Indonesien*, gave an excellent contribution towards our knowledge of Indonesian Râma lore. At the present moment Dr. Zieseniss, of the University of Hamburg, has followed up such researches along independent lines and has tried to form a distinct opinion on the origin and development of Javanese Râma legends.

That the Râma tales should have been carried to Indonesia from Bengal and Coromandel as well as from the Western coast of India seems possible enough, and Dr. Zieseniss seems to have made such a theory entirely probable. Perhaps his arguments would have carried still more weight had he made more profound researches in the available Indian materials as well as in the older European literature dealing with Indian mythology.[2] Polier, whom he repeatedly quotes, is a good and generally reliable source, but there are older ones of far greater interest and value. Concerning Indian versions of the Râmâyana, two articles by Sir George Grierson in *BSOS.*, iv, 11 *sq.*, v, 285 *sq.*, might have been of use to the author; but the later one was perhaps not available when his book went into print.

We are not quite at one with the author in his arguments concerning the date of Hikâyat Sri Râma (p. 112 f.), as they seem scarcely quite cogent. However, we cannot enter upon such a problem here, and wind up with expressing our hope soon again to meet with Dr. Zieseniss in a field of research where he is apparently perfectly at home.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

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The whole of this issue is taken up with an article of 120 pp. by B. van Tricht entitled Living Antiquities in West Java. It is divided into two parts—(1) The Badoejs, (2) Goenoeng Sĕgara. The information contained in the article was obtained on an expedition undertaken by Prof. J. Bocke, Prof. C. D. de Langen and the author in the hope of making a medical examination of the Badoejs in South Bantam, whose secular isolation must have had important anthropological and physiological results. From this point of view, however, the expedition was a failure owing to the passive resistance of the people.

Many interesting facts, however, about the religious beliefs and worship, the social organization and the ethnography of this interesting people were observed and are recorded in this article.

M. J. B.

[1] It should be clear to everyone that I am not here speaking of the Vâlmîki Râmâyana, but of the old epic which may possibly be at the bottom of that as well as of other versions.

[2] To quote one instance: on p. 82 the author has a theory concerning the relation between Śiva and Hanuman. But older writers are acquainted with a tradition according to which H. was generated by Śiva and Pârvatî in the shape of monkeys.

# THE SOCIAL AND CEREMONIAL LIFE OF THE SANTALS CULLED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES.

BY BIREN BONNERJEA, D.LITT. (PARIS).

THE Santâls are a large tribe of cultivators of the Dravidian family, who have as their nucleus the Santâl Parganas or 'Sontalia.' But they are found scattered at intervals over a strip of Bengal which stretches for about 350 miles from the Ganges to the Vaitaraṇi, and is bisected by the meridian of Bhagalpur, or 87° east longitude. According to the latest census report the numerical strength of the Santâls in 1921 was 2,265,285, of which 33% were returned as Hindus.[1] They are therefore one of the largest aboriginal tribes of India ; and at the present moment they certainly number well over two millions of human beings, claiming a common origin, speaking one language, following similar customs, and so on.

In physical appearance the Santâl may be considered as an almost perfect specimen of the Dravidian type. He is a well built man, standing about 5′ 7″ in height and weighing about 9 stone ; but he lacks the refined and delicate features of the Âryans, neither is he disfigured by the oblique eyes of the Mongolian races. His skin colour varies between dark brown and almost jet black. The Santâl nose has the same proportions as that of a negro ; his mouth is large ; his lips, thick and protruding ; hair, coarse, black, and sometimes curly. The large preponderance of dolichocephalism among them[2] excludes, however, all possibility of Mongolian affinities.[3] The face of the Santâl is round rather than oblong or square ; his lower jaw is not heavy, and his cheek-bone is higher than that of a Hindu. He is "more squarely built than the Hindu, with a forehead not so high, but rounder and broader ; a man created to labour rather than to think, better fitted to serve the manual exigencies of the present, than to speculate on the future or to venerate the past."[4]

The present generation of the Santâls have no notion as to their origin, and everything is enveloped in a dark veil of mystery. They have no written documents, which might give any clue as to their possible origin, or as to the probable date of their arrival in India. The earliest fact of which the Santâls have been conscious was the proximity of great mountains, which would probably mean that they came south from the region of the Himâlaya mountains, but when or how we do not know. According to the traditions of the Santâls, before the birth of man, the Great Mountain stood alone among the waters and talked to himself in solemn solitude. Then he saw that birds moved upon the waters, so he put them on a water lily, and let them rest there. Later, huge prawns were created, who raised the rocks from under the waters, and the water-lily along with the rocks. Various kinds of creeping things spread over the rocks, and by the command of the Great Mountain the rocks were covered with earth. Then the Lord of all made grass grow on the earth. Last of all man was created from a wild duck's (*hasdak*) egg, which was laid on the water lily. From this egg the first human pair, Pilču Haram and Pilču Burhi, a brother and a sister, were hatched, and these in turn became the ancestors of the seven tribes of men.[5] These two human beings were at first naked, so the Great Mountain clothed them, and became the culture hero of the Santâls ; to the man he gave ten cubits of cloth and to the woman twelve cubits—it was sufficient for the man, but not for the woman.[6]

1 *Census of India*, 1921, vol. i, India, Part 1, Report by J. T. Marten (Calcutta, 1924), p. 112, *87.

2 *Cf.* B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale* (Paris, 1927), Appendix B, No. 5 [p. 163].

3 B. Bonnerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

4 (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, Seventh edition (London, 1897), p. 146.

5 (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, pp. 148, 451 ; B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 21. *Cf.* E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1872), p. 209 ; *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July 1886, p. 76 ; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy* (London, 1910), vol. i, p. 7.

6 The myth seems to be influenced by the Hindus, if not of Hindu origin. There is a Bengali proverb which says : *Meyeder bâra hâth kâpare kâčhâ nâi*, meaning "Although women have pieces of cloth twelve cubits [*hâth* is about 18 inches] long, yet they have no *kâčhâ* [ : the left end of the *dhoti* (cloth for men) made to pass between the legs, which gives men an appearance of wearing breeches. Women's dress looks like a skirt]. The similarity of the statement and the exact measurement of the cloth are, to say the least of it, very suggestive.

Then the man and the woman were faint, and the Great Mountain commanded them to make a strong drink. This they made in the following manner. He gave them a handful of leaven, and bade them put it in a pitcher of water. After four days this had become a strong drink. He ordered them to drink it, but before doing so they were to make a libation of it.[7]

Seeing afterwards that the human race was liable to be exterminated, the Great Mountain made the man and woman get drunk with this strong drink. In their inebriate condition the first human pair copulated,[8] as a result of which seven children were born to them: these children soon multiplied, and became the forefathers of the Santâl race.

The most ancient residence of the Santâls within their memory was pargana Âhuri in Hâzâribâgh district. From there they migrated west towards Khoj Kamân, where the greater part of them were destroyed on account of their wickedness. They say that during the first stage of human existence nearly the whole of the human race was destroyed by fire falling from heaven.[9] After numerous other migrations they took up their abode at Campâ, where they remained for several generations. Finally the Hindus drove them away from Campâ, and they settled in Sâont,[10] where they reigned for a period of over two hundred years. From this last place too they were driven away by the Hindus. They fled to Mânbhûm, where their Râja adopted the Hindu faith. But the people were unwilling to accept the Hindu religion, so they left their king to reign over the Hindus, and themselves emigrated to the Santâl Parganas, where they remain to the present day.[11] With regard to their migrations, Hunter says[12]: "In this time (*i.e.*, soon after the human race was multiplied) they dwelt in Hihiri Pipiri, but when the land could not hold them they journeyed to Chae Champa; and when Chae Champa would not hold them they journeyed to Silda; and when Silda would not hold them they journeyed to Sikar, and from Sikar they journeyed to Nagpur, and from Nagpur to the north, even to Sir."

Although ethnologically the Santâls belong to the great Dravidian family of the human race, linguistically they are a branch of the Muṇḍâ (once called 'Kolarian') family.[13] The principal occupation of the Santâls is tilling the soil, and they cultivate principally rice, which is their staple food. As huntsmen they are alike skilful and intrepid; their principal weapons for this sport are bows and arrows. The arrows are of two kinds: heavy, sharp ones for the larger kinds of game, and light ones with a broad knob at the point for small birds. In their habits they may be called nomadic, but gradually they are settling down. They have a highly pronounced artistic sense; they are very fond of music and dancing, and are themselves great adepts with the flute—a native bamboo instrument with holes burned in it—; and they play these flutes in a very melodious manner. As a rule the Santâl women are extremely fond of finery as they understand by the term. A fully-equipped Santâl belle carries two anklets, and perhaps twelve bracelets, and a necklace weighing a pound, the total weight of ornaments on her person amounting to about thirty-four pounds of bell-metal. "A greater weight," says Sherwill, "than any one of our drawing room

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7 (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, pp. 148, 451.

8 For stories of incestuous unions see (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* (London, 1898), vol. ii, p. 85; E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (New York, 1922), vol. iii, p. 531, s. v. "Incest"; E. Durkheim, "La prohibition de l'inceste," *L'Année Sociologique*, vol. i (1896-1897), and references quoted there.

9 B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 21, quoting (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament* (London, 1919), vol. i, p. 196 f.

10 See (Sir) G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. iv (Calcutta, 1906), p. 30.

11 B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, pp. 21 sq.

12 (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 149.

13 See Col. E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 207; (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal: Ethnographic Glossary* (Calcutta, 1892), vol. ii, p. 224 f.; (Sir) G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. iv, p. 30; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. ii, p. 300; B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 22.

belles could well lift."[14] And of Santâl men at a feast, Hunter says that "if all the colours of the rainbow were not displayed by them, certainly the hedgehog, the peacock, and a variety of the feathered tribe had been laid under contribution in order to supply the young Santâl beaux with plumes."[15]

The secret of Santâl homogeneity lies in the family system. Their classification depends not upon social rank or occupation, but upon the family basis. Every Santâl feels himself a member of a corporate body; he is the kinsman of the whole race, and the only difference he makes between his own sept or clan and others is that "he thinks the relationship between himself and his clanswomen too close to permit of intermarriage."[16] The Santâl family is patriarchal. The children belong to the father's sept, although daughters, when married, go over to their husbands' septs.

The Santâl tribe is divided into twelve septs (*pari*) and 198 or more sub-septs (*khuṇṭ*).[17] Of these twelve septs, six bear the names of different animals, such as wild goose, nilgau (a species of antelope, *Boselaphus tragocamelus*), falcon, pigeon, lizard, and sheep; two have names of plants: betel palm, grass; one has the name of the constellation Pleiades; and three have doubtful names. Both the septs and sub-septs are exogamous and totemic. No man may marry into his own sept or sub-sept, but he may marry into any other sept, including his mother's, although he is not allowed to marry into his mother's sub-sept.[18] The twelve septs and 198 sub-septs are as follows:[19]

1. HASDAK (wild goose).

15 sub-septs:

*Beḍwâr Hasdak*
*Čil Bindhâ Hasdak*
*Kârâ-gujiyâ Hasdak*
*Kuṇḍâ Hasdak*
*Jihu Hasdak*
*Nij Hasdak*
*Rokh-lutur Hasdak*
*Bodoâr (Boṇḍwâr) Hasdak*
*Kâhu Hasdak*
*Keḍwâr Hasdak*
*Kuhi Hasdak*
*Naeke Khil Hasdak*
*Obor Hasdak*
*Sâdâ Hasdak*
*Sâṅkh Hasdak.*

2. MURMU (nilgau).

29 sub-septs:

*Baḍar Murmu*
*Boâra Murmu*
*Gaṛh Murmu*
*Jihu Murmu*
*Kolhâ Murmu*
*Kuḍâ Murmu*
*Laṭh Murmu*
*Muṇḍâ Murmu*
*Nij Murmu*
*Obor Murmu*

[14] Capt. W. S. Sherwill, "Notes upon a Tour through the Rájmahal Hills," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xx (Calcutta, 1852), p. 584; E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. i, p. 498.

[15] (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 185. See E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 510.

[16] (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 202.

[17] Sir James G. Frazer (*Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. ii, p. 300) says, "At least seventy-six sub-clans or sub-septs."

[18] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*; *Ethnographic Glossary*, vol. i, pp. 400 *sq.*; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. ii, pp. 300 *sq.*; E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. ii, p. 117. Moreover, the Hasdak and Murmu septs refuse to marry each other (B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 23).

[19] B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, pp. 23-25. The list is exactly the same as I gave in 1926 [my book was published in March, 1927], but since then I have found the same, with minor differences in F. Bradley Birt, *Chota Nagpur, a little-known Province of the Empire* (London, 1903).

*Poṇḍ Murmu*
*Sâdâ Murmu*
*Sân Murmu*
*Tikâ (Tilok) Murmu*
*Biṭol Murmu*
*Gajar Murmu*
*Hâṇḍi Murmu*
*Jugi Murmu*
*Kopiâr Murmu*
*Kuḍâm Murmu*
*Mânjhi Khil Murmu*
*Nâeke Khil Murmu*
*Oârâ Murmu*
*Okh Murmu*
*Powâr Murmu*
*Samakh Murmu*
*Sarjam Murmu*
*Tirku Lumâm Murmu*
*Ṭuti Murmu.*

3. KISKU (?)

15 sub-septs :

*Aḍ Kisku*
*Biṭol Kisku*
*Jabe Kisku*
*Mânjhi Khil Kisku*
*Nij Kisku*
*Okh Kisku*
*Sâdâ Kisku*
*Baḍar Kisku*
*Gaṛh Kisku*
*Katwâ Kisku*
*Nâeke Khil Kisku*
*Obor Kisku*
*Pâṭi Kisku*
*Son Kisku*
*Tikâ (Tilok) Kisku*

4. HEMBRON (betel palm *Piper Betle*).

15 sub-septs :

*Baḍar Hembron*
*Dânṭelâ Hembron*
*Guâ Hembron*
*Kuâri Hembron*
*Mânjhi Khil Hembron*
*Nij Hembron*
*Sâdâ Hembron*
*Biṭol Hembron*
*Gaṛh Hembron*
*Hâṇḍi Hembron*
*Lâṭh Hembron*
*Nâeke Khil Hembron*
*Obor Hembron*
*Sole Hembron*
*Ṭhâkur Hembron.*

5. MARUDI (grass).

27 sub-septs :

*Bâbre Mârudi*
*Biṭol Mârudi*
*Gaṛh Mârudi*
*Jonok Mârudi*
*Kadâ Mârudi*
*Khâṇḍâ Mârudi*
*Khârâ Mârudi*
*Mânjhi Khil Mârudi*
*Nâeke Khil Mârudi*
*Obor Mârudi*
*Rokh Lutur Mârudi*
*Rupâ Mârudi*
*Sidhup Mârudi*
*Bhoso Mârudi*
*Buru Mârudi*
*Godo Mârudi*
*Jugi Mârudi*
*Kedwâr Mârudi*
*Khâṇḍâ Jogâo Mârudi*
*Kulkhi Mârudi*
*Miru Mârudi*
*Nij Mârudi*
*Pond Mârudi*
*Rot Mârudi*
*Sâdâ Mârudi*
*Ṭikâ (Tilok) Mârudi*
*Turku Lumân Mârudi.*

*(To be continued.)*

# PERIODS IN INDIAN HISTORY.

BY F. J. RICHARDS, M.A., I.C.S. (*Retired*).

(*Continued from p.* 37.)

## 3. Literature.

Literature, elsewhere the bed-rock of history, is in India a chronological quagmire. Up to about 500 A.D. its dating is purely conjectural.

In Sanskrit literature two main periods are usually postulated, the "Vedic" and the "Classical," corresponding to the two periods of the Vedic-Sanskrit language before and after its grammatical fixation; to the Vedic Period are assigned the Vedas, the Brahmanas Upanishads and Sutras, to the Sanskrit Period the Epics, the Puranas and the Law Books. It is impossible to say when the Vedic Period ceased and when the Sanskrit Period began, for, as Dr. Barnett points out, "one pandit might write in a sub-Vedic style at the same time as another is writing almost classical stuff."

Moreover, Epics, Puranas and Law Books received their present form a little before or a little after the beginning of the Medieval Period and are the product of a long period of revision and amplification of much older materials. That the development of Sanskrit Literature from VI B.C. to IV A.D. was continuous most scholars are agreed, but the actual form of the several works that have survived prior to their final recension is a matter of inference.

The partial eclipse of Sanskrit literature is of political origin: the political dominance which the priestly caste had achieved in the Upper Gangetic plain by 600 B.C. was not acceptable to the laity of Bihar, and the eastward drift of Brahmanic culture provoked a revolt. In Bihar "the Kshatriyas," writes Dr. Barnett, "asserted themselves as *de facto* rulers of society and forced the Brahmans to accept them and to buttress up the royal power with a theory of divine right." Buddhism and Jainism are Kshatriya movements; their literature is Prakrit, and the older parts of the Epics are Kshatriya documents. Dr. Barnett suggests 500—150 B.C. as the "Kshatriya Period"; the period 150 B.C.—300 A.D. he would call "Proto-Classical," the period in which the Brahmans reconstructed their culture on new foundations and the Epics assumed their final form.

By the close of the Early Period the Brahmans had achieved success and the Medieval Period opens with the "Golden Age" of Classical Sanskrit, the age of the Drama and Lyric, of Science, Art, and Philosophy, of a culture which before long saturated India from end to end, and gave to Indian civilization a unity as distinctive as that which Græco-Roman culture has given to the warring states of Medieval and Modern Europe.

The shock of Muhammadan conquest fell heavily on the homeland of Sanskrit literature, and from 1000 A.D. onwards culture became provincialized. The Period 1200—1500 A.D. is relatively sterile.

Vernacular literature of Aryan stock belongs mainly to the Modern Period, though its beginnings go back to XII A.D. Of Dravidian literatu e Tamil is the richest and most ancient; some would place its "Augustan Age" in II A.D. A new epoch begins with the Saiva Saint Sambandhar who flourished 650 A.D. Between that date and 1200 A.D. the *Tirumurai* and the *Nâlâyira-prabandham*, the canons of the southern Saivas and Vaishnavas respectively, were completed and with XIII A.D. begins a third epoch.

Kanarese literature, too, presents similar phases; though the earliest extant work dates from about 850 A.D. Till near the close of XII A.D. the writers are almost exclusively Jain; the period 1200—1500 is dominated by the Lingayat movement; the succeeding centuries by the Vaishnava revival.

Telugu literature is still more recent, the earliest work dating from XII A.D., and the "Golden Age" is that of Krishna Raya of Vijayanagar at the opening of XVI A.D.

## 4. Religion.

The religious evolution of India may be resolved into five periods of florescence and decay. The periods overlap, and through each run various "streams of tendency" which freely blend and branch.

A. The "Nature Worship" of the Rig-Veda petered out in the sacerdotalism of the Brahmanas somewhere about 600 B.C. It was replaced by

B. The Pantheistic Philosophy of the Upanishads which elaborated (1) the so-called "Brahman-Atman" (World Soul) metaphysics and (2) the doctrine of Transmigration, the foundation on which Buddhism and Jainism built.

The Period 600—300 B.C. covers both the formative period of these two religions and also the period of their systemization in the form of condensed aphorisms (*Suttas, Sûtras*), affected alike by Buddhists, Jains and Brahmans. By the close of this period the greater part of the Buddhist and Jain canons was probably in being.

C. The Period 300—1 B.C. opens with the adoption of Buddhism as the state religion of Asoka. The Mauryan collapse is associated with a movement, partly reactionary and partly new, which in the succeeding period saturated and undermined Indian Buddhism.

Of this "Proto-Classical" movement the dominant *motifs* are (1) Theism and (2) Incarnation. The evolution of the Mahabharata is typical. This Epic, scholars say, is the product of eight or ten centuries or more of "editing." Three main strata are traced—(1) the Bharata Lays, (2) the Pandu Epic, (3) the Didactic Epic. The lays are perhaps pre-historic, the Pandu Epic is assignable roughly to the Kshatriya Period, the Didactic to the Proto-Classical. In the lays Krishna is human, in the Pandu Epic a Demi-God, in the Didactic "All-God." The Ramayana has a parallel development. Rama begins as a man and ends as an incarnation of Vishnu.[12]

But this is only one aspect of the bewildering syncretism of cults and philosophies, old and new, that characterizes the age. As to dates, the "Middle Epic" may, perhaps, be assigned to the Period 300—1 B.C., as in it the Greeks are much in evidence, and the final redactions to the Period 1—300 B.C. (or a little later) when, under the Kushans, Buddhism, affected by prevailing fashion, evolved a pantheon of its own. By the end of the period transition was completed, the main Sects and Philosophies of Hinduism were in being.

The Gupta Period is secular in tone; spiritually it is a time of decadence; sectarianism elaborates itself in the Puranas and towards the end of the period Buddhism and Hinduism are corrupted by Tantric influence.

D. The next movement, the gospel of Bhakti (Devotion) comes from the South. To the Period 650—1000 A.D., as already stated, belong the sacred canons of the Tamil Saivas and Vaishnavas (Alvars).

On the philosophic side Kumarila in Bihar (*c.* 700—750) and Sankara in Travancore "remade" the ancient Brahmanism,[13] dealing thereby a deadly blow to waning Buddhism. The phase 1000—1200 A.D. is one of decline. In N. India the Pala Dynasty, last stronghold of Buddhism, was undermined by the militant Hinduism of the rival Sens, and with the Ghori conquest Buddhism vanished. In the Deccan Jainism, the state religion of Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas, was dethroned by a double reformation, (1) that of Ramanuja who developed and improved on the tradition of the Alvars, and (2) the so-called Lingayat revolt

12 E. W. Hopkins, *Great Epic*, p. 398.

13 Hopkins, *Religions of India*, 437.

against Brahmanism, which is associated with the downfall of the Kalachuris. In the North at Brindaban, the birthplace of Krishna, the cult of Radha, Krishna's consort, arose.

E. The last movement is the Neo-Vaishnavism of N. India centring round the cults of Rama, Krishna and Radha. To XIII A.D. belong the Krishnaite teachers Madhva, Vishnuswami and Nimbarka, who prepared the way for the modern sectarianism of Vallabha and Chaitanya. The tradition of Ramanuja was carried north by Ramananda (c. 1400—70) and developed under Muslim influence at the opening of the Modern Period into the deism of Kabir and the Sikhs.

### 5. Art.

*A. Sculpture.*

Two major periods of Indian sculpture are recognized—I Early c. 400 B.C.—300 A.D. II Medieval 300—1200 A.D.[14]

Of the Early Period (apart from pre-Mauryan remains) there are three phases :—

I. Mauryan, in which two strains run concurrently : (a) Persian, (b) indigenous.

II. Bharhut-Sanchi, in which Greek influence intrudes, but the Buddha is never portrayed in human form.

III. Gandhara-Amravati, in which Graeco-Roman influence is dominant and the Buddha is figured in human form.

Mauryan and Bharhut-Sanchi coincide roughly with the Period 300—1 B.C. and Gandhara-Amravati with the Period 1—300 A.D.

Sculpture of the Medieval Period is disappointing; under the Guptas it attained its highest expression, and then became stereotyped by text-books of priestly rules, and underwent little change in the succeeding centuries.

*B. Architecture.*

The architecture of the Early Period is mainly a matter of *stûpas* and rock-cut caves; of structural buildings only foundations and pillars survive.

Of what may be called the " Early Cave Period " there are three main groups, (1) Magadha (of Mauryan date), (2) Orissa (all Jain of about 1 B.C.)[15] and (3) Western India. The last named group shows an interesting evolution in two stages, to the earlier of which belong Bhâja, Kondâne, Pitalkhorâ and Ajanta 10, to the later Bedsâ, Ajanta 9, Nâsik 3 and 8 and Kârli. The dates assigned to them range from 200 B.C. to 200 A.D.

It was in the Medieval Period that the art of building attained its highest development. The few surviving structural temples of the Gupta Period are remarkable for the beauty of their ornament rather than their size. Cave architecture, too, entered on a second period of vitality in VI and VII A.D.[16] The seventh century again marks an epoch, for it was at this time that the " styles " of N. and S. India (Himalayan, Indo-Aryan, Chalukyan and Dravidian) took shape.[17] The " Golden Age " of stone temples runs from about 900—1200 A.D., the zenith being reached at different times in different areas.[18]

14 Sir John Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi.*

15 *Camb. Hist. India*, I, 638—42.

16 The chief sites for this " Later Cave Period " are Ajanta, Aurungabad, Badami, Ellora, Dhamnar and the Seven Pagodas.

17 In the District of Bijapur, *e.g.*, the prototypes of several different styles are found together.

18 The best work in Kashmir belongs to VIII and IX, in Khajuraho to X and XI, in Orissa it ranges from 650 to 1000 A.D., in Mysore (Chalukyan or Hoysala) from XI to XIII, while the Tamils worked out a tradition of their own which runs continuously from VII to XVII.

Except in the South the impact of Islam was usually fatal to the old tradition, but the hand of the Indian craftsman is traceable in the buildings erected by the Sultans and their Mughal successors. In the South the Dravidian tradition of the Pallavas was carried forward by the Cholas the Pandyas and the rulers of Vijayanagar and Madura well into modern times.

*C. Painting.*

Two great periods of Indian painting are known.—I the Ajanta Period and II the Rajput-Mughal Period. The Ajanta frescoes of caves 9 and 10 are assigned to I A.D., the rest to the period 350—650 A.D. From 650 to 1500 is a blank. The Rajput and Mughal schools belong to the Modern Period.[19]

## 6. Coins.

The coinage of India embodies three great traditions. I the Greek. II the Gupta and III the Muhammadan. These are associated respectively with the Early, Medieval and Modern Periods.

In the Early Period indigenous and immigrant influences run side by side, as in sculpture.

In the Period 600—300 B.C. the indigenous tradition is represented by crude "punch-marked" pieces of silver and copper of weights corresponding to those prescribed in the Code of Manu. How long they continued to be issued is not known. Towards the end of the period they were superseded in some parts by cast coins and "single-die" types. Coins of Persian and Athenian types were also current.

The Period 300—1 B.C. is marked by the superb coins of the Bactrian Greeks, based on a Persian weight standard with bilingual legends (Greek and Kharoshthi) and occasional Indian devices. The Sakas and Pahlavas followed Bactrian models, but with diminished skill.

The Period 1—300 A.D. is marked by a recovery in artistic merit under the Kushans; Greek feeling survives, but the designs and craftsmanship are Indian. The weight standards are Roman.

The Medieval Period opens well with the Gupta coinage, which in its variety and execution ranks among the finest examples of Indian art. But the Gupta tradition was short-lived: with the Huna invasions came a slump from which India did not recover till the Medieval Period was drawing to its close.

The Imperial Guptas followed Roman weight standards till the eve of the Huna invasion, when they reverted to the ancient standards of Manu. The Hunas introduced degraded silver imitations of Sassanian types and Attic standards of weight. These standards persisted right through the period with increasing degeneration till after the Ghaznavi raids. With the rise of the Rajput States the "bull-and-horseman" type became general.

The Arabs in Sind followed Baghdad models, but the early Sultans of Delhi continued the Rajput tradition, till the raids of 'Alâu'd-dîn Khaljî filled the Delhi treasury with gold, to be squandered by Muhammad Tughlaq in the most exuberant coinage ever issued by a single monarch. Then followed another slump till the reforms of Sher Shâh Sûr and Akbar established a new tradition which lasted till the British Raj.

(*To be continued.*)

[19] The Jogimara frescoes of Ramgarh (Sarguja State, C.P.) are assigned to I B.C. (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, 643), but one sample does not make a Period.

# NOTES ON KHOTAN AND LADAKH.

*(From a Tibetan point of view.)*

BY PROF. A. H. FRANCKE, PH.D.

*(Continued from page 45.)*

## VI.

## Ladakh.

Ladakh is all that remains now of the ancient West Tibetan empire, and as I have found that Tibetanists, as well as native Lhasa-Tibetans, dismiss the West generally with a smile, let me say a few words in honour of this unjustly despised country. To my mind, the West is the most important province of the country, for every kind of Tibetan culture came from the West: even the dynasty of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po seems to have originated there.

Tibetan historiography was the field of battle of two parties, bitterly opposed to each other, *viz.*, the Buddhist and the Bonpo party. The chronicles of Ladakh, as well as other works, are the result of the strife between these two parties. According to the Buddhist conception, the line of Tibetan kings begins with Gnya-khri-btsan-po, who was an Indian prince of the Buddha's family. This beginning was introduced into Tibetan historiography probably about the time of king Ral-pa-can (*c.* 804-816). Formerly the Tibetan line of kings began with Rûpati or Spu-rgyal; and to this beginning point many passages in Tibetan historical books. Although prince Rûpati also comes from India, he is of Pâṇḍava origin. The following passages may be of interest in this connection:

(1) In the beginning of chapter IV of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* (Ladakhî Chronicles) we read: "The head of the line is Spu-rgyal, the king of Tibet."

(2) In *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 77, where Prof. F. W. Thomas gives a translation of a prayer recited at the opening of a Buddhist monastery we read: "'Od-lde-Spu-rgyal is called the first king of Tibet."

(3) In the old Lhasa inscription published and translated by Waddell (*JRAS.*, 1909, p. 949), we find the same name.

(4) This name is also found in the inscription discovered by the Japanese at Lhasa on the back of the stone containing the former inscription. There it is mentioned in line 5.

(5) In the *Chronicles of Ladakh*, on p. 79, we find the ancient Bonpo beginning of the book of Chronicles, where it is said that "king Bya-khri received the name of Spu-de-guṅ-rgyal." The text then goes on to tell of the beginning of culture and of the Bon religion in Tibet. King Spu-(de-guṅ)-rgyal is said to have resided at the castle of Yar-luṅ, a place which was also connected with Gnya-khri-btsan-po. Three generations after Spu-rgyal, the book tells of the erection of Phyi-dban-stag-rtse, another of Gnya-khri-btsan-po's castles.

If we want to read the saga of king Spu-rgyal in full, we must look it up in S. Ch. Das' contributions published in *JASB.*, 1881, p. 211 f. There we read of an Indian general called Rûpati, who took part in the ancient war between the Kauravas and Pâṇḍavas, and who ran away into the Tibetan mountains, disguised as a woman. This Rûpati accepted the Tibetan name of Spu-rgyal, and took his abode in that part of Tibet where is found mount Spu-rgyal or Spu-rgyul, near the point where the river Sutlej turns its course toward the south. At the foot of Spu-rgyal hill the small town of Spu is situated and, a few miles higher up, the village of Khab, which means 'royal castle,' is found. This is the country where people place the history of the first king Spu-rgyal. More than 1000 years later the kings of Guge arose, and they took the same country as their residence. As has been said, the Buddhist Tibetans later on would not accept Rûpati-Spu-rgyal as their first king, but invented another ancestor of Spu-rgyal, viz., Gnya-khri-btsan-po, as their first king. Now there are two accounts of king Gnya-khri-btsan-po, one current in the west, and embodied in the Ladakhî chronicles, and another current in the east, embodied in other chronicles. As I have shown in *JASB.*, 1910, No. 3, the Ladakhî account of the first king mentions a number of places

which are all found in Ladakh, while the eastern account mentions chiefly Yar-kluṅs, a valley near Lhasa.

But whether east or west, we may be sure that all accounts of Gnya-khri-btsan-po are later fictions, and that the original tale of the first king of Tibet is that which arose about king Spu-rgyal in the Sutlej valley.[10] If we are now ready to accept the fact that the Tibetan dynasty took its origin in the west of the country, in the valley of the Sutlej, several other historical events may be readily explained. In the earliest times it is stated that a castle of Khri-brtsegs-'abumgdugs was erected. Such a castle has not yet been found in the Lhasa district. But in the vicinity of Leh a very conspicuous castle-monastery called Khri-rtse (Khri-brtsegs) is found. It is a place of considerable antiquity, and shows a great number of ruined walls, crossing each other in all directions. It seems to have had its origin in bygone times and to have been rebuilt from time to time. This ancient castle was eventually turned into a monastery.

Now let me refer to the story of the find of several symbols of Buddhism some centuries before Buddhism was actually established in Tibet. Those symbols of Buddhism are supposed to have dropped from heaven and to have been explained by some stranger (Bodhimòr). This story can easily be explained if we accept that it took place in the west. Here, in the west, Buddhism was apparently established already in the days of the Kushâṇa kings (compare the Khalatse Kharoṣṭhî inscriptions) of the second century A.D. It was apparently the Dards, the original cultivators of the Indus valley, who adhered to it. Here it was possible to find Buddhist clay tablets (*thsa-thsa*), *stûpas*, even Buddhist books in Sanskrit. Here it is also possible that strangers who could explain the books and symbols may have appeared before the king.

The grand act of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po was to make Lhasa the capital of Tibet, after his father had already advanced to its vicinity when he conquered Gru-gu, near Kham-ba-rdzoṅ. Now, for the first time, the Chinese made the acquaintance of the Tibetan royal dynasty. All the ancestors of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po had remained unknown to them, probably because they had lived a long way off, i.e., in the west.

In this connection it is also interesting to note that one of the two great ministers of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, General Mgar-luṅ-btsan, had his home in the west. His house is still pointed out at Shar-sgo-la in Purig.

It is also probable that among the Tibetan soldiers who marched against Turkestan there were many people of the west, and therefore I consider it quite natural that several names of western localities should occur in the Turkestan documents. Prof. F. W. Thomas in his article, "Tibetan documents concerning Chinese Turkestan," *JRAS.*, 1927, p. 52, says: "References to Western Tibetan countries are, however, hardly to be expected, and in point of fact rare, in those documents." As I am of different opinion, I will give here a list of local names from the Turkestan documents, which certainly refer to the west :

1. Mṅâ-ris, nowadays used as the name of the Tibetan province east of Ladakh, but, as the Shel inscription plainly shows, the ancient name of the entire Ladakhî kingdom. (Mi. i. 3 ; Mi. XXI. 03 ; M. Tagh. a. II. 006, M. Tagh. b. I. 0036.)

2. Naṅ-goṅ an old name of Baltistân, used still nowadays. (Mi. XXX. 8 ; Mi. IX. 6.)

3. Gle is the name of the capital of Ladakh ; it is the Leh of the maps. It was a place of importance before the western empire was founded. Glechuṅ (Mi. XXXI. i : Gleu. Tu. 116).

4. Pa-ldum is the name of the capital of Zaṅs-dkar, spelt dPaldum or dpal-dum, etc. (M. I. IX. 15.)

5. Ru-shod is still the name of the high plain of Ru-beu, between Ladakh and Lahoul. It is called Ru-shod ('lower Ru') in contradistinction to Ru-thog ('upper Ru'), the well-known town close by. (Chronicles from Tun-huang II. 33-5)

[10] In the Tibetan Bonpo-chronicle, compiled in the fourteenth century, an abstract of which was published by Laufer in *T'oung Pao*, 1901, the two legends of Spu-rgyal and Gnya-khri-btsan-po are mixed up with each other. Although the first king is called a descendant of the Pāṇḍavas, he is called Gnya-khri-btsan-po

6. Zhaṅ-zhuṅ. This is the name of the upper Sutlej valley, a very important province of the western empire (see Thomas, Sa-cu, 16).

7. Nubra, spelt gNub-ra, is found in M. I. IV. 8.

8. Gtsaṅs-poi-'abrog-pa, spelt, in accordance with the Ladakhî pronunciation, rtsaṅs-poi-'abrog-pa. It means the Dard population (who are called *'abrog-pa* by the Tibetans) on the Indus. We might also think of the *'abrog-pa* population on the Brahmaputra ; but that river is spelt *gtsaṅ-po* and pronounced *tsaṅ-po*. That a portion of Ladakh was actually known by the name *rtsaṅs-po* in those days is proved by Hsüan-tsang, who gives the name Sampoho as that of a portion of Ladakh.—We find the reference in the chronicle from Tun-huang, I, 62 (A.D. 693), where the Brog-pas of the Rtsaṅs-po are called up to fight against the 'A-zha in Turkestan. It was quite a natural thing to call to arms the Dards (*'abrog-pa*) of the Indus, for they were the subjects of the Tibetan king.

In Chron. II, 70-71 (A.D. 696) we get the name of a town, apparently in the *rtsaṅs-po* district. It is Zird-mdâ, where the Tibetan king resided for a time. Zird-mdâ means 'the aiming arrow.' It is probably the ancient and full name of the village of Mdâ, which is still the capital of the 'aBrog-pas of the Indus valley.

Several names occur in Turkestan as well as in Western Tibet, and it is, therefore, not advisable to locate them in Ladakh if we find them in the ancient documents. Let me mention rGya, an important and well known town in Upper Ladakh. Another place of the same name seems to have existed near Khotan. Then Stoṅ-sde, meaning according to Prof. F. W. Thomas 'thousand provinces,' according to my view 'empty (desert) province,' is a well known town in Zaṅs-dkar ; but according to the documents a place in Turkestan on the Chinese frontier seems to have had the same name. 'A-zha, a tribe, which is, according to the Ladakhî chronicles, one of the Tibetan tribes, called Se-'a-zha, but according to the results of Prof. F. W. Thomas' researches there are certainly other 'A-zha tribes between Khotan and China.

Now let me add a few words regarding Leh (Gle). A place called Gle-chuṅ, even Gleu, is certainly mentioned in the Turkestan documents. Ancient ruins in the Leh valley, in particular the graves in the vicinity of the Tcu-bkra-shis-'od-mtho, show that Leh is a place of considerable antiquity. In the chronicles of Ladakh Leh seems to be a place of little importance, however, until *c.* 1400 A.D., when the Ladakhî kings pay a little more attention to it by providing it with a few buildings. In the fifteenth century they make it the capital of the country. The name of the town is explained by the natives as being derived from *gles*, or *hles* (*hlas*=sheepfold). In ancient days the nomads are supposed to have travelled through the Leh valley, and to have there established their sheepfolds. This explanation of the name is corroborated by the fact that the neighbouring village below Leh is called Dgar-ba. And the word *dgar-ba* also means 'sheepfold.' To modern people a name meaning 'sheepfold' for a town like Leh appears extraordinary, because nowadays nomads are not seen in the vicinity of Leh ; and the present people of Leh keep their sheep and cattle in stables connected with their houses. But about 2000 years ago, when the Gilgit Dards began to found their colonies along the Indus, they must certainly have met with Tibetan nomads in the entire territory of the Indus valley. I have met traces of former nomads even as far down as Khalatse. On the plain between the villages of Tiṅ-mo-sgaṅ and Ba-lu-mkhar there are low walls, called *lhas*, or sheepfolds, which the natives explain as the work of ancient nomads. It is such low walls which are supposed to have been the beginning of Leh.

The ancient graves of Leh, which were described for the first time in my book *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, point to a later time, when a dynasty with high culture was established at Leh. In that book I expressed the view that these graves might belong to the "Kingdom

of the Eastern Women," which, according to Sui-shu, might be looked for in Ladakh. Now I see that Dr. A. Herrmann of Berlin also, in his contribution to Sven Hedin's work, *Southern Tibet*, places this kingdom in the same region. He mentions also Ru-thog as a possible site. But graves of this particular type have, up to the present, been found only at Leh and at the town of rGya.[11] When we locate the kingdom of the Eastern Women in Ladakh, we are confronted with the difficulty that another name of Ladakh in those times was Khrom-ge-sar-gdan, or 'market, throne of Gesar,' and it is not easy to imagine that a kingdom which is called after Gesar, the mythical hero, was governed by women. Thus we hear that the Tibetan princess, who married a king of Khotan in the seventh century, is called a princess of Khrom-ge-sar ; but it is quite possible that just in the beginning of the seventh century the change from an 'empire of women' to an 'empire of heroes' had been completed, for then the emperor of entire Tibet was Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, and he was decidedly against the matriarchate. When, in *c.* 930 A.D. Skid-lde-nyi-ma-mgon conquered the West of Tibet, he found in Leh a dynasty of 'descendants of Gesar,' apparently descendants of the kings of the seventh century. With regard to the 'Kingdom of the Eastern Women' we are also told that an Indian script was in use there. That is nothing extraordinary, for as we have seen, in Kushâṇa times the greater part of Ladakh was in touch with Kushâṇa culture ; and, as the Ladakhî inscriptions prove, Ladakh was also influenced by Kashmîr and North-Western India in later times.—Let us now, once more, turn to the history of the introduction of the Tibetan script by Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, who, as the chronicles tell us, himself knew Sanskrit, Newârî and Chinese. He sent his minister Thon-mi to Kashmîr (as the Western chronicles have it), to learn to read and write Sanskrit, and after that he was urged to form a Tibetan alphabet. The Indian script, from which the Tibetan alphabet was derived, was plainly a kind of north-western Gupta ; and this script could profitably be studied in Kashmîr, where there were several famous Buddhist monasteries at the time. The chronicles speak of two teachers of Thon-mi,—one was called Seṅ-ge-sgra, Siṁhanâda, the other Li-byin. The name Li-byin was translated by S. Chandra Das as Lîpidatta, 'clerk.' There can be no doubt, that the syllable *byin* is generally translated by the Indian word *datta*, 'given,' 'gift.' If the word preceding the syllable *byin* is the name of a deity (*deva*, etc.), the name Devadatta corresponds exactly to our name Theodore, Isidor, etc. Now in the Tibetan language we find several names in which the syllable *byin* is connected with a local name. Thus, in the Ladakhî chronicles a hero called Khri-bdun-yul-byin is mentioned under king Guṅ-sroṅ-'adu-rje (679-705 A.D.) This name I translated by 'blessing of the country Khri-bdun.' We might just as well say 'gift of the country Khri-bdun.' Another name of this type is the name Mṅâ-ris-byin, which has to be translated as 'gift of Mṅâ-ris,' Mṅâ-rsi being the name of Western Tibet. Encouraged by these examples, I feel now inclined to translate the name Li-byin by 'gift of the land Li.' Li is the Tibetan name for Khotan ; and the name Li-byin would thus point to Khotan as the bearers' place of origin. Until now a great number of ancient Tibetan documents with personal names beginning with the syllable *Li* have been excavated. The bearers of all these names were apparently natives of Khotan. Such names are : Li-mṅan, Li-snaṅ, Li-bu-god, Li-shir-de, Li-sa-bdad, etc. These names tend to convince me of the fact that the name of Thon-mi's teacher has also something to do with Li (Khotan). And, in this connection, it is of some importance that Professor R. Hoernle also wrote in *JRAS.*, 1915, p. 492 :—"The Tibetan script agrees with the Khotanese script in making the vocalic radical *a* (अ) to function as a consonantal radical, and this fact shows quite clearly that the Tibetan script was introduced from Khotan."

I shall not go as far as that, or as I did formerly in stating that the Tibetan script was altogether brought from Khotan. But with regard to the method of writing initial vowels, as pointed out by Dr. Hoernle, I must really say that here we have a peculiarity in which the Tibetan script agrees so closely with that of Khotan that we must accept the fact that a

11 Compare also my note on Po-lo-hih-mo-pu-lo, etc., *JRAS.*, 1910, pp. 489-90.

certain influence on the formation of the Tibetan script was exercised by Khotan; and the presence of a teacher in Kashmîr called Li-byin might explain this fact.

To suit the requirements of the Tibetan language, Thon-mi had to invent several characters for his alphabet. These were called *raṅ-gis-byas*, 'selfmade.' At first there were six, then seven of them. In an old manuscript they are called *riṅs*, but this may be a mistake for *raṅ-gis*.[12] It is remarkable that the Tibetan alphabet very soon spread over the whole country and became generally known. Thus in the eighth century, as proved by the Turkestan documents, it was used by officials, soldiers, monks, cooks and peasants, in short by everybody. As exact dates are, however, missing in those documents, it is very difficult to decide which is the oldest Tibetan document left to us. Among the famous inscription stones of Lhasa, five of which were published by Waddell (*JRAS.*, 1909, II) the oldest seems to be his Potala pillar inscription B: for in it king Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan's father, Khri-lde-gtsug-btsan, is mentioned as king. This would take us back to the middle of the eighth century. Of the seventh century, no datable document of Tibetan script has as yet been found. With regard to the west, I am convinced that there also we have several documents of the eighth century. Let me refer to: (1) the Balu-mkhar inscription published in this journal (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXXIV, p. 203 f.; (2) the old Baltî inscription (Lho-nub-mṅâ-mdzad-rgyal-po); and (3) an inscription of the Indus valley between Saspo-la and Snyuṅ-la. This inscription was published by myself in *ZDMG.*, vol. LXI, Tafel I, No. 7. As I could not translate it at the time of publication, I left the question open. Now that I have profited from my study of Turkestan documents, and seen the inscription again (October 1914) I venture to present the following reading of it: *'aphar-ma-'adi-la-lam-rdzeg-byuṅ.* "At this difficult (passage) the road was completed." This means that the road along the river was exceedingly difficult to construct, just in the place (*'aphar-ma*) where the inscription was carved. When this difficulty was overcome, the road could easily be completed. What hindered me at first from reading this short inscription, was the fact that I could not recognize the letter *r* contained in it. The letter *r* was written like an inverted *ṅ*. This strange form of *r* I have now met so often in documents from Turkestan that I can read it safely. Two other letters also of ancient type are found in this inscription, viz., the *'a-chuṅ* with a stroke to the right hand side, and the letter *dz*, which is written like the present letter *j*. All this makes it certain that this inscription must be dated about the middle of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century. It is of a certain historical interest, for from it we learn that the principal road along the Indus valley lay along the river in the eighth century, that is at a time when no powder for blasting was available to the people who constructed it. But this extraordinary road seems to have lasted for a short time only. When it broke down, the so-called 'upper-road,' which passed by the villages Lte-ba-Tiṅ-mo-sgaṅ, He-mis-shug-pa-can and Li-kir, and avoided the river Indus from Khalatse to Bab-sgo, was constructed. It was only after the conquest of Ladakh by the Dogras that the ancient road along the Indus was built again with much blasting of rocks; and nowadays people travel once more as they did 1000 years ago, and the ancient inscription is seen again from the modern road.

Even after the early Indian times of Western Tibet, the west was distinguished by many brilliant names. The great teacher and translator Rinchen-bzaṅ-po, the contemporary of Atîśa, belonged to the west, where many of his buildings are still extant: the philosopher Mar-pa, the teacher of Milaraspa, had his home in Zaṅs-dkar. Other famous names are connected with Spyi-ti, Maṅ-yul, Gu ge, Mṅâ-ris, Guṅ-thaṅ, even Baltistân (sBal-ti-dgra-bcom). But the west has not yet had an advocate, and it will probably still be some time before its importance is generally recognized. But we may be sure that this time will come!

12 As stated by Laufer.

## Appendix to Notes on Khotan and Ladakh.

### Note 1.

When I had completed my article on Khotan and Ladakh I was pleasantly surprised by the publication of Sir Aurel Stein's splendid volumes of *Innermost Asia.*

On plate VII we find a document from Mazâr Tâgh, which may interest us again in our study of both these countries, Khotan and Ladakh. This plate gives a most excellent representation of a drawing of horses with a groom. The picture is mutilated, but, nevertheless, it can be seen that it represents a fine artistic effort. Besides, it is furnished with a Tibetan inscription of four lines, the right half of which is unfortunately lost. A small portion of another line of writing is also found at the bottom of the page. This inscription is of some importance, as it appears to refer to the representation on the picture. It reads as follows :—

1. *rtsaṅs-rmaṅ-rogs-gis-yon-du-pul-ba. rta......*
2. *'adon-po-smon......*
3. *zhi-rab-du-byuṅ......*
4. *rgya-drug. spy (an)-r (ab)......*

At bottom :—

5. *gyo-g Yu......*

Translation :—

1. Rmaṅ-rogs from Rtsaṅs gave as an offering : horses......
2. The reciter, Smon......
3. *zhi* (four ?) entered the order......
4. 600 (or 106) *Sp* (*yan*)-*r* (*as*)......

At bottom :—

5. pieces of turquoise......

From the first line we learn that horses like those represented in the picture were apparently offered to a monastery by a certain Rmaṅ-rogs, who either came from the district of Rtsaṅs, or belonged to the clan of Rtsaṅs. In the second line, the word 'reciter' (*'adon-po*) refers to a monk who recites religious books and is paid for that. The syllable *smon* may be the first part of the word *smon-lam*, 'prayer.' Prayers might also be paid for. In the third line the word *zhi* cannot be translated with certainty : *rab-du-byuṅ-(ba)* is used for 'entering the order.' Unfortunately we cannot make out who enters the order, whether the sacrificer or some other person. Of the fourth line I do not venture to say anything. The fifth line contains only the words 'sherds of turquoises.' These stones might also be an offering.

#### GENERAL REMARKS.

As regards clan names and names of localities, which indicate the homes of Tibetans, it is remarkable that both these kinds of names are placed before the personal name. The reason is probably that many of the clan names are in reality local names. They indicate the locality from which a certain clan emigrated before it settled in the district where it is now found.

In my paper, *A Language Map of W. Tibet* (*JASB.*, 1904, p. 362 f.), I wrote of the clans of the little village of Khalatse. By the names of these clans it could be proved that more than half of the population of this village had emigrated from Gilgit. If *rtsaṅs* is a clan name, it would show that the ancestors of Rmaṅ-rogs once emigrated from the Rtsaṅs district. Now, where is that district ? We find it also mentioned in Chronicle II, 62, the ancient

Tibetan annals quoted by F. W. Thomas in his article entitled *Tibetan Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, *JRAS.*, 1927, p. 54), where we read :

*Rtsaṅ-chen-poi'abrog-skos-nas*, *blon-che Khri-'abriṅ*, *'A-zha-yul-du-mchis-par-lo-gcig*, which may be translated as follows :—

"Having called up the Brog-(pa) of Rtsaṅ-chen-po (the great river), the great minister Khri-'abriṅ went into the 'A-zha country—thus one year."

Regarding the words "the great river" we might think of two rivers known as Gtsaṅ-po, viz., the Brahmaputra and the Indus. I believe that here the Indus is meant. The Brahmaputra runs through middle and eastern Tibet, i.e., through districts in which the pronunciation of the word *gtsaṅ-po* is *tsaṅ-po*. Hence the name of the province on its borders is Tsaṅ. The Indus in its course through Ladakh, however, is called Rtsaṅ-po, or even Rtsaṅs-po ; hence the portion of Ladakh which is found on its banks was called Rtsaṅ(s)-po, or Rtsaṅ(s). As here in our documents we find the forms Rtsaṅ-po as well as Rtsaṅs, which plainly point to the Ladakhî pronunciation of the clan or local name, it is very probable that they refer to the Indus.

It is of interest also, that the inhabitants of the Indus valley below Hanu are called 'aBrog-pa. They are Dards and were Dards probably also 1200 years ago. In the days of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po they were called to arms by the Tibetan kings, to fight against the Chinese and the 'A-zha, just as they were called up 80 years ago by the Ladakhî kings to fight against the Dogras.

There are 'aBrog-pa of Tibetan origin also on the banks of the Brahmaputra, as we know from Mrs. David Neel's book, *Arjopa* ; but that in Chronicle II, 62, by the words *Rtsaṅ-po-chen-poi-'abrog* the Indus valley is meant, and not the Brahmaputra valley, is quite clear from the spelling of the word *gtsaṅ-po*, viz., *rtsaṅ-po*.

That Ladakh as a whole was also known by this name in those days we learn from Hsüan-tsang, who gives *San-po-ho* or *Sam-pa-ha* as a name of the country. This appears to be the Chinese rendering of the name Rtsaṅs-po. We find this name in his definition of the frontiers of Suvarṇagotra. The personal name of the donor, Rmaṅ-rogs, reminded me of another document I had once seen ; and when I looked through Sir Aurel Stein's collection of Mazâr Tâgh documents I found it in the document numbered Mazâr-Tâgh bI. 00104. This document is in a very bad state of preservation. Not only is the right half torn off, but elsewhere also words are mutilated. In the first line we read that it was written by Rmaṅ-rogs, whose clan name is not given, to a certain nobleman called Pan-khri. Also in this letter, horses are mentioned. Line 8 speaks of *rta-seu* (*se-bo*), 'grey horses,' and in line 9 we find the words *chibs-mchibs-pa*, 'riding on horses.' This makes it probable that the writer of the letter and the sacrificer of horses were one and the same person. Perhaps another point deserves mention. In line 5 we read the words *khyim-paṅ-du*, which mean 'on the occasion of abandoning the house,' and may refer to the fact that at a certain time the writer was going to enter the order.

That horses as well as other animals were brought to Buddhist priests as sacrificial offerings, is known from literature, as, for instance, from *gliṅ-bzâ-chos-skyid-kyi-rnam-thar*, where we read :—(1) *yon-la-khrab-gnyis-rta-pho-mo-gsum-gYag-bcu-bdun*, *zhiṅ-gnyis-rnams-phul-nas*, *bsṅo-ba-zhus*. (Translation) 'As an offering I brought 2 cuirasses, 3 male and female horses, 17 yaks and [presented] 2 fields, and asked for a blessing.'

(2) *bskaṅ-bshags-brgya-thsa-gnyis-byas-pai-yon-la-rta-bzaṅ-po-gcig*, *gYu*, *mdzo ri-ba-gcig-byas*. (Translation) 'As an offering for a two hundred-fold copying (or reciting) of the book *bskaṅ-bshags* I gave a good horse, turquoises, a valuable *mdzo*.'

From this it is apparent that horses, yaks, mDzos and other useful animals and also turquoises were brought to the priests as religious offerings.

About the custom of breaking jewels to pieces, we read the following in Mr. D. Macdonald's recent work, *The Land of the Lama* (p. 83) :—"Most of these images are covered with gold-leaf,

and in one or two of the older institutions, that have become pilgrim centres, they are encrusted with rough uncut gems." On page 84, he adds: "The bases of some images are filled with crushed gems. This prevents any venal lama from stealing them for the precious stones inside them, while they still have the value of the gems enclosed." Thus the inscription on the picture, besides explaining its meaning, presents us with an interesting view of Buddhist life in Turkestan during the eighth century.

### Note 2.

As regards the wedge-shaped wooden writing tablets from Turkestan called *kîlamudrâ*, I wish to state that this form of writing tablet is still preserved and is in use in Ladakh. Two equal boards of wood (wedge-shaped) are connected by a nail joint at the narrow end. They are used for writing on the inside, and then tied by a string at the wider end, when closed together. As far as I know, this form of writing tablet is found only in Ladakh, and not in Lhasa or Tibet proper. It is found in Turkestan only in the Kharoṣṭhî period, *i.e.*, in the second and third century A.D. As the Kharoṣṭhi script was also in use in Ladakh at that time, it is probable that these tablets were then introduced from Turkestan. This form of tablet is one of the few surviving links which connect the civilization of Turkestan with that of Ladakh.

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## ORIGIN OF THE CASTE SYSTEM IN INDIA.

BY THE LATE S. CHARLES HILL.

(*Continued from p. 54.*)

(IX) *Actual existence of true Brahmans and true Brahman Hindu States. Brahman Rule.* If any one objects that nowadays he nowhere finds such Brahmans as these and nowhere any Hindu State, which follows the true Hindu tradition, one would do well to remember that the system is now some 4000 years old (Smith's *Oxford History*, p. 8) and to ponder upon what was written about the Brahmans and Hindu States by European observers as late as the middle of the eighteenth century. About 1762 Luke Scrafton, a servant of the East India Company, wrote in his *Reflections* (and was approvingly quoted in his *Empire Mogol* by the Scoto-Frenchman Jean Law, who, like Scrafton, had spent much time in the interior of India) as follows:—"Such of the Brahmans who are not engaged in worldly pursuits are a very moral, superstitious, innocent people, who promote charity as much as they can to men and beasts, but such who engage in the world are the worst of the Gentoos [*i. e.*, the Hindus], for, persuaded the waters of the Ganges will purify them from their sins, and being exempted from the utmost rigour of the Courts of Justice under the Gentoo Government, they run into the greatest excesses." This, it should be remembered, was in the northern parts of India, where alien influences were strongest, for the Muhammadans had conquered Bengal more than 500 years earlier. A little later the French missionary, the Abbé Dubois, writing of the Brahmans of Southern India, says (*Hindu Manners*, p. 104):—"The original Brahman is described as a penitent and a philosopher, living apart from the world and its temptations and entirely engrossed in the pursuit of knowledge, leading a life of introspection and practising a life of purity......The simple and blameless lives led by the primitive Brahmans, their contempt for wealth and honours, their disinterestedness and, above all, their extreme sobriety attracted the attention of the Princes and the people." Even in the good Abbé's time the Brahmans, he says (*ibid*. p. 159), formed a class of men in tone and manners infinitely superior to the other Hindus, and there were certain villages inhabited almost entirely by Brahmans. This last statement emphasizes the Brahman love of seclusion, natural enough in men inclined to meditation, which led some of the more devout to a life in the forest, accompanied only by their wives, or to the absolutely solitary life of the Sannyâsî. Naturally Europeans come rarely into contact and, still less often, into intimacy with the two last classes of Brahmans. "The hate and contempt which they cherish against all strangers,

especially against Europeans ; the jealous inquietude with which they hide from the profane the mysteries of their religious cult, the records of their learning, the privacy of their homes, all these form barriers between themselves and their observers which it is almost impossible to pass " (*Hindu Manners,* p. 12).

To return, however, to Scrafton. In spite of the corruption which he deplored in a portion of the Hindu community, he says :—" But in justice to the Gentoo religion and customs I must say that before the late wars between the French and us in the Carnatick [*i.e.,* Southern India] country, which is chiefly divided into little Indian Rajaships, human nature in no part of the world afforded a fairer scene of contemplation to a philosophic mind." Another Company's servant, John Zephaniah Holwell, wrote in 1765 (*Interesting Historical Facts,* p. 193) of the subjects of a Bengal Raja, Gopal Singh, whom he describes as of the " Rajput Brahmin " tribe :—" It would be almost cruelty to molest these happy people, for in this district are the only vestiges of the beauty, purity, regularity, equity and strictness of the ancient Indian Government. Here the property as well as the liberty of the people are inviolate ; here no robberies are heard of, either public or private." It was, in fact, a survival of the Hindu type of kingdom, in which the ruler was a Rajput, *i.e.,* a Kshatriya, and his advisers were Brahmans.

From the above we may, I think, conclude that, before denying the existence of true Brahmans, one should look for them elsewhere than in public life and that the ideal Hindu kingdom is not a Utopian dream, but has actually existed in comparatively recent times and still exists in the hearts of the Hindus, that it was based upon a social system which secured the happiness and contentment and loyalty of all classes of the people, and that the later stages of corruption and confusion have been due to foreign intrusion, whether by land from Central Asia or by sea from distant Europe, whilst whatever unrest now prevails in India is caused by the incessant struggle of the Hindu Caste ideal against alien influences. So, at least, thought the Abbé, for he wrote :—" Under the supremacy of the Brahmans [in Muhammadan as well as Hindu [States] the people of India hated their [rules of] government while they cherished and respected their rulers ; under the supremacy of Europeans they hate and despise their rulers from the bottom of their hearts, whilst they cherish and respect their [mode of] government (*Hindu Manners,* p. 4)."

(X) *European objections to the Caste System. Hindu indifference to the form of and changes in government.*—The possibility of Caste as an effective social and political system being then demonstrated, one may notice some objections which have been brought against it. The first, as noted by Scrafton and Law, is that the division of the people into castes is a bar to individual development and hence to the material progress of the nation and that the diversity of interests creates such a want of national solidarity that the country lies defenceless against the attack of any invader. A second is that the prejudices created by Caste are so strong that they prevent the Hindu from receiving a purer form of religion. A third objection is that the Brahmans do nothing productive themselves and are therefore a useless burden upon the community.

As regards the first the Hindu might reply that the restrictions of Caste teach the individual what so few members of other civilizations know, namely the limitations of his powers and so save him from futile efforts towards the unattainable : he would point to the material achievements of the Hindus at a time when Europe was only issuing from barbarism, whilst the Brahman, in his scorn for luxury, would point out that material progress alone, so far from leading to happiness and content, only increases the number of material desires and so leads to unrest. In a country where the wants of nature are so easily supplied as they are in India, it seems mere folly to create new wants and with them new evils. On the other hand, as Scrafton reflected, " It is this same division which has maintained the manufactures of the country in spite of all the vexations of the Muhammadans, since, as long as a son can follow

no other occupation than that of his father, manufactures can be destroyed only by the extermination of the nation itself." And the Abbé Dubois writes (*Hindu Manners*, p. 28):—"I believe caste division to be in many respects the *chef d'œuvre* of Hindu legislation. I am persuaded that it is simply and solely due to the distribution of the people into castes that India did not lapse into a state of barbarism and that she preserved and perfected the arts and sciences of civilization whilst most other nations of the earth remained in a state of barbarism." And again (*ibid*, p. 34):—"It is to caste distinctions that India owes the preservation of her arts and industries. For the same reason she would have reached a high standard of perfection in them had not the avarice of her rulers prevented it." On the same subject Vincent Smith remarks (*Oxford History*, p. 42):—"That stability, although not absolute, has been the main agent in preserving Hindu ideas of religion, morals, art and craftsmanship.........Monier Williams concisely observes that 'caste has been useful in promoting self-sacrifice, in securing subordination of the individual to an organized body, in restraining vice, in preventing pauperism.' "

As regards the defencelessness of a Hindu State against foreign aggression, the fact that the Kshatriyas, whose chief duty was war, formed one of the four great original castes shows that the founders of the Caste System did provide, in this caste, for the defence of the State what was, practically, the first standing army recorded in history. In most parts of India this caste has disappeared and the old legends seem "to shew that the Brahmans, at least in the original seat of their power, had repressed the Kshatriya or warrior class (*Imperial Gazetteer*, I, 407)." But Scrafton and Law had no personal knowledge of the Rajput States in which the Kshatriya caste still survives. These were never really conquered by the Muhammadans or Europeans and still maintain their independence and dignity. Again, it was chiefly European interference which prevented the Marathas from establishing Hindu States throughout all India. When they first clashed with the British they already held the Mughal Emperors in their hands. The Gurkhas of Nepal, who claim Rajput origin (*Imperial Gazetteer*, II, 493), maintain a jealous independence in the mountains of India.

But, as a matter of fact, the easy submission of those Hindu States, in which the Kshatriyas had disappeared, to foreign attacks, assumes quite another complexion when we consider how indifferent the Hindus always were to the Governments under which they happened to live. Their allegiance was not to the Government but, as it still is, to the Brahmans. On this Dubois remarks (*Hindu Manners*, p. 4):—"The people of India have always been accustomed to bow their heads beneath the yoke of a cruel and oppressive despotism, and moreover, strange to say, have always displayed mere indifference towards those who have forced them to it. Little cared they whether the princes under whom they groaned were of their own country or from foreign lands....Never did the fall of one of their despots cause the least regret: never did the elevation of another cause the least joy.......They have always considered themselves lucky enough if their religious and domestic institutions were left untouched by those who, by good fortune or force of arms, had got hold of the reins of government." Now, in Europe we are accustomed to think of the Political and Social systems of a country as one and the same thing, or at least as so closely connected that they cannot be separated. But these remarks of the good Abbé show that to the Hindu mind they are not only distinct, but separable in fact. His intimate life, the life over which he has control, the life which to the Hindu really matters, is altogether independent of the political conditions which happen to prevail. The Abbé, indeed, implies that this indifference is due to a kind of apathy or slavish submission but, from the Hindu point of view, it is only a sensible submission to what is unavoidable. He recognizes that just as there is weather everywhere and the wise man enjoys it when it is good without repining when it is bad, so there will always be some form of government wherever there are communities of human beings and a wise man should think of it as he does of the weather, namely something which he can enjoy

or guard against, but which he cannot control. The popular idea prevalent in democracies that the people can govern themselves is to him a laughable delusion. If they could, there would be no need of or possibility of a Government. Andrew Fletcher wrote to the Marquis of Montrose :—" I knew a very wise man that believed that if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation." Fletcher's " very wise man " held the same opinion as the Brahmans. For whatever reason the Brahmans contrived or allowed the extinction of the Kshatriya caste in some of the Hindu States, it may, I think be taken for granted that they had determined to withdraw from politics so long as their position as social and religious rulers was left untouched. In a somewhat peculiar way the Brahmans had decided to be in the world and yet not of it.

As regards the religious objection that Hinduism prevents the people from accepting a purer form of religion, this is partly due to manners and customs which are strange and at times shocking to Europeans but which are based upon reasons of which they are ignorant or which they misunderstand. But mainly this objection is based upon the Hindu opposition to Christianity and the penalties imposed upon converts to that religion. To understand this one must look into the reasons why Hinduism, which allows absolute freedom of thought to its devotees, should now, for it was not always so, be specially hostile to Christianity.

*(To be continued.)*

## MISCELLANEA.

IN the note published at pp. 57-58, above (Mar. 1929), reference was made to a communication received from Mahâmahopâdhâya P. Bhaṭṭâchârya Vidyâvinod on the subject of his proposed identifications of the six countries mentioned by Hiuan-tsang as lying beyond Samataṭa. The Mahâmahopâdhyâya, it will be remembered, is of opinion that Hiuan-tsang's *Mo-ha-chan-p'o* should be identified with Sampanago, and as comprising the whole of northern Burma. In this connexion attention is drawn to the remarks of Mr. C. Duroiselle, Archæological Superintendent, Burma Circle, published at p. 117 of the *Annual Report, A.S.I.*, for the year 1925-26, and especially to the footnote, which runs as follows :—

" A close examination of the ruins of the walls and of the bricks with which they were built tends to show that Hiuen Tsang did not refer to Sampanago near Bhamo."

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, Jt. Editor.

## BOOK-NOTICES.

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY FOR THE YEAR 1927, published by the Kern Institute, Leyden. 12¼×9¼ in.; pp. x+143 ; 12 plates and 6 figures in the text. Leyden, 1929.

This valuable publication follows the same lines as in the inaugural volume for 1926, with two modifications, namely, that a separate section (IIA) has been formed to include all periodicals dealing with the archæology, epigraphy and history of India proper, and that extracts from reviews in French and German have been printed in those languages, and not translated into English. In each case the change seems expedient.

The introductory chapter contains a survey of the more important features of the year's work, ranging over different parts of India as well as Siam, Indonesia and Irân. A note on the prehistoric civilization in the Indus valley naturally comes first ; but, owing to the extraordinary delay in publishing full details of the work that has been carried out by the Archæological Department at Mohenjodaro and Harappa, the editors have had to content themselves with printing extracts from a paper communicated by Sir J. Marshall to a London weekly journal. On the other hand, we are supplied with some useful fresh information relating to the excavations carried out by Mr. A. H. Longhurst during the cold season of 1927-28 at Nâgârjunikoṇḍa in the north-west of the Guntur district, on the right bank of the Kistnâ river, above Amrâvatî. At this site no less than three Buddhist temples, two monasteries, three *stûpas* and several well-preserved sculptures of great interest have been discovered, which bid fair to justify the claim of the Nâgârjunikoṇḍa valley, put forward by Mr. Longhurst, to be the most important Buddhist site hitherto found in southern India. It will be remembered that three important Prâkṛit inscriptions in Brahmî characters of about the third century A.D. relating to the southern Ikṣvâku dynasty were found in this locality a year or two earlier.

In connexion with the vexed question of the interpretation of the great rock sculpture, popularly known as 'Arjuna's Penance,' at Mahâbalipuram, attention is drawn to Mr. Longhurst's description, printed at p. 103 of the Annual Report, A.S.I., for 1924-25, of remains found on top of the rock indicating that there was once a masonry or brick

cistern there. In a further communication, it seems, Mr. Longhurst has suggested that on certain festival occasions this cistern would be filled "and the water allowed to flow down the cleft in the form of a cascade into the tank below, simulating the descent of a mountain torrent." The editors regard this evidence as corroborating M. Goloubew's identification of the sculpture with the descent of the Ganges from heaven. We have also a note by M. George Coedès on the excavations at P'ong Tük in western Lower Siam, on the right bank of the Meklong river. The objects found, which include a Greco-Roman lamp and a Buddha statuette in Amarâvatî style, appear to belong to the second and sixth centuries A.D.; and M. Coedès came to the conclusion that the local monuments had been abandoned previous to the arrival of the Khmers.

The bibliography seems to be complete as far as it goes. We are glad to learn that arrangements have been made to include information regarding publications appearing in Italy and Russia, and that it is hoped to do the same in respect of Japan. The printing is excellent, and the plates have been admirably produced. Altogether this second volume maintains the high standard of which the first gave promise.

C. E. A. W. O.

A HISTORY OF ARABIAN MUSIC TO THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY, by H. G. Farmer. (Luzac & Co, 1929.)

Mr. Farmer has added to his reputation as a student of Arabian Music by this systematic study. He is already well known by his books on *The Arabian Influence on Musical Theory*, *The Arabic Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, *The Influence of Music: From Arabic Sources*, and some articles in the [illegible] Journals. He has the advantage of being both an Arabist and a musical man—a rare combination. He writes with appreciation of the Arabian spirit in the Fine Arts and a true perspective, which can distinguish the indigenous genius of the Arab people from the outside influence which enabled it to [illegible] itself in the changing fashions of the Arabic and Islamic world.

He begins from the earliest times, when music played an important part in the mysteries of the soothsayer and the magic man. Definite records of pre-Islamic music are scanty. With the rise of Islam began the full record of every phase of Arab life and civilization, including music. Mr. Farmer reviews impartially the arguments for and against music in the controversies of early Islam, and details the various kinds of music which were held "permissible." He rightly draws attention to the spiritual music of the Sufis, who called in music as a handmaid to Islam. He reviews the various periods of Muslim history—the Orthodox Khilâfat, the Umaiya period, and the Abbaside Khilâfat in three distinct periods. Under each head he considers the social and political factors which determined the general musical culture, the theory and practice of music considered generally and without technical details, and notices the celebrated composers, singers, instrumentalists and writers on the theory, science, and art of music. A careful account is given of the evolution of the Arabian musical instruments, which may be read with Mr. Farmer's article on Meccan musical instruments in the current number of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (July 1929). The three illustrations are taken from Arabic Manuscripts of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, and give us a glimpse of the Arabian *Shahrûd* and of the Arabian systems of musical notation.

It may be permissible to point out a few misprints. At p. 19, "elegaist" should read "elegiast." At p. 48, "Al-Hasan, the grandson of Khalif Ali," should read "Hasan, a son of Khalifa Ali." At p. 53, the date of Khalifa 'Uthman should read "644-56" instead of "644-66". The date is correctly given in other places. At p. 90, "Muqaddima" should be "Muqaddama." I would also suggest that the barbarous "Khaliphate" should be discarded in favour of "Khilâfat."

A. YUSUF ALI.

THE CHRONICLES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY TRADING TO CHINA, 1635-1834, by H. B. MORSE, LL.D, vol. V (supplementary), 1742-74. 8¾×5½ in: pp. x + 212. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1929.

When the first four volumes of these Chronicles appeared in 1926, Dr. Morse recorded, in the Preface to vol. I, his regret that the Canton records of the Company for the years 1743-1753 were but fragmentary, while those for the years 1754-1774 were entirely missing from the India Office archives. Diligent search, however, brought to light certain duplicate copies that had been deposited in the Legation at Peking. We congratulate the editor on this discovery, which has enabled him to compile this supplementary, fifth, volume. The period concerned falls wholly within the long reign of the Manchu emperor K'ien-lung, famous not only for his warlike, but also for his literary activities. Though Canton was then the only open port, the commerce between Europe and China was rapidly attaining important proportions. The interminable disputes with the local Chinese officials and the frequent dissensions between the competing companies make it difficult to understand how any profitable trade could be carried on at all. The explanation will be found in the dogged resolution and indomitable spirit of the Company's servants disclosed by this chronicle. Though the records found be still very incomplete, Dr. Morse has succeeded in piecing together information on a variety of topics of much interest and value to students of the economic and commercial history of the eighteenth century.

C. E. A. W. O.

## SOME REMARKS ON THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ.

BY PROF. JARL CHARPENTIER, PH.D., UPSALA.

(*Continued from page 50.*)

Unfortunately these more or less authoritative passages had slipped out of my mind when about a year ago I came to occupy myself somewhat more seriously with the Gītā in order to give a series of lectures on that text. However, after having formed my own opinions on certain important points in connection with the exterior constitution of the text, I found, with very great pleasure, that my own suggestions did at least partly concur with those of far more prominent scholars. Also to me it seems quite obvious that the verses following upon ii, 38, can in no wise have belonged to the original epic text. As, however, I cannot find with Professors Schrader and Oldenberg that the whole of ii, 1—38—with two or three possible exceptions—belongs to the old text nor feel quite convinced of the correctness of Professor Jacobi's view, I shall here give those parts of canto ii which to me undoubtedly seem to be old and original.[32]

*Canto ii.*

*tam tathā kṛpayāviṣṭam aśrupūrṇākulekṣaṇam* |
*viṣīdantam idaṃ vākyam uvāca Madhusūdanaḥ* 1

*Śrī-Bhagavān uvāca* |

*katas tvā kaśmalam idaṃ viṣame samupasthitam* |
*anāryajuṣṭam asvargyam akīrttikaram Arjuna* || 2
*klaibyam mā sma gamaḥ Pārtha naitat tvayy upapadyate* |
*kṣudraṃ hṛdayadaurbalyaṃ tyaktvottiṣṭha paraṃtapa* || 3

*Arjuna uvāca* |

*katham Bhīṣmam ahaṃ saṃkhye Droṇaṃ ca Madhusūdana* |
*iṣubhiḥ pratiyotsyāmi pūjārhāv arisūdana* || 4 ||
*gurūn ahatvā hi mahānubhāvāñ*
*chreyo bhoktum bhaikṣyam ihaiva loke* |
*hatvārthakāmāṃs tu gurūn ihaiva*
*bhuñjīya bhogān rudhirapradigdhān* || 5 ||
*na caitad vidmaḥ kataran no garīyo*
*yad vā jayema yadi vā no jayeyuḥ* |
*yān eva hatvā na jijīviṣāmas*
*te 'vasthitāḥ pramukhe Dhārtarāṣṭrāḥ* || 6 ||
*kārpaṇyadoṣopahatasvabhāvaḥ*
*pṛcchāmi tvāṃ dharmasammūḍhacetāḥ* |
*yac chreyaḥ syān niścitam brūhi tan me*
*śiṣyas te 'haṃ śādhi māṃ tvām prapannam* || 7 ||
*na hi prapaśyāmi mamāpanudyād*[33]

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[32] As for canto i there is no apparent reason for rejecting any verses; they may well be old and original all of them, though there is, of course, no absolute certainty that such is the case. Verse 10 : *aparyāptaṃ tad asmākaṃ balaṃ Bhīṣmābhirakṣitam | paryāptaṃ tv idam eteṣām balam Bhīmābhirakṣitam* is a *crux interpretationis*. That Duryodhana should be made to say: 'Impar certamini est hic noster exercitus,' etc. (Schlegel) is apparently nonsensical. Either *aparyāpta* must mean something like 'not tightly closed' (cp. the use of *paryāpta-* in *MBh.*, xv, 186) which would tally well with the exhortation in v. 11; or the text has been tampered with. Originally it may have run like this: *aparyāptaṃ tad asmākaṃ balaṃ Bhīṣmaṃ virakṣitum* (cp. the exhortation to protect Bhīṣma in v. 11); and the not very common *vi-rakṣ-* was ousted by the more well-known *abhi-rakṣ-*. In v. 23 Duryodhana is called by Arjuna *durbuddhi*. This does not mean *sceleratus* (Schlegel), 'perverse' (Hill) or something like that. The native commentaries have the correct explanation (cp., *e.g.*, Madhusūdana : *durbuddheḥ svarakṣaṇopāyam ajānataḥ*); it means 'unwise, stupid,' cp. *alpabuddhi* in xvi, 9. With v. 47 *rathopastha upāviśat*, cp. *MBh.*, iv, 41, 8.

[33] On *apanudyāt*, cp. Professor Rajwade, *Bhandarkar Comm. Volume*, p. 328.

*yac chokam ucchoṣaṇam indriyāṇām* |
*avāpya bhūmāv asapatnam ṛddham*
*rājyaṃ surāṇām api cādhipatyam* || 8
*evam uktvā Hṛṣīkeśaṃ Guḍākeśaḥ paraṃtapaḥ* |
*na yotsya iti Govindam uktvā tūṣṇīm babhūva ha* || 9 ||
*tam uvāca Hṛṣīkeśah prahasann iva Bhārata* |
*senayor ubhayor madhye viṣīdantam idaṃ vacaḥ* || 10 ||
*Śrī-Bhagavān uvāca* |
*aśocyān anvaśocas tvam prajñāvādāṃś ca bhāṣase* |
*gatāsūn agatāsūṃś ca nānuśocanti paṇḍitāḥ* || 11 ||
*svadharmam api cāvekṣya na vikampitum arhasi* |
*dharmyād dhi yuddhāc chreyo 'nyat kṣattriyasya na vidyate* || 12 (31) ||
*yadṛcchayā copapannaṃ svargadvāram apāvṛtam* |
*sukhinaḥ kṣattriyāḥ Pārtha labhante yuddham īdṛśam* || 13 (32)
*atha cet tvam imaṃ dharmyaṃ saṃgrāmaṃ na kariṣyasi* |
*tataḥ svadharmaṃ kīrttiṃ ca hitvā pāpam avāpsyasi* || 14 (33) ||
*akīrttiṃ cāpi bhūtāni kathayiṣyanti te 'vyayām* |
*sambhāvitasya cākīrttir maraṇād atiricyate* 15 (34) ||
*bhayād raṇād uparatam maṃsyante tvām mahārathāḥ* |
*yeṣāṃ ca tvam bahumato bhūtvā yāsyasi lāghavam* || 16 (35) ||
*avācyavādāṃś ca bahūn vadiṣyanti tavāhitāḥ* |
*nindantas tava sāmarthyaṃ tato duḥkhataraṃ nu kim* 17 (36)
*hato vā prāpsyasi svargaṃ jitvā vā bhokṣyase mahīm* |
*tasmād uttiṣṭha Kaunteya yuddhāya kṛtaniścayaḥ* || 18 (37) ||
*sukhaduḥkhe same kṛtvā lābhālābhau jayājayau* |
*tato yuddhāya yujyasva naiva pāpam avāpsyasi* 19 (38) ||
*tato Dhanañjayaṃ dṛṣṭvā bāṇagāṇḍīvadhāriṇam* |
*punar eva mahānādaṃ vyasṛjanta mahārathāḥ* || *MBh.*, vi, 2533 || etc.

1. "To him, who was thus filled with compassion, whose eyes were distressed and filled with tears, and who was full of despair, Madhusūdana spoke these words :

"The Holy One said :

2. "Whence in this perilous time did this folly[34] come upon thee, meet for ignoble minds, leading to Hell, and causing disrepute, O Arjuna ?

3. "Yield not to unmanly behaviour, thou son of Pṛthā, it is not fitting to thee. Away with that smallness of heart belonging to mean souls (*kṣudra*) ! Rise up, O Scourge of thy foes !

"Arjuna said :

4. "How can I let fly my darts in battle on Bhīṣma and Droṇa, O Madhusūdana ? Worship crave those both, O Arisūdana.

5. "For, better it were to feed on alms in this world than to slay these highly venerable persons ; were I to slay my Gurus, even if they be greedy for wealth, I should have to eat blood-sullied food.[35]

6. "Nor even do we know which is better for us : that we should conquer or they should conquer us. The sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra are there in the forefront—were we to slay them we should not wish to live.

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[34] *Kaśmala* is generally translated by 'despondency' or something like that. It is, however, fairly identical with *moha* and means 'folly, illusion'—Arjuna is a fool not to discern his clear and obvious duty which leads either directly to Heaven or to universal kingship (ii, 37), *kaśmala* is spoken of as *mohaja* and is destroyed *hetubhir mokṣadarśanaiḥ* in *MBh.*, i, 2, 156 (Poona ed. = i, 521 c.); it is *buddhināśana*, 'obscuring the intellect' in *MBh.*, ii, 1652, etc.

[35] The latest translation (by Hill) is far too weak here.

7. "With my heart obscured by the darkness of compassion, with my mind gone astray on the question ot duty, I ask thee: tell me right out which is the better part—I must be taught by thee; [36] teach thou me who has come to thee.

8. "I cannot even see clearly what would dispel that grief which dries up my senses[37] though I might win on earth unrivalled mighty kingship, nay even sovereignty amongst the gods.[38]

9. "Thus spoke Guḍākeśa, the Scourge of his foes, to Hṛṣīkeśa: 'I shall not fight,' he said to Govinda, and then became silent.

10. "To him in despair[39] Hṛṣīkeśa, slightly smiling, spoke this word in the midst of both armies:

"The Holy One said:

11. 'Thou hast grieved for those who are not in need of grief—yet speakest thou not unwisely.[40] Wise men grieve not for dead nor for living.

12. (31) 'And further: considering thy caste-duty thou must not waver; for, there is nothing better for a noble warrior than a fight prescribed by his duty.[41]

13. (32) 'Happy, O son of Pṛthā, are those noble warriors who come upon a fight like this that meets them fortuitously (like) the gate of Heaven thrown wide open.[42]

14. (33) 'Then if thou wilt not wage this lawful war thou wilt neglect caste-duty and reputation and fall into sin.

15. (34) 'And then all beings will tell of thy everlasting dishonour; and dishonour is much worse than death to a man of great reputation.

16. (35) 'The warriors on their high cars will think that out of fear didst thou shrink from battle; and those by whom thou hast been highly estimated will think of thee but lightly.[43]

17. (36) 'And thy enemies will tell many unspeakable tales (about thee) mocking thy manly power[44]—what could be more painful than that?

18. (37) 'If slain thou shalt go to Heaven; if victorious thou shalt reign over the earth. Therefore, rise up, O son of Kuntī, with a firm resolution to fight.

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36 Translations of these words such as 'I am thy disciple' and conclusions based on them are wholly wrong. Some commentaries quite correctly interpret *śiṣya* by *śāsanārha* (cp. Schlegel-Lassen, *Bhagavad-gītā*, p. 163).

37 Cp. i, 29: *mukhaṃ ca pariśuṣyate*, and i, 30: *tvak caiva paridahyate*.

38 *i.e.*, if I might become a *cakravarttin* or even *Śakro devānām indrah*.

39 With *viṣīdantam*, cp. i, 28; ii, 1.

40 On the words *prajnāvādāṃś ca bhāsase*, cp. Speyer, *ZDMG.*, lvi, 123 f.; Boehtlingk, *ibid.*, lvi, 209; Oldenberg, *l.c.*, p. 332, n. 3. To me the passage seems perfectly clear (cp. also *MBh.*, xii, 6528: *dhīra iva bhāṣase*). Professor Schrader has kindly furnished me with the various reading of the Kaśmīrī redaction which runs: *aśocyān anvaśocas tvam prājñavan nābhibhāṣase*; this, however, to me appears to be only an 'emendation' of a seemingly unintelligible passage.

41 Cp. *MBh.*, vi, 646; *adharmaḥ kṣattriyasyaiṣa yad vyādhimaraṇaṃ gṛhe | yad ājau nidhanaṃ yāti so'sya dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ ||*; *Viṣṇu* 3, 44: *nāsti rājñāṃ samare tanutyāgasadṛśo dharmaḥ*, etc.

42 With this verse cp. *MBh.*, vi, 643: *idaṃ vaḥ kṣattriyā dvāraṃ svargāyāpāvṛtam mahat | gacchadhvaṃ tena śakrasya brahmaṇaś ca salokatām ||* Rajwade *Bhandarkar Comm. Volume*, p. 332, correctly remarks that in our verse one expects *iva* after *svargadvāraṃ*.

43 On the words *yeṣāṃ ca tvam bahumato bhūtvā yāsyasi lāghavam*, cp. Schlegel-Lassen, *l.c.*, pp. xxix, n. 167; Boehtlingk, *Ber. d. Sachs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1897, p. 7; Johansson, *Monde or.*, ii, 84; Rajwade, *l.c.*, p. 329. The construction is bad, but scarcely worse than many others met with in the epic.

44 The 'unspeakable tales' (*avācyavādāh*) would probably allude not only to Arjuna's refusal to fight, but also to the rather dubious part played by him as Bṛhannala (on the name cp. *ZDMG.*, lxxii, 226) in the court of Virāṭa. The earlier part of the Virāṭaparvan, where the Pāṇḍavas make a rather ridiculous display of themselves, must certainly belong to the old parts of the epic.

19. (38) 'Being indifferent to pleasure and pain, gain and loss, victory and defeat, make thyself ready for battle. Then thou shalt not fall into sin.' "[45]

20. "When the warriors on their high cars perceived Dhanañjaya grasping his arrows and the Gāṇḍīva[46] they again gave forth great shouts."

* * *

Thus, I venture to think, ran the original part of the text upon which, later on, the Bhāgavatas built up what is now known as the Bhagavadgītā. That the whole of the present poem starts from ii, 39, is a conclusion which I hold more or less in common with Professors Schrader and Jacobi and with the late Oldenberg. However, I differ from these great authorities in totally rejecting also the verses ii, 12—30, which have been retained wholly or partly by previous authors.

That little part of canto ii which I find it possible to retain as part of the original Mahābhārata contains the exhortation of Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna to rise up in arms and take part in the battle. But in these verses, just as little as in those preceding and in canto i, we find not the slightest trace of those doctrines which are characteristic of the present Bhagavadgītā. There is not a word here of resignation, of *Yoga*, etc. 'Take part in the battle,' says Kṛṣṇa, and :

*hato vā prāpsyasi svargaṃ jitvā vā bhokṣyase mahīm.*

'Either live and conquer the earth, or die and go to Heaven, the paradise of Indra'[47]—these are the ideals of a chivalrous class and period, in a way strikingly like those of the Scandinavian Viking time when the brave man did either win power and riches or go, sword in hand, to the very material paradise of Valhall. Be it far from me to deny that the doctrine of metempsychosis was known to those *preux chevaliers*. But it was of no great consequence, as valour and fulfilment of the *svadharma* would assure for them a life in Heaven of so long duration as to appear nearly eternal. Not to obey the *svadharma*, however, would lead, not to *svarga*, but to Hell. And as the *svadharma* of the nobleman-warrior is to fight and conquer or die in battle, Arjuna's unmanly resolution is only a sort of folly (*moha*, *kaśmala*) which is soon dissipated by the fiery words of Kṛṣṇa.

In such surroundings the explanations regarding rebirth and immortality contained in vv. ii, 12—30, are singularly inappropriate. They have been strung on quite loosely to the words : *gatāsūn agatāsūṃś ca nānuśocanti paṇḍitāḥ* in verse 11, and can never have belonged to the old epic text. We may also observe that within these nineteen verses there is quite a series of quotations from or more or less close parallels to verses belonging to other texts.[48] Verses 19—20 are closely related to *Kāṭh. Up.*, 2, 19, 18 and verse 29 to *Kāṭh. Up.*, 2, 7, while verse 13 is= *Viṣṇusmṛti* 20, 49 and verses 23—25 and 27—28 are with certain minor variants = *Viṣṇusmṛti* 20, 51—53, 29, 48[49] ; there is also a strong resemblance between verse 22 and *Viṣṇusmṛti* 20, 50. The passage ii, 12—30, is apparently of late origin and has partly been pieced together from quotations taken from older sources.

(*To be continued.*)

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45 Professor Jacobi, *ZDMG.*, lxxii, 324, finds a certain discrepancy between this verse and the preceding one. Of this I can trace nothing. If, however, we want to keep v. 33 we must needs keep this one too, as there is an apparent correspondence between *pāpam avāpsyasi* in that verse and *naiva pāpam avāpsyasi* here.

46 The words *bāṇagāṇḍīvadhāriṇam* apparently allude to i, 47 ; *evam uktvārjunaḥ saṃkhye rathopastha upāviśat | visṛjya saśaraṃ cāpaṃ śokasaṃvignamānasaḥ* || After hearing Kṛṣṇa's words Arjuna has again grasped his bow and arrows and is ready to fight.

47 Cp. with this Arjuna's words in ii, 8 : *avāpya bhūmāv asapatnam ṛddhaṃ rājyaṃ surāṇām api cādhipatyam.*

48 Cp. Dr. G. Haas, *JAOS.*, xli, 40 f.

49 A comparison between *Viṣṇusmṛti* 20, 48, *a-b* : *avyaktādīni bhūtāni vyaktamadhyāni cāpy atha* and *Bhag.*, ii, 28 *a-b* : *avyaktādīni bhūtāni vyaktamadhyāni bhārata* seems to me not to leave room for any doubt that the Gītā version with its unnecessary *bhārata* is of a younger date.

# ORIGIN OF THE CASTE SYSTEM IN INDIA.

BY THE LATE S. CHARLES HILL.

(*Continued from page* 75.)

Jean Law, rightly ignoring the crudities of popular belief and custom, tells us that from the learned Brahmans with whom he conversed, he learned that the Hindu was taught "to believe in a Supreme Being, who has created a regular gradation of beings, some superior, some inferior to men, the immortality of the Soul and a future state of recompense and punishment, which consists in its transmigration[2] from one body to another, according to the life which it has led in the precedent state........They own that errors have been introduced into their religion........and ridicule the idolatry of the multitude, but maintain that it is necessary to humour the weakness of the common people and so will not admit the faintest doubt as to the divine character of their Legislator. Speak to them of the truth of the Christian religion, they answer that it may well be true, but that God has given to each nation its own laws and a form of worship different from others, which He has prescribed for them, which their ancestors have followed for thousands of years and which they have no reason to doubt that it pleases Him." Vincent Smith (*Oxford History*, p. 34) says :—"The members of any caste may believe or disbelieve any creed or doctrine, religious or philosophical, without affecting their caste position. That can be forfeited only by breach of the caste regulations concerning the *dharma* or practical duty of members belonging to the group. Each caste has its own *dharma* in addition to the common rules of morality as accepted by Hindus generally and considered to be the *dharma* of mankind." The Abbé Dubois (*Hindu Manners*, pp. 300-301) says :—"Before the character and behaviour of Europeans became well known to the people it seemed possible that Christianity might take root among them. Little by little it was overcoming the numberless obstacles which the prejudices of the country continually placed in its way. Several missionaries, animated by a truly apostolic zeal, had penetrated into the interior of the country and there, by conforming scrupulously to all the usages and customs of the Brahmans—in their clothing, food, conversation and general conduct in life—had managed to win the attention of the people and by dint of perseverance had succeeded in gaining a hearing. Their high character, talents and virtues and, above all, their perfect disinterestedness, obtained for them the countenance and support of even the native princes who, agreeably surprised at the novelty of their teaching, took these extraordinary men under their protection and gave them liberty to preach their religion and make what proselytes they could." Roberto de Nobili converted nearly 100,000 idolaters in the kingdom of Madura alone. "The French Mission at Pondicherry numbered 60,000 Christians in the province of Arcot and was daily making further progress when the conquest of the country by Europeans took place—a disastrous event as far as the advance of Christianity was concerned......... About eighty years ago there must have been at least 1,200,000 native Christians in the Peninsula, while now, at the very utmost they amount to but one half of that number." It is evident therefore that Hindu intolerance towards Christianity did not exist so long as the teaching of the new religion made no attack upon Caste, but was first excited by the bad conduct of the people, mostly English and French, who professed that religion. It was further accentuated when it appeared that a principal tenet of the followers of this religion was the equality of mankind and when the missionaries began to teach their converts to ignore caste distinctions. To a people accustomed for thousands of years to the idea of Caste inequality, this tenet was not merely shocking but patently opposed to the evidence of everyday observation and even contradicted by its very professors with their assumption of racial superiority.

[2] *N.B.*—This doctrine of Transmigration or Metempsychosis, according to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, is not found in the *Vedas* but in the *Upanishads*, which latter are supposed to have been composed not earlier than 600 B.C., but this fact gives us no real clue as to when it was adopted in the popular belief.

So far, therefore, from Hinduism being aggressive the charge of intolerance resolves itself into the fact that Hinduism resents attacks, as does every other religion.

The third objection is to the apparently idle life of the Brahmans. This charge, of course, is levelled against the Temple Brahmans and priesthood and so far is so similar to the charges brought against the priesthoods of other religions, which are maintained by common consent in all civilizations, that it would be idle to discuss it. It has no bearing whatsoever on the lives of the true Brahmans who have betaken themselves to a life of seclusion and meditation. Such Brahmans are not ignorant of the world. They have passed through the stages of study and married life and have renounced the pleasures of ordinary life only when they have performed its duties and experienced its cares. Their maintenance is no charge upon the community. At the same time their assistance is available as disinterested advisers or arbitrators whenever such services are needed. When one thinks how much of the trouble in western countries is due to mutual distrust between both individuals and classes, this in itself would be a sufficient justification of their mode of life, but there is another form of service rendered by them which is not easy to gauge and is very difficult to describe. In the first place, it is, I think, an acknowledged fact that there is no discovery in modern science, no fresh mastery over the powers of Nature, which has not been anticipated and, perhaps I may add, suggested to what we call practical men by imaginative dreamers to whose minds strange ideas have presented themselves when meditating in silence and seclusion. It is for the practical man to carry these into effect, but why should he despise the man whose mind first gave birth to the idea and made other men think about it until, in due time, the desire for its fruition arose and the means presented themselves? In most cases the practical man rejects as idle all those ideas which he cannot at the moment find means to carry out but he does not dare to say that they will never be carried out. Further, it is a known fact that in all countries and at all times there have been people who possessed powers inexplicable to the science of their time and any man who has been long in India will acknowledge that he has known or heard of, on unimpeachable authority, men amongst the Brahmans to whom such powers are ascribed. A European may doubt the superhuman character of these men, but he cannot deny their existence and their powers. It is evident that the knowledge and powers of these men are not the result of what we mean by scientific observation and experiment. Whence then were they derived? The Hindu would say they come by inspiration granted only to men who have devoted themselves to meditation and have renounced all possibility of personal advantage from the gift, but keep it stored up for the benefit of mankind at the right season. If this is so, it must be acknowledged that the existence of a class of men fitted to receive such ideas and such powers is a distinct advantage to the world in general.

With these remarks on the nature of the Caste System we may return to the question of its origin.

(XI) *Line of thought leading to the suggestion of the Caste System. Reasons for the impermanence of earlier civilizations and imperfection of various forms of government.*—As I have said, we cannot fix any date for the first institution of Caste, but signs of its existence can be traced to about 2000 B.C. It was either brought by the Aryan invaders or established soon after their arrival in India. That these invaders were a highly cultured race is proved by the sublimity of their early literature, which it is impossible to suppose could have been the product of barbarian minds. That they were few in number seems to me the natural conclusion when one considers that, as Vincent Smith has pointed out (*vide* the first paragraph of this paper), the Hindu policy was one of peaceful penetration only, and that an invasion by a great horde can hardly have been accomplished peacefully. This paucity of numbers is no mere idea of my own, for Mr. A. E. Gough remarks (*Philosophy of the Upanishads*, 1882, p. 4) :—" Following Dr. Latham and Mr. Norris, Dr. Carpenter points out that it is only by an error that the ordinary Hindu population are supposed to be the descendants of this invading

branch of the Aryan stock...... ..The number of individuals of the invading race were so small in proportion to that of the indigenous population as to be speedily merged in it...... The only distinct traces of the Aryan stock are to be found in the Brahmanical caste which preserves, though with great corruption, the original Brahmanical religion and keeps up the Sanskrit as its classical language." It seems to me, therefore, that these Aryan invaders were, as I have already suggested, the refugee remnant of some great civilization and that their leaders, whilst seeking for a new home, worked out in their minds the problem of a stable basis for Society. The line of thought which they followed may have been somewhat of this nature.

As the stability of any social system must ultimately rest partly upon the fitness of the ruling power and partly upon the happiness and contentment of the governed, it was clear that any solution of the problem would depend upon the nature of the human individuals occupying either position. No people could be happy and contented if their rulers were greedy and tyrannical, and no rulers could make their subjects happy if the latter were ignorant and vicious. It was, therefore, necessary to enquire what it was in human nature which unfitted human beings either to rule or to be ruled.

Looking around them, these early philosophers saw that not only did different men desire different things, but that the same individual desired different things at different times and often, at any given time, did not know clearly what it was that he desired. Further, they saw that the strength of desire was by no means balanced by the knowledge how to satisfy that desire, and hence human action was more often the result of panic efforts to escape from a present evil than of a calm and intelligent examination of suitable means and a clear understanding of the object aimed at. Confusion of desire produced infirmity of will and so rendered reasoned and consistent action impossible.

An examination of the past showed that the founders of the earliest social systems recognized the general weakness of human beings and, despairing of the masses, had come to the conclusion that they could be controlled only by superior force. As long as this could be maintained and no longer, the State would be stable. They first thought to stabilize Society by picking out what appeared to be the best individuals of the tribe or nation, *i.e.*, those with the greatest force of mind and body, in short the natural leaders, whom the mob followed instinctively, and establishing them *and their descendants, as the likely heirs of their superior qualities*, in a position of permanent power. Hence the growth of Theocracies, Despotisms and Aristocracies. In all these what was considered requisite in the ruler or ruling power was physical force to control and defend the people, wisdom to guide and provide, and comparative wealth which, while freeing the ruler or rulers from personal anxiety and the greed which would certainly lead to injustice, allowed leisure for thought and disinterested and dispassionate study of State problems.

How much leisure and freedom from worldly interests were considered essential for those who were to govern the people is to be seen in the exclusion from all share in public affairs of whole classes of people who now lay claim to it, which we find in *Ecclesiasticus* (Chap. 38, vv. 24—34) :—"The wisdom of a learned man cometh by opportunity of leisure and he that hath a little business shall become wise." The peasant and the artisan are too much occupied with their work to have the leisure necessary for thinking upon public questions. "All these trust to their hands and every one is wise in his own work. Without these cannot a city be inhabited," but "they shall not be sought for in public counsel nor set high in the congregation ; they shall not sit in the judge's seat nor understand the sentence of judgment ; they cannot declare justice and judgment and they shall not be found where parables are spoken. But they will maintain the state of the world and all their desire is in the work of their craft." It was this leisure which the Brahmans, alone of all ruling bodies, provided for themselves, not by imposing a costly charge for their maintenance upon the governed, but

by renouncing all civic honours and material rewards and living in as simple a manner as Nature and the Climate would allow them.

The theory underlying these previous political and social systems, namely that all that was requisite for stability was strength and wisdom in the ruler and attention to his own business on the part of the subject, seemed sound enough at first, but it was based upon the false hypothesis that the ruling class and the class ruled would, by the hereditary transmission of their respective qualities, always retain the same relative position towards each other ; but, sooner or later, the members of the ruling class were debauched by the easiness of their lives, dwindled in numbers relatively to the governed and, losing consciousness of real strength, out of fear became tyrannical, whilst the subject classes, forced to think by their sufferings, grew conscious of their brute strength and refused to submit to control. Hence came democracies, in which the people, fondly thinking that they governed themselves, really entrusted their destinies to the hands of leaders of no greater wisdom than themselves—and, as a natural result of the attempt to choose the wisest by the votes of the foolish, succumbed to the first powerful attack from an external enemy.

*(To be continued.)*

## PERIODS IN INDIAN HISTORY.

BY F. J. RICHARDS, M.A., I.C.S. (*Retired.*)

(*Continued from page* 64.)

### III. Further India.

The periodicity of culture in Further India is a reflex of Indian history.

#### 1. Ceylon.

The Sinhalese chronicles distinguish between the "Great Dynasty" and the "Lesser Dynasty" (Maha-vamsa and Sulavamsa). Why the distinction is drawn is not obvious, but it so happens that the Great Dynasty covers roughly the Early Period, the Lesser Dynasty the Medieval and Modern.

The history of Ceylon is a history of invasions from India.

The chief events assigned by tradition to the Period 600—300 B.C. are (1) the arrival of Vijaya, a prince of Bengal lineage, in the year of the Buddha's death, (2) the Sinhalese colonization and (3) the foundation of Anuradhapura (*c.* 370 B.C.), which remained continuously the capital till VII A.D.

The Period 300—1 B.C. is one of great activity, religious and political. It covers the conversion of Devanampiya Tissa (247—207 B.C.)[20] by a mission sent by Asoka (246 B.C.) and the establishment of Buddhism. From 177 to 101[21] B.C. the sovereignty was usurped by Tamil invaders. Two other rulers of note succeeded them,—Duthagamani (101—77) and, after a second Tamil usurpation (44—29 B.C.), Vattagamani (29—17 B.C.). The Period 1—300 A.D. is one of stagnation.

The Medieval Period opens with a revival of religious activity under Gothabhaya (302—315) and Mahasena (325—352, the last ruler of the "Great Dynasty"). Then follows a series of dreary Tamil wars and usurpations. In about 650 A.D. there are indications of a change of policy : Ceylon interfered in mainland politics, aided Pallavas against Chalukyas, and Pandyas against Cholas ; till XI A.D., when Ceylon became a Chola Province. The ejection of the Cholas was followed by a final outburst of Sinhalese vigour in the brilliant reign of Parakrama Bahu I (1153—86), who played a part in the disruption of the Chola Empire.

The Period 1200—1500 A.D. is one of decadence and recession. As early as *c.* 650 A.D. Anuradhapura gave place temporarily to the less exposed Polonnaruva as royal residence. The shifting of a capital is a symptom of instability, and though Anuradhapura regained its status, Polonnaruva was preferred at intervals, and became the permanent capital from

[20] Following the tentative chronology suggested by W. Geiger, *The Mahavamsa* (1912).

[21] With one brief interval, 155—145 B.C.

*c*. 1070 to 1215.[22] Then wandering began again, this time towards the S.W., and, ultimately, with the advent of the Europeans in XVI A.D., the remnant of Sinhalese nationality retired to the Kandyan Hills.

### 2. Burma.[23]

The history of Burma is the product of three main ethnic factors—(1) Mon (Talaing), (2) Tibeto-Burman and (3) Tai (Shan). The Mons (of Austric speech) developed their culture in Lower Burma in Thaton and Pegu, the Tibeto-Burmans in Upper Burma in the Middle Irrawaddy basin, the Tai-speaking Shans, in the Yunnan hinterland.[24]

Indian cultural influence is strong. Upper Burma apparently got its early culture by land from Bengal, Lower Burma by sea from S. India. Thus the early Buddhism of Upper Burma was Sanskrit-Mahayanist, of Lower Burma Pali-Hinayanist.

The chronology of the Early Period is not known. Dated history begins only with the Middle Medieval Period.

A. By about 650 A.D. the Pyus, "forerunners of the Tibeto-Burmans," had established a great city at Prome; their language was Tibeto-Burman; their script akin to that used in S. India in V and VI A.D. The Burmese Era (adopted later in Siam and Cambodia) dates from 638 A.D.

B. Some time after 800 A.D. the Pyus of Prome were overthrown and migrated, it is said, to Pagan. In course of time the Pyus appear to have merged in the Burmese nation.

C. The last phase of this Period saw Burma united under the enlightened Empire of Pagan. Anawrahta (1044—81) over-ran the South, captured Thaton (*c*. 1057) and assimilated the culture of the Mons. Henceforth Burma was the stronghold of Hinayana Buddhism.[25]

The Period 1200—1500 A.D. is that of "Shan Dominion." It has two phases. Between 1200 and 1360 the Shans (with Kublai Khan behind them) over-ran the Irrawaddy valley and broke up the Pagan Empire into Shan principalities, notably those at Sagaing and Pinya on the Middle Irrawaddy and at Martaban near Thaton. In about 1366 came a move towards reconstruction with the founding of Ava in Upper Burma and the transfer of the capital of the South from Martaban to Pegu. This consolidation led to a generation of war between Ava and Pegu (1385—1417), followed by a period of internecine strife in Ava and the "Golden Age" of the Mons (1423—1539).

Early in the Modern Period Burma became once more united under the Toungoo Dynasty (1531—1752), a buffer state which grew up between Ava and Pegu and then destroyed them both. Toungoo had been an asylum for disgruntled Burmese, and was anti-Shan. In 1547 the new rulers entered on the last phase of the struggle with the Tai, the wars with Siam,[26] which lasted well into the nineteenth century. In 1740 came the Talaing Revolution, the last brief flicker of the Mons, followed by the Burmese Empire of Alompra (1752-1885).

### 3. Middle and Further Indo-China.

As in Lower Burma, so in the countries now known as Siam and French Indo-China, history begins with peoples of Austric speech and Indianized culture, Mons in the Upper Menam valley centring in Lamphun, Khmers in Cambodia in the Mekong valley, Chams in Champa on the Annam seaboard.

22 Except for a short interval (1026—54).

23 This, and the succeeding sections on Indo-China and Indonesia, are largely based on notes kindly furnished by Dr. C. O. Blagden.

24 The Tibeto-Chinese family of languages is divided into (1) Tibeto-Burman and (2) Tai-Chinese sub-families. To the latter belongs the language of the Shans. The Austric family includes among others the languages of Polynesia and Melanesia and Malaya, the Khmers of Cambodia, the Chams of Champa and about four million Munda speakers in Chota Nagpur.

25 From *c*. 1181—2 (Kalyani inscription) Ceylon Buddhism began to replace the Thaton type, which probably came from Conjeeveram. See G. E. Harvey, *Hist. of Burma*, p. 56.

26 The word "Shan" is a Burmanized form of "Siam," now restricted to the Northern Tai only.

A. CHAMPA.

In about 150 A.D. an "Indian" Kingdom was founded in the S. Annam littoral, apparently Buddhist and using a W. Indian script.[27] Its extent and history are unknown.

In the period 300—650 begins a series of Cham dynasties, whose rule extended from the borders of (perhaps included) the Mekong Delta to the neighbourhood of Huè, where they marched with the Chinese culture area of the Tonkin basin. From about 400 to 1200 A.D. the records of the Chams are fairly continuous. Their religion was dominantly Hindu; Saivism tinged with Vaishnavism and Mahayanist Buddhism. Their artistic zenith was reached early in VII A.D.; from 657 onwards decadence set in.

B. CAMBODIA.

Meanwhile, in the Mekong Valley, known to the Chinese as Funan, a Khmer kingdom, enjoying a culture similar to that of Champa, was established in V A.D., or earlier,[28] a kingdom which extended for a time to the Menam and beyond. The names of some of its kings of VI and VII A.D. are known from inscriptions and Chinese annals, up to about 668. Then comes a period of obscurity during which, apparently, the Funan Empire was divided. Then, from a northern province of Funan, came the Great Kambujas, whose monuments at Angkor are among the wonders of the world.[29]

C. LAMPHUN.

The Mons of the Upper Menam basin were Hinayanist Pali-using Buddhists, like their kinsmen in Thaton; and used the Mon language in their temple inscriptions.

In the period 650—1200 Champa was oppressed by foreign invasions, and her capital shifted up and down the coast in accord with the varying fortunes of her wars. In X A.D. the Annamese of the Tonkin basin, which till then was virtually an annexe of China, taking advantage of the trouble consequent on the fall of the T'ang Dynasty, made a bid for independence, and turned on Champa, which was already hard pressed by Cambodia, and in 1192 Champa became for a short while a Cambodian dependency.

But the power of Cambodia was already sapped from another quarter. The period 1200—1500 is one of Tai conquest. As early as 650 A.D. the Tai of Yunnan had formed the Kingdom of Nanchao, which lasted till 1253, when it fell to Kublai Khan. From time immemorial their kinsmen had pressed southwards into the sphere of Cambodian control. Early in XIII A.D. a Tai kingdom was established at Sukhothai on the Middle Menam, and the Kambujas were ejected from the Menam basin. The Mon dynasty of Lamphun, which had held its own for centuries against Tai aggression in the north and Cambodian conquest in the south, gave place to a Tai kingdom, with its capital at Chiengmai. It appears that, just as the Mons of Thaton passed on their "orthodox" Pali Buddhism to the Burmans, so these Mons, in what was to become Siam, passed it on to the Tai, who in turn transmitted it to the Kambujas. By 1285 the Sukhothai kingdom had extended southwards as far as Ligor, on the isthmus of the Malay Peninsula. In about 1350[30] a rival Tai state sprang up at Ayuthia, in the Lower Menam basin, which eventually absorbed Sukhothai and Chiengmai and so became the Siamese Empire.

Cambodia put up a stout fight for her homeland, and her power was not finally broken till 1574, while a remnant of Champa held out against the Annamese till 1471, when she became a "protected state" as a prelude to final absorption.

In the Modern Period Siam was too busy with her Burmese wars to take more than occasional interest in her eastern neighbours, Cambodia and Annam, who quarrelled and fought till the French put an end to their feuds.

27 Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, 3. 139 and 148 (Vo-can inscription).

28 Funan was known to the Chinese long before V A.D., and the Chinese annals indicate that there were Hindus in Funan as early as III A.D. or earlier; but the sources are explicit that a Hindu state was founded between 357 and 424 A.D. (Eliot, 3. 105).

29 Angkor-Thom IX A.D.; Angkor Vat XII A.D.

30 The date generally accepted, though some would place it in the middle of the following century.

### 4. Indonesia.

The earliest epigraphic evidence of Indian culture in Java is in the West, and dates from about 400 A.D.[31] The inscriptions are in Sanskrit; the script that of the Kistna-Godavari deltaic plain of S. India; the religion Brahmanic. Similar inscriptions have been found in Borneo and at Kedah in the Malay Peninsula. There are no known monuments of this period.

The period 650—1200 opened with Hinayanist Buddhism in Sumatra (I-Tsing, 688—695) and Hinduism in Java (inscription of Sanjaya, 732), but, in about 700, a strong Mahayana Buddhism (more or less Tantric and using the Nagari script of N. India) appeared in S. Sumatra, and extended to C. Java by about 750.[32] This new movement is associated with the expansion of the Sailendra dynasty of Sri-Vijaya, centring at Palembang, which controlled the international sea trade through the Straits of Malacca till near the end of XII A.D., though twice in XI A.D. Sumatra was raided by the Cholas of S. India. To Sailendra influence are due the great monuments of the period in Java, among them Borobudur and the later temples of the Dieng.

During the Sailendra period E. Java, too, had an Indianized culture, and its kings returned to C. Java when (*c.* 860) the Sailendras ceased to rule there. But in 929, for reasons unknown, they again shifted their capital eastward. The earliest extant Javanese literature is ascribed to the period 1000—1200.

The period 1200—1500 is marked by the gradual rise of Islam and the final overthrow of Hindu sovereignty. For a brief space the Javanese Hindu kingdom of Majapahit, founded in 1292—3, just before the abortive expedition sent by Kublai Khan, held sway over the greater part of Sumatra, Borneo and the Malay Peninsula, but by 1400 its overseas influence was waning and, shortly after, all but ceased. Meanwhile Islam, which before the end of XIII A.D. Marco Polo found established in N.W. Sumatra, steadily gained ground. By about 1400 a powerful Muslim Empire grew up in Malacca, which exercised suzerainty over the southern half of the Malay Peninsula, the opposite coast of Sumatra and the intervening islands. The vassals and neighbours of Majapahit were gradually converted to the new faith, and finally (apparently about 1468) the Hindu kingdom ceased to be.

The Modern Period of Indonesia belongs to Islam and Europe. In 1511 Malacca fell to the Portuguese, in 1641 to the Dutch, and, though the Muslims of Achin in Sumatra and Mataram in Java tried to consolidate resistance, Indonesia became a Dutch possession.

### 5. Tibet.

In Tibet there are three main epochs—(1) the Empire, (2) the Sakya Priest-Kings, (3) the Dalai Lamas. The first epoch belongs to the Middle, the second to the Later Medieval Period, the third is Modern.

Tibet emerges into the light of dated history in about 630 A.D., when Srong-tsan-gam-po founded an Empire which for two centuries competed on not unequal terms with the T'angs of China. The Period was one of intense literary and religious activity till about 850 A.D., when the Empire broke up and Buddhism was almost destroyed. In the last phase of this Period (XI A.D.) a new Buddhist infiltration began.

In XIII A.D. this Buddhist revival culminated in the recognition by Kublai Khan of the Abbots of the Sakya monastery as Kings. On the break-up of the Mongols this Sakya Dynasty (1270—1340) was succeeded by a lay dynasty (the Phagmodu) (1340—1576) which was recognised by the Mings. A second reformation[33] led, in XVI A.D., to the sovereignty of the Grand Lamas of Lhasa.

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31 Eliot, 3. 153. In Java, Borneo, Champa and Cambodia alike royal names commonly end in *varman* (ib. 164).

32 Certainly before 778, the date of their inscription at Kalasan.

33 The establishment of Buddhism in Tibet is associated with the Indian Padma Sambhava (*c* 750), the First Reformation ("Red Cap") with Atisa (*c.* 1040), the Second ("Yellow Cap") with Tsong-kha-pa (*c.* 1400);

## THE SOCIAL AND CEREMONIAL LIFE OF THE SANTALS CULLED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES.

BY BIREN BONNERJEA, D.LITT. (PARIS).

(*Continued from page 60.*)

6. SAREN (the constellation Pleiades).

23 sub-septs :

*Badar (Manda) Sâren*
*Biṭol Sâren*
*Dâṅtelâ Sâren*
*Jihu Sâren*
*Khâṇḍâ Sâren*
*Mânjhi Khil Sâren*
*Nâeke Khil Sâren*
*Obor Sâren*
*Pond Sâren*
*Sâdâ Sâren*
*Sidhup Sâren*
*Barchir Sâren*
*Čenel Sâren*
*Guâ Sâren*
*Jugi Sâren*
*Mâl Sâren*
*Mâr Sâren*
*Nij Sâren*
*Okh Sâren*
*Rokh Lutur Sâren*
*Sâṅkh Sâren*
*Tilok Sâren*
*Turku Lumâm Sâren*

7. ṬUḌU (?)

19 sub-septs :

*Bâbre Ṭuḍu*
*Bhoksâ Ṭuḍu*
*Čigi Ṭuḍu*
*Dâṅtelâ Ṭuḍu*
*Jugi Ṭuḍu*
*Kudâm Ṭuḍu*
*Mânjhi Khil Ṭuḍu*
*Nij Ṭuḍu*
*Sâdâ Ṭuḍu*
*Baski Ṭuḍu*
*Biṭol Ṭuḍu*
*Čuručh Ṭuḍu*
*Gaṛh Ṭuḍu*
*Khârhârâ Ṭuḍu*
*Lâṭh Ṭuḍu*
*Nâeke Khil Ṭuḍu*
*Obor Ṭuḍu*
*Sidhup Ṭuḍu*
*Tilok Ṭuḍu*

8. BASKI (?).

16 sub-septs :

*Bhiḍi Baski*
*Heṇḍe Baski*
*Jihu Baski*
*Kuhi Baski*
*Mânjhi Khil Baski*
*Nij Baski*
*Okh Baski*
*Sâru Gaḍâ Baski*
*Binḍar Baski*
*Biṭol Baski*
*Hedwâr Baski*
*Lâṭh Baski*
*Muṇḍâ Baski*
*Obor Baski*
*Sâdâ Baski*
*Suṛe Baski*

9. BESRA (falcon).

14 sub-septs :

*Baski Besrâ*
*Biṭol Besrâ*
*Kahu Besrâ*
*Lâṭh Besrâ*
*Nâeke Khil Besrâ*
*Obor Besrâ*
*Son Besrâ*
*Binḍar Besrâ*
*Gaṛh Besrâ*
*Kuhi Besrâ*
*Mânjhi Khil Besrâ*
*Nij Besrâ*
*Okh Besrâ*
*Tilok Besrâ*

10. PAURIYÂ (pigeon).

8 sub-septs :

| | |
|---|---|
| *Bâbre Pauriyâ* | *Biṭol Pauriyâ* |
| *Dâṅtelâ Pauriyâ* | *Gaṛh Pauriyâ* |
| *Jugi Pauriyâ* | *Lâth Pauriyâ* |
| *Nij Pauriyâ* | *Ṭikâ Pauriyâ* |

11. ČORE (lizard).

10 sub-septs :

| | |
|---|---|
| *Badar Čore* | *Bardu Čore* |
| *Dâṅtelâ Čore* | *Jihu Čore* |
| *Khâṇḍâ Čore* | *Mâl Čore* |
| *Nâeke Khil Čore* | *Nij Čore* |
| *Obor Čore* | *Sâdâ Čore* |

12. BEDIYA (BEDEYA) [sheep].

7 sub-septs :

| | |
|---|---|
| *Biṭol Bediyâ* | *Mâṅjhi Khil Bediyâ* |
| *Lâth Bediyâ* | *Obor Bediyâ* |
| *Nâeke Khil Bediyâ* | *Ṭikâ Bediyâ* |
| *Gaṛh Bediyâ* | |

Of these septs and sub-septs, the " *Pauria* (pigeon) and the *Chore* (lizard) clans are said to have been so called because on a famous hunting party conducted by the tribe, members of these clans failed to kill anything but pigeons and lizards respectively. Members of the *Murmu* (antelope) clan may not kill the species of antelope from which they take their name, nor may they touch its flesh.[20] Among the sub-clans or sub-septs (*khunts*) into which the Santâl clans (*paris*) are divided we may note *Kahu* (crow), *Kara* (buffalo), *Chilbinda* (eagle-slayer), *Roh-Lutur* (ear-pierced), *Dantela* (so called from breeding pigs with very large tusks for sacrifice), *Gua* (areca nut), *Kachua* (tortoise), *Nag* (cobra), *Somal* (deer), *Kekra* (crab), *Roht* (*panjaun* tree), *Boar* (a fish), *Handi* (earthen vessel), *Sikiya* (a chain), *Barchi* (spearmen), *Sankh* (conch shell), *Sidup* or *Siduk* (a bundle of straw), *Agaria* (charcoal-burners), and *Lat* (bake meat in a leaf platter).[21] Many of the sub-clans observe certain curious traditional usages. Thus at the time of the harvest in January members of the *Saren* (Pleiades) clan and the *Sidup* (bundle of straw) sub-clan set up a sheaf of rice in the doorway of their cattle sheds. This sheaf they may not themselves touch, but some one belonging to another sub-clan must be got to take it away. Men of the *Saren* clan and the *Sada* sub-clan do not use vermilion in their marriage ritual; they may not wear clothes with a red border on such occasions, nor may they be present at any ceremony at which the priest offers his own blood to propitiate the gods. Men of the *Saren* clan and the *Jugi* sub-clan, on the other hand, smear their foreheads with vermilion (*sindur*) at the harvest festival and go round begging alms of rice. With the rice they get they make little cakes, which they offer to the gods. Members of the *Saren* clan and the *Manjhi-Khil* sub-clan are so called because their ancestor was a *manjhi* or village headman. Like the *Sada-Saren*, they are forbidden to attend when the priest offers up his own blood. Members of the *Saren* clan and the *Naiki-Khil* sub-clan claim descent from a *naik* or village priest and may not enter a house of which the inmates are ceremonially unclean. They have a sacred grove (*jadhirthân*) of their own apart from the common sacred grove of the village, and they dispense with the services of the priest who serves the rest of the village. Members of the *Saren* clan and the *Ok* sub-clan sacrifice a goat or a pig in their houses, and during the ceremony they shut the doors tight and allow no

[20] [E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 212 f. ; (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii, 226-228, and Appendix, pp. 125 f. (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*,[5] p. 202 (as to exogamy of the clan and paternal descent).] I have given Sir James's references within square brackets * * *].

[21] [ (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. Appendix, pp. 125 f.]

smoke to escape. The word *ok*, which is the name of the sub-clan, means to suffocate or stifle with smoke. Members of the *Saren* clan and the *Mundu* or *Badar* (dense jungle) sub-clan offer their sacrifices in the jungle, and allow only males to eat the flesh of the animals which they have slain. Members of the *Saren* clan and the *Mal* sub-clan may not utter the word *mal* when they are engaged in a religious ceremony or sitting to determine tribal questions. Men of the *Saren* clan and the *Jihu* sub-clan may not kill or eat the *jihu* or babbler bird, after which they are called, nor may they wear a particular sort of necklace, known as *jihu mâlâ* from the resemblance which it bears to the babbler bird's eggs. The babbler bird is said to have guided the ancestor of the clan to water when he was dying of thirst in the forest. Members of the *Saren* clan and *Sankh* (conch shell) sub-clan may not wear shell necklaces or ornaments. Members of the *Saren* clan and the *Barchir* (spearman) sub-clan plant a spear in the ground when they are engaged in religious or ceremonial observances."[22]

The family being of such paramount importance in the life of a Santâl, all his ceremonies are in some way or other connected with it. The six great Santâl ceremonies are [23] :—

(i) Admission into the family:
(ii) Admission into the tribe ;
(iii) Admission into the race ;
(iv) Union of his own tribe with another by marriage ;
(v) Formal dismissal from the living by incremation ; and
(vi) Re-union with departed fathers.

Of these, the first is a secret rite differing in formalities from locality to locality. One form of it consists in the father repeating to himself the name of the ancestral deity, and acknowledging the child by putting his hand on the child's head. The second ceremony is more public in character and is known as the *Nartha*. It takes place three days after birth if the baby be a girl, and five days after birth if the baby be a boy. First, a ceremony of purification is performed, for the Santâl holds as unclean a family in which a birth has taken place, and will not partake of any food from such a household. The purification takes place by shaving the head of the child, while the clansmen stand around and sip water mingled with *nîm* (*Melia Azadirachta*), a bitter vegetable juice. The father then names the child, if a boy, after his own father,[24] if a girl, after his wife's mother ; and the midwife, immediately on hearing the word, takes rice and water, and, going round the circle of relatives, sprinkles a few drops on the breast of each visitor, calling out the child's name. The family, including the new-born babe, is then held to be re-admitted into the clan ; and the ceremony ends with the kinsmen of both father and mother sitting down to huge earthen pitchers of beer, to which, in rich households, a feast is added.[25] This ceremony, therefore, is not only a ceremony for admission into the tribe, but it is also the *annaprâśana* or the ceremony of making a child taste rice boiled in milk for the first time.

The third ceremony of admission into the race takes place in the fifth year after the birth of a child. It is an important ceremony in the eyes of the Santâl, inasmuch as the Santâl considers that any one who has died without performing this ceremony is an object of the wrath of the gods, and is doomed to eternal torture. The ceremony consists in marking the right arm of a Santâl child with certain tribal spots, the number of which varies, but is always an uneven one.[26]

22 (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. ii, pp. 301 f., quoting [(Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii, 228].

23 (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 203.

24 Cf. E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 214 ; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. ii, p. 302 ; Bibhuti Bhuṣan Gupta, *Sâontâl jîvan*, *Prabâsî*, Jaisṭha 1332 [Bengali era], p. 264 ; B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 23. Cf. Col. (Sir) H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson* (London, 1886), p. 476, *s.v.* "Neem" [for the supposed healing and magical qualities of the *nîm*].

25 (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 204.

26 (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, pp. 204 f.

The most important ceremony in the life of a Santâl is his union with another tribe by marriage (*châtîyâr*). Marriage is so important among them that it is said that "nobody but an idiot remains a celebate," [27] and a man who remains single "is at once despised by both the sexes, and is classed next to a thief, or a witch: they term the unhappy wretch as 'No man.'"[28] But though marriage is of such primary importance among them, yet child marriage, in the opinion of the best authorities, is unknown among them.[29] As a rule a Santâl lad marries about the age of sixteen or seventeen, and a girl at that of fifteen.[30] To those accustomed to western marriages at a more advanced age, this may seem too early, but when we consider that adolescence commences earlier in tropical countries than in colder climates, and that a Santâl home is a very simple affair, consisting of a leaf hut and a few earthenware or brazen pots, which the lad is quite capable of providing, we need have no hesitation in saying that Santâl marriages are not child marriages, but marriages between grown-up persons.

Thus, the marrying parties being of a comparatively advanced age, a freedom of selection is allowed to them which is unknown among their neighbours, the Hindus. But marriages are planned and arranged by the parents of the parties concerned.[31] On the other hand, from one account, the relation between the sexes seems to be very strict among them, for we are told that a youth and a girl are allowed to look at, but not to speak to, each other. If they do, the youth is taken to the village council and asked if he wants to marry the girl; should he say no, he is beaten and fined, but should he say yes, he is only fined. [32] It may have been so at the time Hertel published his book in 1877, but it has undoubtedly changed since then. Neither does Hertel's statement agree with what Lord Avebury says. According to this latter writer, "marriages take place only once a year, mostly in January. For six days all candidates for matrimony live together, after which only are the separated couples regarded as having established their rights to marry."[33]

Several forms of marriage are known among the Santâls. Campbell says that the commonest and the most honourable form of marriage among them is by purchase.[34] Or, when purchase is not possible on account of poverty or some other reason, marriage by service is substituted for marriage by purchase.[35] Again, when a man has a son and a daughter of marriageable age, and is not in a position to pay the bride price for his son, he commissions a go-between (*râi-bâṛi*) to look out for a family in a like position, so that they may exchange daughters as wives for their sons; but in such cases the sister must be younger than her brother.[36]

[27] J. M. Macphail, "The Cycle of the Seasons in a Santâl Village," *The Calcutta Review*, N. S. vol. i, (Calcutta, 1913), p. 159; E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, i, 339.

[28] E. G. Man, *Sonthalia and the Sonthals* (London [1864]), p. 101; E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, i, 343.

[29] Cf. *Encyclopædia Britannica*,[13] vol. xxiv, p. 188.

[30] (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 205; E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, i, 352. Cf. E. G. Man, *Sonthalia and the Sonthals*, p. 20.

[31] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 215; H. B. Rowney, *The Wild Tribes of India* (London, 1882), p. 76; E. G. Man, *Sonthalia and the Sonthals*, p. 102; E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, ii, 280; *Ymer*, v, p. xxiv [cited by E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, ii, 293 note 1]; (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 205.

[32] L. Hertel, *Indisk Hjemmemission blandt Santalerne ved H. P. Brresen og L. O. Skrefsrud* (Kolding, 1877), p. 83, cited by E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, i, 143.

[33] J. Lubbock [Lord Avebury], *The Origin of Civilization* (London, 1892), 537.

[34] Rev. A. Campbell, "Santâl Marriage Customs," *Journal Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, ii (Bankipore, 1916), pp. 306, 331; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, ii, 218.

[35] L. S. S. O'Malley, *Census of India*, 1911, vol. v, Part 1 (Calcutta, 1913), 315; B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 23; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, ii, 328; E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, ii, 369.

[36] Rev. A. Campbell, "Santâl Marriage Customs," *Journal Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, ii, pp. 306, 331; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, ii, 218; E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, ii, pp. 357 f.

The Santâl weddings begin by the father of the boy sending a *râi-bâṛi* or go-between to the chosen girl's father. When a marriage offer is made, the girl's father receives it in silence, and then, after consulting with his wife, says : "Let the youth and the maiden meet ; then these things may be talked over." A meeting is arranged at a fair, and, if the couple be satisfied, some trifling present is made to the girl, who publicly prostrates herself before her prospective father-in-law, thus showing that she is agreeable to the engagement. The girl's clansmen then visit the lad's village, where the future husband salutes them with a kiss, taking each of them on his knees for a minute,[36] and gives to each of them a small present. Then the lad's clansmen visit the girl's village ; the bride-elect does exactly the same as the bridegroom-elect, that is, she salutes them and takes each in turn on her knee,[37] and makes some presents. This is done as a token of goodwill between the contracting parties, and these ceremonies complete the preliminaries pending the actual wedding.

The wedding ceremony itself takes place in a temporary shed erected for the purpose by the bride's clansmen in their own village. In this shed is placed a bough of the *mahuâ* tree, from which an intoxicating liquor is made, and under the bough is kept a pot of rice husked by the girl's family in a particular manner, soaked in water and coloured with a red dye.[39] On the arrival of the bridegroom the ceremony of purification begins by bathing him in water, which is drawn in a special manner. While the water destined for the nuptial bath is being drawn, one woman shoots an arrow into the water, and another slashes the water with a sword ; afterwards two young girls collect the water in pots, and carry it home in procession.[40] After the bath, the bridegroom takes off his old clothes, and puts on new clothes which are stained with vermilion by the girl's clanswomen. The rice and red-coloured water kept in the shed are used for divining purposes. If the grain has germinated abundantly, there will be many children ; if sparingly, there will be few ; and if the seeds, instead of germinating, have rotted, the marriage is an ill-omened one. On the fifth day, the bridegroom, dressed in his new clothes, is carried on men's shoulders to the bride's house. The bride is put in a basket, and the procession marches out. The young couple sprinkle one another with water from the opposite sides of a cloth placed between them. The bridegroom calls out the name of a god, and lifts the bride out of the basket. The clansmen then unite the dresses of the bride and bridegroom together, after which the girl's clanswomen bring burning charcoal, pound it with a pestle (*ṭok*), and extinguish it with water as a symbol of the final dissolution of all ties of the bride with her father's sept.[41] Moreover, the Santâl girl, after having eaten with her husband, becomes a member of his sept, and loses all connection with that of her father.[42]

*(To be continued.)*

37 Rev. E. L. Puxley of Rajmahal, quoted by (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 206.

38 Rev. E. L. Puxley, *loc. cit.*

39 Presumably the bough of the *mahuâ* tree and the pot of rice are symbolic of plenty for the pair, and red is meant as a protection against demons or the evil eye.

40 Rev. A. Campbell, "Santâl Marriage Customs," *Journal Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, ii, 313 ; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, ii, 421 ; B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 26. Sir James Frazer says (*loc. cit.*) that the intention of shooting arrows and slashing with a sword is to awaken the spirit of the water, whom they are going to rob, and I too agreed with the explanation (*loc. cit.*) ; but on mature consideration I am inclined to think that the ceremony is meant as a rite of purification so that the water may be free from the unwelcome presence of any evil spirits. The arrow-shooting and the sword-slashing are evidently meant to frighten away the demons.

41 (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, pp. 205 f.

42 E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 216 ; E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus* (London, 1894-1896), vol. ii, p. 353 ; E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. ii, pp. 449 f.

# BOOK-NOTICES.

THE PERSONALITY OF MUHAMMAD THE PROPHET, by A. YUSUF ALI, C.B.E. 8 × 5¾ in.; pp. 23. London, 1929.

This is a reprint of a speech delivered in London at the festival of *'Idi azhá*, and conveys a brief but appreciative presentment of the author's impressions of Muhammad's personality in its spiritual and moral aspects. As the occasion called for brevity, the address was confined to the salient attributes of the Prophet's character—his purity of heart and his staunchness of purpose, unshaken by difficulties or opposition or even fierce persecution. Mr. Yusuf Ali concludes with an appropriate and eloquent epilogue, to the effect that if his co-religionists understand aright and observe the teaching of their Prophet, "then we [Muhammadans] shall not act vainly or arrogantly in this world, but we shall respect all other people as he respected all those with whom he came into contact, and thus realise the message which is the corner-stone of his ministry—the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man."

C. E. A. W. O.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF NAGAI. Hyderabad Archæological Series, No. 8. Pp. vi + 60, with 8 plates. Calcutta, 1928.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF H. E. H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS FOR THE YEAR 1926-27. Pp. x + 37, with 13 plates. Calcutta, 1929.

The monograph on the Nagai Inscriptions has been written by Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu, Assistant Superintendent of Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, and contains a full description of four inscriptions found at Nagai (Nâgavâpî) in the Gulbarga district, not far from the well known site of Malkhed (the ancient Mânyakheṭa), relating to an educational institution founded and maintained under royal patronage. The establishment would seem from the contents to have been of a residential type, with provision made not only for boarding, but also for the clothing of its members, and the equipment and supervision of a library. The inscriptions, which belong to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, are mostly in a fair state of preservation and are of deep interest for the history of such institutions in medieval times.

In the annual report Mr. Yazdani records very interesting details of several old temples at Pillalmarî and Nâgulpad, both of which places are situated in the Nalgoṇḍa district in the valley of the Musi river, a northern tributary of the Kistnâ, and at Âlampur in the Raichur district, on the left bank of the Tungabhadrâ, about seven miles from Karnûl. The stone carving and the fluting of the pillars in the Someśvara and Rameśvara temples at Pillalmarî, which date from the twelfth century, are remarkably fine examples of medieval workmanship. Temple No. 1 at Nâgulpad, dating from the thirteenth century, also exhibits an exuberance of sculptural design and detail rarely excelled. A special nterest attaches to the temples at Âlampur, in that they display the influence of diverse architectural styles, besides their wealth of graceful carving. It is gratifying to learn that the revised scheme for the establishment of a museum at Hyderabad has been sanctioned; that steady progress is being made with the preparation of the *Album* of Ajanta frescoes; and that an artist has been appointed to copy the frescoes at Ellora. The plates in this volume have been most excellently reproduced: but we notice that the numbers assigned to the Âlampur temples on the plates are not quoted in the description in the text.

C. E. A. W. O.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT FOR THE YEAR 1928. Pp. v + 121 + 44+12, with 15 plates. Bangalore, 1929.

The most important discovery recorded in this report is that of two very beautiful Hoysala temples situated near Nâḍkalsi in the Sâgar taluk, which appear from inscriptions on three pillars to date from the early part of the thirteenth century. From the views given on Plate VI and the line carvings on Plate IX it will be noticed that these temples present certain architectural and sculptural features worthy of more detailed illustration and commentary. They are reported to be in a very good state of preservation, which is possibly due to their secluded situation. Excavation work has now commenced at the ancient Chandravalli site near Chitaldrug, and though details are not yet available, the finding of coins belonging to the Śâtavâhana, Duṭu and Chuṭu dynasties give earnest, we hope, of important discoveries to be made later. Perhaps the most interesting portions of this report are the notes recorded in Part II by Dr. Shama Shastry on *The Kannada Language under the Mauryas and Śâtavâhanas* and *The Śriṅgeri Maṭh and its Gurus.*

Several of the plates have been badly printed.

C. E. A. W. O.

A STUDY IN THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF ANCIENT INDIA, by DR. PRAN NATH, D.Sc., Ph.D.; pp. viii + 172 ; Royal Asiatic Society Monographs, vol. XX ; London, 1929.

This is a thesis approved for the degree of D.Sc. (in Economics) at the University of London, and, unlike most theses prepared for a similar purpose, it is not a mere compilation from previous works and records, but shows throughout abundant evidence of wide, original research and power of reasoning on independent lines. By "Ancient India," it should be noted, is meant India of the period in which the *Artha-śâstra* of Kauṭilya was compiled, which Dr. Pran Nath is inclined to place "at an early date, perhaps not later than the times of the early Gupta sovereigns." Having regard to the vast scope of the subject, the author has necessarily limited his survey to certain definite aspects, which he classifies under the headings of Territorial

Divisions; Administration; Weights, measures, coinage and rate of interest; Prices; Population of the country; Landowning classes; and Labouring classes. Under each of these heads Dr. Pran Nath propounds fresh suggestions that will command the attention of earnest oriental scholars, whose aim is to establish the true interpretation of many hitherto ambiguous or doubtful terms and ascertain the actual social and political conditions of those early days, as distinguished from the bolstering up of theories, whether fanciful or idealistic. He has raised several questions of basic importance for the interpretation of the old texts, of which only a few can be noticed here.

A difficulty has long been felt in reconciling with facts the figures given by Hsüan Tsang in respect of countries and towns, hitherto interpreted as meaning circumference or 'circuit.' Dr. Pran Nath suggests that we should understand the pilgrim as recording the superficial areas; and he draws a remarkable parallel between the figures given by the pilgrim and those contained in the *Bârhaspatya-artha-śâstra*. He then takes up the question of the real meaning of *grâma* as used in the ancient records, and he comes to the conclusion, for cogent reasons, that must, we feel, commend themselves to most impartial thinkers, that the term originally meant an 'estate' or fiscal village, the territorial unit in fact for the purpose of revenue assessment. His interpretation of *janapada* as an administrative territorial division only will not be welcome to those who prefer to regard it as representing a constitutional body. Dr Pran Nath is disposed to hold that each *deśa* (country) was subdivided into *janapadas*, each *janapada* into *ganas* (modern *parganas*), and each *gana* into *grâmas*. He is led by the researches outlined in the first two chapters to suspect that some form of survey of culturable lands had been carried out in ancient times, a view which seems to find support from other sources. Dr. Pran Nath's investigations into the weights and measures, coinage, rates of interest and prices of food-stuffs disclose profound research and much acumen. His conclusions go to show that while in the previous centuries the variation had been slow, an enormous rise in prices occurred between the time of the *Artha-śâstra* and the tenth or eleventh century A.D., which he ascribes to the rapid change in economic conditions when the continent became widely convulsed by inroads and invasions from the north-west and west. To this cause may be added, perhaps, the intercourse that had developed by sea with distant countries both to the west and east of India. He shows that the Muhammadan conquerors of the land based their coinage—as well as their territorial and fiscal divisions—upon the systems already in force, and how the British Government have also followed in the same footsteps in adopting the ancient *pana* under the name of *paisâ* and the *dvipana* or *dâm* as the 'double pice' (*takâ*), and how the ancient silver *kârshâpana* is represented by the modern *cavannî* (4 *ânâs*), which still bears the old prehistoric ratio to the *paisâ* (*paṇa*), *viz.*, as 16 to 1.

We believe he is the first to have made a considered, if but conjectural, estimate of the probable population of the 84 countries comprised in ancient India; and the evidential data requisitioned for this purpose have been utilized with much ingenuity.

In his chapter on the landowning classes Dr. Pran Nath exposes the misconceptions resulting from the loose translation of the terms *sâmanta*, *râjan*, etc., by 'king,' and he adduces grounds for regarding the social organization of ancient India as similar in many aspects to the feudal system pertaining in Europe in the medieval age. He is evidently not enamoured of the theories that aim at interpreting such terms as *gana* as signifying a republican form of government.

The monograph evinces a remarkable power of collating and assimilating evidence culled from a great variety of sources and, what are perhaps its most laudable features, a freedom from preconceived theories and a determination to direct research along its proper lines, towards the ascertainment of facts. Work like this is of real value.

C. E. A. W. O.

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THE ORIGIN OF SAIVISM AND ITS HISTORY IN THE TAMIL LAND, by K. R. SUBRAMANIAN, M.A., 9½×6½ in.; pp. 82. Madras, 1929.

This is a revised edition of a thesis accepted by the University of Madras for the Sankara-Parvathy prize. It is divided into four parts. Part I deals with the Nâgas and their traces in various parts of India, the evolution of the "Nâga cult," and the meaning of the *linga*; Part II is devoted to the traces and influences of Buddhism and Jainism in the Tamil country; Part III to the Tamil temples; and Part IV to the growth of sectarianism and the dates of Sambandhar, Sundarar and others. A variety of subjects thus come under notice, and we confess to feeling some difficulty in following the thread of the author's argument as to the origin of Śaivism. The conclusion which we are led to form is that Śaivism was non-"Aryan" in origin, being an outgrowth from the cult of the Nâgas, who, whether the name refers back to their totem, the snake, or to their old association with 'hill and cave,' were certainly not "Aryan." It is interesting to note that Mr. Subramanian is convinced—and recent research fully justifies the conviction—that primitive Indian society was of a matriarchal character, and that most of the spirits to be propitiated were female. He rightly draws attention in this connexion to the significant fact that, with few exceptions, the *village* deities of India are goddesses. He considers that the phallic cult could not have flourished in the matriarchal stage, when the *Śakti* cult was dominant, and that it "imposed itself on the latter with the suppression of the female and the evolution of patriarchal life. It was closely connected with Ancestor-worship and the Snake-cult." We could have wished, however, that some further light might have been thrown upon the evolution of Śiva himself.

C. E. A. W. O.

# THE SOCIAL AND CEREMONIAL LIFE OF THE SANTALS CULLED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES.

BY BIREN BONNERJEA, D.LITT. (PARIS).

(*Continued from page* 92.)

As a rule the Santâls are monogamous,[43] and they remain faithful to one wife. They treat the female members of the family with respect [44]; and a Santâl wife is not only the ruler of the house, but her influence extends to social and political matters.[45] Second marriages are rare; when contracted they are mostly for the purpose of obtaining an heir; but even then the first wife is honoured as the head of the house.[46] According to Skrefsrud it is out of the question for a man to have more than one wife, unless he be a younger brother who has inherited his elder brother's widow; and if he has ten brothers older than himself, who die, he marries the widows of all of them.[47] And Man says that polygamy, though not exactly prohibited, is looked upon with disfavour.[48] Here it should be noted that though the Santâls usually practise monogyny, yet there are traces of polyandry among them. We are told that among them, a man's unmarried younger brothers are permitted to share his wife, "so long as they respect his dignity and feelings and do not indulge in amorous dalliance in his presence" [49]; and according to another account they retain this privilege even after they marry for themselves.[50] And, finally, Risley, one of our best authorities on Indian tribes, writes: "There seem to be indications that fraternal polyandry may at some time have existed among the Santâls. Even now, says Mr. Skrefsrud, a man's younger brother may share his wife with impunity; only they must not go about it very openly. Similarly, a wife will admit her younger sister to intimate relations with her husband, and if pregnancy occurs, scandal is avoided by marrying the girl as a second wife. It will be of course noticed that this kind of polyandry need not be regarded as a survival of female kinship."[51] And besides the facts mentioned above, every Santâl girl is said to prostitute herself at least once in her life.[52] To sum up then, the husband's younger brothers are allowed to share his wife, and the husband in his turn has access to his wife's younger sisters.[53]

Divorce is rare among the Santâls. It is fairly easy, but it cannot take place without the consent of both the husband and the wife, and of the husband's clansmen.[54] For this purpose five of the nearest relatives are assembled together before whom the injured party

43 Cf. *Encyclopædia Britannica*,[13] vol. xxiv, p. 188.

44 (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 217; E. G. Man, *Sonthalia and the Sonthals*, p. 15; E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. iii, p. 98.

45 E. Westermarck, *ibid.*, citing L. Hertel, *Indisk Hjemmemission blandt Santalerne ved H. P. Bϕrresen og L. O. Skrefsrud*, p. 84.

46 (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 208; E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 216.

47 E. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 9, citing L. Hertel, *Indisk Hjemmemission blandt Santalerne*, p. 74.

48 E. G. Man, *Sonthalia and the Sonthals*, p. 15.

49 C. H. Craven, "Traces of Fraternal Polyandry amongst the Santâls," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. lxxii, Part III (Calcutta, 1904), p. 89; E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, iii, p. 123.

50 L. O. Skrefsrud, "Traces of Fraternal Polyandry amongst the Santâls," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. lxxii, Part III (Calcutta, 1904), p. 90.

51 (Sir) H. H. Risley, *People of India*,[2] (London, 1915), p. 444; cf. *id.*, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, vol. ii, p. 229.

52 *North Indian Notes and Queries*, iii (July-September 1893), p. 212; *Folklore*, v (1894), p. 85.

53 Cf. E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, iii, 265; C. H. Craven, *loc. cit.*; L. O. Skrefsrud, *loc. cit.*; E. A. Gait, in *Census of India*, 1911, vol. i, Report, p. 240; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, vol. ii, p. 309.

54 E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. iii, pp. 286, 299, citing L. Hertel, *Indisk Hjemmemission blandt Santalerne*, pp. 83 f.; (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 208.

explains his or her case. The relatives, after hearing the case, pass judgment. If they decide to grant the divorce, the party seeking the divorce solemnly tears up a leaf before the little court, symbolizing that the marriage is at an end.[55]

Of the other two great ceremonies of a Santâl's life, his dismissal from the race is accomplished when he lies on his death-bed. For this purpose the *ojhâ* (exorciser) rubs oil on a leaf in order to discover which witch or demon is causing the death. After death the body is anointed with oil tinged with red herbs, and placed on a bed or couch. Two brazen pots, one filled with rice and one with water, are placed beside the couch as a peace offering to the demons. When the funeral pyre is ready, the body is carried three times round it by five clansmen, after which the body is laid on top of the pyre. A cock is nailed through the neck by a wooden pin to the corner of the pile. Then the next of kin prepares a grass torch, walks three times round the pyre, and touches the mouth of the corpse with the torch. After that the clansmen, facing south, set fire to the pile. When the body is nearly consumed, they extinguish the fire, and the nearest relative breaks off three fragments from the skull, washes them in new milk coloured with red herbs, and places them in a small earthenware vessel. The last ceremony is performed by the nearest relative of the deceased. He takes the three fragments of the skull and a bag of rice, and goes to the sacred river.[56] Arriving there, he places the pot containing the three fragments on his head, enters the stream, dips completely under the water, and at the same time leans slightly forward so that the fragments fall into the current. Thus he accomplishes the last rite of uniting the dead with the fathers.[57]

Besides the traces of fraternal polyandry already mentioned, the Santâls consider that a widow has a right to marry her deceased husband's younger brother, but not his elder.[58] The law of inheritance of the Santâls is as follows. Primogeniture does not exist among them. On the death of a person all his sons inherit in equal shares ; a daughter cannot legally inherit the property, but it is usual for her to receive a cow as her share. If a person dies without leaving any sons, his father inherits the property, and after them the male agnates. If there are no agnates, the daughter inherits, and her share of the property goes to her children. When a person dies, his widow looks after the property as an executrix for his sons ; and if she remarries outside the family, the male agnates administer the property as long as the sons have not attained majority. Whoever has any relations in the male line cannot dispose of his property even to his son-in-law.[59] With the Santâls as well as with the Orâons of Chota Nagpur, the husband of a woman who has no brothers, if he stays in his father-in-law's house and works for him till he dies, inherits his property. In such cases the eldest son is named after his maternal, and not, as is usual among them, after his paternal grandfather.[60]

Festivals play a very important part in the otherwise humdrum Santâl life. Of all the festivals the *Sohrâi* (or *Johorâi*) is the most important. This festival is held in the month of *Pûs* (December-January) after gathering in the rice harvest. It lasts five days in each village, but is generally protracted to a month by fixing different dates for it in the neighbouring villages. The ceremony consists in placing an egg[61] on the ground, and driving all the cows of the village near it. The animal that first smells the egg is honoured by having its horns rubbed with oil.[62] Public sacrifices of fowls are offered by the priests in the sacred

55 (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 208 ; E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. iii, p. 300 ; L. Hertel, *Indisk Hjemmemission blandt Santalerne*, p. 83.

56 Dâmodar ?—See below. Compare B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 71.

57 Summarized from (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, pp. 208-210.

58 (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, vol. ii, p. 231 ; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. ii, p. 302.

59 B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 26 citing (Sir) H. H. Risley, *People of India*,² p. 446.

60 *Census of India*, 1911, vol. i, Report, p. 236, *286.

61 The egg seems to show that it is a fertility charm.

62 (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 463.

groves; pigs, goats and fowls are sacrificed by private families, and these sacrifices are rounded up with debauchery and drunkenness. During the *Sohrâi* festival the greatest sexual license is allowed, and all codes of decency are forgotten. Every one not married takes part in the general orgy which follows; but adultery is not allowed, neither is any infringement of the interdiction against persons of the same sept. But even in these latter cases, if committed during the *Sohrâi*. the culprits are punished less severely than at any other time.[63] By these symbolic promiscuous relationships they probably attempt to increase the growth of vegetation in the following spring. A few days after the *Sohrâi* there is another festival of practising with bows and arrows, of performing sword dance, and of similar sports. This is known as the *Sakrat,* and it lasts for two days.[64] The *Jâtrâ* festival takes place about February, and lasts for two days. Eight men sit on chairs and are swung round the two posts placed outside of every Santâl village.[65] About one month after the *Jâtrâ* the *Bâhâ* or flower-festival comes round. This too lasts for two days. This is the time when the *Nâeke* or *Nâikki* (*nâyaka,* priest) is specially honoured by having his feet washed in every household; in return he distributes flowers. Ceremonies are performed in the groves of trees outside of each village. Four chickens are offered to Mârang Buru, the great Santâl god, one coloured chicken to Jahir-erâ, the primeval mother of the race, one black chicken to Gosâin-erâ, a female divinity residing in the *sâl* grove, and a goat or chicken to the Mânjhi Harâm, the late head of the village.[66] Nearly all the festivals of the Santâls are in some way or other connected with either sowing or harvesting. Thus the festival of *Ero-sim* takes place in each house at seed-sowing time; *Hariar-sim,* when the *dhân* (rice) has somewhat grown; *Horo,* when the rice is ripening, and so on. During the last mentioned festival, *Horo,* the first fruits of the rice are offered to the *Pargana Bongâ* (district deity), along with a pig, which the men of the village eat afterwards in the *sâl* grove.[67] Another festival, which has died out now, but used to be practised formerly, was the *Carak Pûjâ.* Men used to put hooks through the fleshy part of their backs, and were swung round suspended by these hooks. Sometimes this swinging on hooks seems to have been intended to propitiate demons. Some Santâls asked Mr. V. Ball to be allowed to perform it because their women and children were dying of sickness and their cattle were being killed by wild beasts: they believed that the misfortunes befell them because the evil spirits had not been appeased.[68]

Coming now to the religious life of the Santâls, we can do no better than quote the words of an eminent and at the same time a sympathetic authority, who says: " Of a supreme and beneficent God the Santâl has no conception. His religion is a religion of terror and deprecation. Hunted and driven from country to country by a superior race, he cannot understand how a Being can be more powerful than himself without wishing to harm him. Discourses upon the attributes of the deity excite no emotion among the isolated sections of the race, except a disposition to run away and hide themselves in the jungle, and the only reply made to a missionary at the end of an eloquent description of the omnipotence of God, was ' And what if that Strong One should eat me?' " [69] But this statement must not be taken

[63] (Sir) H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal,* vol. ii, p. 253; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy,* vol. ii, p. 303; B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale,* p. 25.

[64] (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal,* p. 463.

[65] (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *ibid.* For swinging as a magical rite, see (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings,* vol. ii, p. 52; B. Bonnerjea, *A Dictionary of Superstitions and Mythology* (London, 1928), p. 163, *s.v.* " Maypole."

[66] (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal,* p. 463.

[67] (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal,* pp. 463 f.

[68] V. Ball, *Jungle Life in India* (London, 1880), p. 232; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Dying God,* p. 279, cf. *ibid.,* Note B, " Swinging as a Magical Rite," pp. 277-285, where a large number of authenticated data has been collected. See note 66 above.

[69] (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal,* p. 181.

to mean that the Santâls are entirely devoid of all religious sentiments. On the contrary, they are religious, that is if we accept a minimum definition of religion.

Auguste Comte had described the primitive form of religious consciousness as that in which man conceives of all external bodies as animated by a life analogous to his own.[70] This has since been designated as *polyzoism*, *panthelism*, or *panvitalism*. Comte himself was unfortunate in the choice of his expression, for he called it fetishism : but since the term was misleading, R. R. Marrett proposed 'animatism' as a term better suited.[71] The German philosopher Hegel found the seed of religion in magic,[72] and Sir James G. Frazer accepted Hegel's hypothesis.[73] Max Müller, building on philosophy and mythology, affirmed that "Religion consists in the perception of the infinite under such manifestations as are able to influence the moral character of man."[74] Herbert Spencer derived all religion from the worship of the dead, from his "ghost theory,"[75] and Grant Allen and Lippert were of the same opinion. Andrew Lang supposes, unlike those of the evolutionary school, that the belief in a superior being came first in the order of evolution, but was afterwards thrust into the background by the belief in ghosts and lesser divinities.[76] Jevons finds the primitive form of religion in totemism [77] ; and Émile Durkheim calls totemism the elementary form of religion.[78] E. Crawley interprets religion by the vital instinct, and connects its first manifestations with the processes of organic life.[79] And, finally, Wilhelm Wundt recurs to the primitive conception of the soul as the source of all subsequent developments.[80] Be that as it may, since we are not concerned here with the history of religion, but only with the question as to what it is, we may for our purpose take the minimum definition of religion : *A belief in the supernatural.*

If religion is a belief in the supernatural, the Santâl is an intensely religious person. He has all kinds of gods and demons inhabiting the sky, the earth and the elements of nature. Directly, he expects no favours from his gods : the only favour he hopes for is that his gods may leave him in peace, and with this object in view he tries to placate them to the best of his ability. His gods do not reward the good, but they punish the wicked ; therefore his rites are infinitely more numerous than those of the Hindus, and his superstitious nature is ever on the look out for the gods.[81] In order to placate his gods he has need of priests as intermediaries. His *nâeke* (priest), by starving for many days, attains a state of half frenzy. He then answers questions through the power of the possessing god. All his actions and words are considered as no longer his own, but those of the deity who has taken temporary possession of his body. While giving the answers, the priest's eyes bulge out and roll in a mad frenzy, his voice becomes unnatural, his face pale, and his general appearance thoroughly changed.[82]

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70 *La philosophie positive*, ed. 1841, vol. v, p. 30.

71 *Folklore*, xi (1900), p. 171.

72 *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion*, ed. 1832, vol. i, pp. 220 f.

73 *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. i, p. 53.

74 *Natural Religion*, ed. 1899, p. 188.

75 *Principles of Sociology*, vol. i.

76 *Magic and Religion*, ed. 1901, p. 224. Cf. E. S. Hartland, "The High Gods of Australia," *Folklore*, ix (1898), p. 290.

77 *Introduction to the History of Religion*, ed. 1896, ch. IX.

78 *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse.*

79 *The Tree of Life*, ed. 1905.

80 *Mythus und Religion*, ed. 1906, vol. ii, p. 177. On the subject of the origin of religion, see H. Hubert and M. Mauss, "Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie," *L'Année Sociologique*, viii (1904), pp. 1 f. ; W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* [in this last mentioned work the opinions of other scholars have been criticised].

81 Cf. *Encyclopædia Britannica*,[13] xxiv, p. 188 ; (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*. pp. 181 f.

82 Cf. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xx, p. 571.

The Santâls, therefore, have their own pantheon, in which fire and other elements of nature play a by no means unimportant part.[83] Mountains, rivers and other objects are almost deified. The Great Mountain, of which mention has been made before, is venerated above everything else. It has been identified as the eastern Himâlaya, considered by them as their natal region; it is the Marâng Buru, the divinity which watches over their birth, and is invoked with bloody sacrifices.[84] The Great Mountain represents neither man nor woman, but the life-sustaining providence necessary for the existence of either. It is invoked publicly as well as in private on all important occasions, such as, for example, in times of tribulation, in time of wealth, in health, in sickness, on the birth of a child, and on the death-bed; and bloody offerings are common. "Goats, sheep, bullocks, fowls, rice, flowers, beer, the berries from the jungle, a head of Indian corn from the field, or even a handful of earth; all are acceptable to the Great Mountain, who is in a sense lower than a Christian understands by the epithet, but still in a high sense the Common Father of the people. It was he who divinely instituted worship, who has journeyed with the race from its primitive home, shared its defeats and flights, and still remains with it, the symbol of the Everlasting and Unchangeable One."[85] In a long and erudite discussion, Hunter has attempted to identify this Santâl divinity with the Hindu god Rudra or Śiva.[86]

The home of the Santâl possesses no mighty rivers watering its shores; no river with rolling waves have the Santâls seen. In fact, there is nothing there majestic enough for the honour of being deified. Were there any such rivers, there is no doubt that the Santâls would have apotheosized it, or at least populated it with a horde of water-spirits. Their largest river is the Dâmodar, which is fordable even in a carriage during many months of the year.[87] The Santâls regard it as sacred. If the death of a Santâl occurs at a distance from the river, his nearest kinsman carries a little relic, and places it in the current to be carried to the ocean, the traditional origin and resting place of the Santâl race.[88] This ceremony known as 'Purifying for the Dead' takes place once a year; and at other times hundreds of superstitious Santâls repair to the banks of the Dâmodar to consult the prophets and diviners.[89] Instances have been known where the relatives of a person killed by a tiger or some other wild animal have tracked the animal for miles in order to bring back some relic, no matter how insignificant it may be, so that it could later be thrown into the Dâmodar.[90]

Adjoining Santâl villages there is a grove of the national *sâl* tree (*Shorea robusta*) which is regarded as a favourite resort of all the family gods of the community. These gods are feared by the superstitious Santâls, for it is these gods that cause crooked limbs, leprosy, cramps, and so on. Hence they are appeased by offerings of goats and chickens. Men and women come to these groves, dance round them and chant songs in remembrance of the original founder of the community, who is venerated as the head of the village pantheon.[91]

The religion of the Santâls, as well as everything else, is based on the family. Each family has its own household gods, who are two in number: the *Orâk-bongâ* and the *Abge-bongâ*.

83 Sylvain Lévi, in *Grande Encyclopædie*, vol. xx, p. 682, *s.v.* "Inde." Cf. Bibhutibhuṣan Gupta, "Sâoṅtâl jîvan," *Prabâsi*, Jaiṣṭha 1332 [Bengali era], pp. 263, 266.

84 Cf. Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Sociology* (London, 1906), vol. i, p. 366, *186 [*A System of Synthetic Philosophy*, vol. vi].

85 (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 187; cf. *Encyclopædia Britannica*,[13] vol. xxiv, p. 188.

86 (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 188 f.

87 (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, pp. 152 f.

88 *Encyclopædia Britannica*,[13] vol. xxiv, p. 188. Herbert Spencer (*Principles of Sociology*, i, 202, *112 quoting Hunter) says that they are placed in the current to be conveyed to the far-off eastern land from which their ancestors came. And comments (*ibid.*) that it is "an avowed purpose which, in adjacent regions, dictates the placing of the entire body in the stream."

89 (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 153.

90 (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 154.

91 (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 183.

*Orâk-bongâ* is the god of the hearth. and *Abge-bongâ*, the secret god.[92] These gods are worshipped with unknown rites—rites which are scrupulously concealed from all strangers. So "strict is the secrecy that one brother does not know what the other brother worships, and the least allusion to the subject brings a suspicious cloud upon the mountaineer's brow, or sends him abruptly at the top of his speed to the forest."[93] The only person to whom a Santâl would reveal the name of his *Orâk-bongâ* and his *Abge-bongâ* is his eldest son, and men are particularly careful not to reveal the names of these gods to their womenfolk, lest they acquire an abnormal power by being in possession of these holy names. During the sacrifices offered to *Orâk-bongâ* the whole family—men, women and children—takes part in them, but men alone are allowed to touch the food offered to *Abge-bongâ*. These sacrifices take place once a year.[94] In addition to the family gods. the Santâls worship the ghosts of their ancestors,[95] especially during the *Sohrâi* festival.

The Santâls believe in an external soul. They tell how a man fell asleep, and growing very thirsty, his soul, in the form of a lizard, left his body and entered a pitcher of water to drink. Just then the owner of the pitcher happened to cover it ; so that the soul could not return to the body, and the man died. While his friends were preparing to burn the body someone uncovered the pitcher to get water. The lizard thus escaped and returned to the body, which immediately revived : so the man rose up and asked his friends why they were weeping. They told him they thought he was dead and were about to burn his body. He said he had been down a well to get water, but had found it hard to get out, and had just returned.[96] But, although they believe in a soul, they seem to have no definite conception of a future life. At most there is a vague idea of a life after death, where the spirits of the dead are engaged in the ceaseless toil of grinding the bones of past generations into a dust from which the gods may recreate children.[97] They believe also in disembodied spirits, who flit among the fields where they once tilled, and otherwise haunt the places where, during their life, they lived and laboured. These spirits too are mostly of an evil nature, and need to be pacified.

The Santâls seem to have venerated the wild beasts of the forest at a no very remote antiquity. Even down to our own times one of the most solemn forms of oath among them is sworn on a tiger-skin.[98] Besides the deities and spirits mentioned in the foregoing pages, they have a multitude of other demons, all of which need to be appeased.[99] The *Abgi* are anthropophagous ghouls : the *Pargana-bongâs* are tutelary deities of the ancient deserted villages, roaming about the country till the time when they are fortunate enough to find a cave or a tree to dwell in. Then there are river-demons or *Dâ-bongâ*, well-demons or *Dâddi-bongâ*, tank-demons or *Pâkri-bongâ*, mountain-demons or *Buru-bongâ*, forest-demons or *Biri-bongâ*, and so forth.[100] To sum up, then, we see that Santâl religion is a mixture of mythology and nature-worship.

[92] B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 22, quoting (Sir) H. H. Risley, *People of India*,[2] p. 447.

[93] (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 182.

[94] B. Bonnerjea, *loc. cit.*

[95] Cf. (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, pp. 182 f. : *Encyclopædia Britannica*,[13] vol. xxiv, p. 188.

[96] *The Indian Antiquary*, vii (1878), p. 273 : A. Bastian, *Völkerstämme am Brahmanputra*, p. 127 : (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, p. 38 Cf. *Panjab Notes and Queries*, iii, p. 166, *679.

[97] *Encyclopædia Britannica*,[13] vol. xxiv, p. 188.

[98] *Ibid.* [99] *Ibid.*

[100] (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 184.

*N. B.*—On p. 89, line 10, from bottom, in the quotation from Sir James G. Frazer, the word "begging" should be "asking"; line 5, "*naik*" should be "*naike*"; and "sub-clan" should be "subclan" all the way through in the quotation. On p. 91, note 32 "*Bresen*" should be "*Bēpresen*."

# SOME REMARKS ON THE BHAGAVADGITA.

BY PROF. JARL CHARPENTIER, PH.D., UPSALA.

(*Continued from page* 80.)

From ii, 39, on there begins the real Bhagavadgītā, the lecture delivered by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna. This lecture at certain places is broken by a question or a mild retort from Arjuna, which thus gives the whole the exterior shape of an *Upaniṣad*, a dialogue between a teacher and his pupil. The verses attributed to Arjuna are, however, with the exception of canto xi, remarkably few (*viz.*, ii, 54 ; iii, 1—2. 36 ; iv, 4 ; v, 1 ; vi, 33—34. 37—39 ; viii, 1—2 ; x, 12—18 ; xi, 1—4. 15—31. 36—46. 51 ; xii, 1 ; xiv, 21 ; xvii, 1 ; xviii, 1. 73). And it is certainly remarkable that while cantos ii, 39—x, contain twenty verses spoken by Arjuna, there are only five such verses to be found in cantos xii—xviii. Canto xi stands by itself in quite a separate category ; for, out of its fifty-five verses no less than thirty-three belong to Arjuna. This same canto also totally differs from the others, because no less than thirty-six of its fifty-five verses are in *triṣṭubh* ; while otherwise in the whole poem there are no more than altogether twenty verses composed in a metre other than the common *śloka*.[50]

We may first of all fix upon one fact which seems perfectly obvious, *viz.*, that the eleventh canto is quite unlike the other parts of the poem. Exactly three-fifths of it are spoken by Arjuna, who is otherwise throughout the Gītā[51] mainly a silent listener to the wisdom preached by Kṛṣṇa. And more than three-fifths (36 out of 55) of its verses are composed in *triṣṭubh*, a metre which seems otherwise to have been almost wholly foreign to the Gītā.[52] It seems to me, therefore, probable that we have in the main part of canto xi, especially in the *triṣṭubh*, verses 15—50, the remnants of an old Bhāgavata hymn on the revelation of Kṛṣṇa as the Universal God to Arjuna. This hymn was taken up by the poet who composed the earlier part of the Bhagavadgītā ; and in a very clever way he affixed it to the end of his poem—to this topic we shall revert presently. Whether he recomposed the introductory stanzas into the *śloka* metre, or whether those verses be his own composition is certainly a problem that must remain unsolved.

There is, however, scarcely any doubt that the last verses (51—55) of the present canto xi are a later addition. Compared with the preceding lofty, nay even sublime, *triṣṭubhs*, they are incredibly flat and nonsensical. I lay no great weight upon the fact that in v. 51 Arjuna addresses Kṛṣṇa by the name *Janārdana*, though after his preceding devotional language, this is somewhat disrespectful.[53] But his words here are wholly unnecessary, and the expression *rūpam. . . . saumyam* is apparently coined on *saumyavapuḥ* in v. 50. The v. 53 :

*nāhaṃ vedair na tapasā na dānena na cejyayā* |
*śakya evaṃvidho draṣṭum dṛṣṭavān asi māṃ yathā*

[50] These verses are i, 26 ; ii, 5-8. 20. 22. 29. 70 ; viii, 9-11. 28 ; ix, 20-21 ; xv, 2-5. 15. Of these, ii, 20, is not very different from *Kāṭh. Up.*, 2, 18 ; ii, 22, somewhat closely agrees with *Viṣṇusmṛti* 20, 50 ; ii, 29, is possibly related to *Kāṭh. Up.*, 2, 7 ; ii, 70, is=*Viṣṇusmṛti*, 72, 7 ; viii, 9, has apparent parallels in the Upaniṣads, etc. (cp. Haas, *l.c.*, xlii, 41) ; viii, 11, is closely related with *Kāṭh Up.*, 2, 15 ; on ix, 21 cp. Haas, *l.c.*, xlii, 42 ; xv, 2 f., are verses with strong connections in the Upaniṣadic literature. Ten or eleven of these verses consequently are quotations from older literature—from which the Upaniṣads and the Viṣṇusmṛti may also have borrowed—though they have probably been more or less altered by the redactors of the Gītā. The verses i, 26 and ii, 5-8, belong to the old epic text. Thus there only remain verses viii, 10, 28, ix, 20 and xv, 15, which to me all look uncommonly like some sort of quotations, though, unfortunately, I am not able to trace them. It appears as if the *triṣṭubhs* did not originally belong to the didactic poem which we now call the Bhagavadgītā.

[51] With the exception, of course, of cantos i and ii, 1-11, 31-38, which, according to the suggestions put forth above, do not belong to the real Gītā.

[52] The present writer has proved (cp. *ZDMG.*, lxvi, 44 *sq.* ; *Die Suparṇasage*, p. 204 *sq.*) with examples from the Rig Veda, the Jātakas, the Mahābhārata, etc., that originally dialogues were nearly always composed in *triṣṭubh*. The epic dialogues, which are mainly in *śloka*, show a later literary development.

[53] To this I shall refer presently.

is only a deteriorated repetition of v. 48 :

*na vedayajñādhyayanair na dānair*
*na ca kriyābhir na tapobhir ugraiḥ* |
*evaṃrūpaḥ śakya ahaṃ nṛloke*
*draṣṭuṃ tvad anyena kurupravīra*

The verses 54—55 preach *bhakti*, like so many other stanzas of the Gītā, and are not necessary here ; besides v. 55 :

*matkarmakṛn matparamo madbhaktaḥ saṅgavarjitaḥ* |
*nirvairaḥ sarvabhūteṣu yaḥ sa mām eti Pāṇḍava*

is strongly reminiscent of ix, 34 :

*manmanā bhava madbhakto madyājī māṃ namaskuru* |
*mām evaiṣyasi yuktvaivam ātmānam matparāyaṇaḥ*

and also of other passages within the Gītā.

There are, however, a few verses at the very end of the present text which must, according to my opinion, have once followed immediately upon xi, 50, *viz.*, xviii, 74—78 :

*Saṃjaya uvāca* |
*ity ahaṃ Vāsudevasya Pārthasya ca mahātmanaḥ* |
*saṃvādam imam aśrauṣam adbhutaṃ romaharṣaṇam* || 74 ||
*Vyāsaprasādāc chrutavān etad guhyam aham param* |
*yogaṃ yogeśvarāt Kṛṣṇāt sākṣāt kathayataḥ svayam* || 75 ||
*rājan saṃsmṛtya saṃsmṛtya saṃvādam imam adbhutam* |
*Keśavārjunayoḥ puṇyaṃ hṛṣyāmi ca muhur muhuḥ* || 76
*tac ca saṃsmṛtya saṃsmṛtya rūpam atyadbhutaṃ Hareḥ* |
*vismayo me mahān rājan hṛṣyāmi ca punaḥ punaḥ* || 77
*yatra yogeśvaraḥ Kṛṣṇo yatra Pārtho dhanurdharaḥ* |
*tatra śrīr vijayo bhūtir dhruvā nītir matir mama* || 78 ||

Only here and in xi, 4. 9 (*mahāyogeśvara*) is Kṛṣṇa called *yogeśvara*, 'Lord of magic powers' : and only in canto xi, where he reveals himself to Arjuna as the Universal and terrible God, is there any reason for him being thus styled. And verse 77 : *tac ca saṃsmṛtya saṃsmṛtya rūpam atyadbhutaṃ Hareḥ*, etc., expressly tells us that Saṃjaya is still under the impression of the bewildering and horrible sight revealed to him as well as to Arjuna, as told in canto xi.[54]

So far we have thus found that the Bhagavadgītā in its present state consists of a smaller part that belonged to the original epic text and is represented by cantos i and ii, 1—11, 31—38, and a larger part which—not to mention the interpolated verses ii, 12—30—runs from ii, 39 to xi, 50. The verses xi, 51—55 are of a later date, while xviii, 74—78, apparently at one time followed immediately after xi, 50. The verses xi, 15—50 are most probably the remnants of an old Bhāgavata hymn which was taken over by the author of ii, 39—x, and put in a fitting place at the end of his poem, to which it formed a most impressive final piece.

* * *

Though it has not yet been specially emphasized, it is fairly obvious from what has already been said that I consider the older Bhagavadgītā to have ended with xi, 50—xviii, 74—78, and the remnant of the present text to be a later addition. For such a conclusion, though I have arrived at it simply by repeated study of the text itself, I can claim the assistance of the very highest authority. For, we are instantly reminded of the fact that Humboldt about a century ago laid it down as his own opinion that the Bhagavadgītā probably at one time ended with canto xi. To this older Gītā he wanted to add the verses xviii, 63—78, which he considered to be old and original.

[54] I should also deem it probable that Arjuna is in v. 78 called *dhanurdhara* because the poet who wrote that verse had in his mind the *Dhanañjayam....bāṇagāṇḍīvadhāriṇam* of *MBh.*, vi, 2533, a verse that was to follow immediately after this one.

In this suggestion Humboldt, according to my humble opinion, was quite right, even though I personally differ from him in some less important details. His arguments are perhaps somewhat subjective and no longer quite valid. But there is not the slightest doubt that after canto xi there is the most marked and important division in the present text.

Of reasons for regarding cantos xii—xviii, 73, as an addition of later date, the work of an entirely different author, there is a sufficient number. First of all these cantos are not wanted, as with canto xi, the sublime hymn[55] on the revelation of the Universal God, the real Gītā has come to a most fitting end. The question of Arjuna in xii, 1:

*evaṃ satatayuktā ye bhaktās tvāṃ paryupāsate* |
*ye cāpy akṣaram avyaktaṃ teṣāṃ ke yogavittamāḥ* || 1 ||

is wholly unnecessary and stands in no relation whatsoever to the preceding parts of the Gītā, except to xi, 55. And it seems probable that the poetaster who put together the tedious and—save a very few passages—most trivial cantos xii—xviii was also the author of xi, 51—55, verses, which we have already rejected as not belonging to the original Gītā. What this later author did was consequently that he took away the five final verses of the older text (now xviii, 74—78) and relegated them to the end of his own creation. In their place he put five other verses (xi, 51—55) of his own composition, meaning to bridge the gap between the older poem and his own inferior work. The introduction to the latter is formed by the question in verse xii, 1, which is one of the five out of the 231 stanzas of cantos xii—xviii that are put into the mouth of Arjuna.

Someone will perhaps raise the objection that in style and in choice of words there is no marked difference at all between cantos ii—xi and xii—xviii. Such an objection is, of course, of very limited value, as it was not impossible for a later author to ape the special style of his predecessor; and besides—apart from a sort of quasi-philosophical jargon—there is not much in the whole of the Gītā to separate its trend of style from the general one of the Great Epic.

Professor Rajwade some years ago published a paper on the grammar of the Gītā,[56] where he strongly censured a number of faults and mistakes, clumsy expressions, etc., which anyhow tend to show that the author or authors of this text at any rate did not side with the school of Pāṇini. Such, I take it, is more or less the case with all the epic poets; and as far as I am able to gather from Professor Rajwade's paper, there is no marked difference from this point of view between the earlier and later parts of the Gītā as I see them. Slight differences, however, seem to exist in the vocabularies used by the suggested authors of cantos ii—xi and xii—xviii.

Thus it is undeniable that the word *kṣetra-* in a philosophical sense[57] is only used by the author of canto xiii, with whom it seems to have been a favourite word, as it occurs (together with *kṣetrin-* and *kṣetrajña-*) in no less than eight verses out of thirty-three. Now, there can, as far as I am aware, be found no passage in the literature where *kṣetra-* occurs in this sense which is decidedly older than the Gītā; and there is no doubt whatsoever that *kṣetra*, 'body,' and *kṣetrajña*, 'soul,' are both late words which belong to the systematic terminology of the Sāṃkhya-Yoga.[58] The special Sāṃkhya term *guṇa-* occurs—together with derivatives like *traiguṇya-*, etc.—altogether ten times in cantos ii, iii, iv and vii, while we meet with it in more than twenty passages in canto xiii f. Again, out of the names of

[55] I have already mentioned above (cp. p. 47) that I can in nowise share the judgment of Professor Winternitz, *VOJ.*, xxi, 194 f., on canto xi. Oldenberg, *l.c.*, p. 331, n. 1, quite correctly speaks of the 'wundervoll schwungreiches Kap. xi."

[56] *Bhandarkar Comm. Volume*, p. 325 f.

[57] The *kurukṣetra* and *dharmakṣetra* of i, 1, do not, of course, fall within the scope of this remark.

[58] Cp. also Garbe, *Sāṃkhya Philosophie*, 2nd ed., pp. 267, 355. In this connection I should like to draw attention to *Kumārasambhava*, 6, 77: *yogino yaṃ vicinvanti kṣetrābhyantaravarttinam*; for *yoginaḥ* can here only mean the votaries of the Yoga system. And Kālidāsa's date is, according to my firm opinion, that of Skandagupta.

the three *guṇas* the derivatives *tāmasa-*, *rājasa-* and *sāttvika-* are all found in vii. 12, and besides, *rajas-* occurs in iii, 37, in its strictly philosophical sense ; but otherwise this use of the words *tamas-*, *rajas-*, and *sattva-* is limited to the cantos xii—xviii.[59] On the other hand, *prāṇa-* occurs in xv, 14 and xviii, 33, while otherwise it is only found within the earlier part of the text. Likewise *māyā*, even in its later sense a word of Vedic origin, is met with in four verses in cantos iv and vii, while later on it occurs only in xviii, 61. Finally *nirvāṇa-* occurs only in vi, 15, and the compound *brahmanirvāṇa-* in ii. 72 and v, 24, 25—26 [60] ; and *svarga-* occurs only in ii, 32, 37, 43 and ix, 21, together with the derivative *asvargya-* in ii, 2.[61] It may be remarked that the word *brahmaloka-* does not occur within the Gītā, which seems to me strongly to confirm the suggestion of M. Przyluski concerning the original identity between this word and *svarga*.

Slight as are these discrepancies between the vocabularies of cantos ii—xi and xii—xviii, they are not entirely without importance.

There seems to me to exist another fact which has perhaps been slightly overlooked, but which also points to a certain discrepancy existing between what I venture to call the earlier and later parts of the present Bhagavadgītā.

In i, 21 *c-d*, Arjuna speaks thus to Kṛṣṇa :

*senayor ubhayor madhye ratham sthāpaya me'cyuta*

The reading *me'cyuta*, whatever be the text of manuscripts available at the present date, must be false ; for this verse belongs to the original epic text, and to its authors Kṛṣṇa is not *Acyuta*, the Supreme God Viṣṇu.[62] But the same word occurs also within the last lines of the Gītā, *viz.*, in xviii, 73 :

*naṣṭo mohaḥ smṛtir labdhā tvatprasādān mayācyuta* |
*sthito'smi gatasaṃdehaḥ kariṣye vacanaṃ tava*

And it is easily understandable that from here the final redactor of the Gītā transposed it to i, 21 [63] : for then Arjuna would be made to address the Supreme Being as *Acyuta* the first and the last time that he speaks to him within the Gītā.[64]

After these somewhat digressive remarks, let us follow, throughout the poem, the way in which Arjuna addresses his friend, in whom after some considerable time he is taught to behold the Supreme God. We shall then come upon the following list :

i, 28 : *Kṛṣṇa* ; 32 : *Kṛṣṇa, Govinda* ; 35 : *Madhusūdana* ; 36 : *Janārdana* ; 37 : *Mādhava* ; 39 : *Janārdana* ; 41 : *Kṛṣṇa, Vārṣṇeya* ; 44 : *Janārdana*.
ii, 4 : *Madhusūdana, Arisūdana* ; 54 : *Keśava*.
iii, 1 : *Janārdana, Keśava* ; 36 : *Vārṣṇeya*.
iv, 4 : *bhavān, tvam*.
v, 1 : *Kṛṣṇa*.

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59 *Tamas-* in viii, 9, simply means 'darkness' ; nor is it in x, 11, used in its purely *philosophical* sense. In vi, 27, the epithet *śānta-rajas* means 'free from passion' (*rajas*=*rāga*). Finally, *sattva-* in ii, 45 and x, 36, is not used as a philosophical term, and in x, 41, it simply means 'being.'

60 On *brahma-nirvāṇa* and the ideas connected with it, cp. Senart, *Album Kern* p. 101 ; Garbe, *Bhagavadgītā*, p. 65 ; Professor Stcherbatsky, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvana*, p. 4, n. 1, and M. Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, p. 357, n. 1. If *svarga* be identical with *brahmaloka*, 'the world of Brahmā' (cp. M. Przyluski, *l.c.*, p. 365), then it seems clear that *brahmanirvāṇa*, means simply 'the final calm in *brahman*' ; I venture to think that it is coined on Buddhist *Nirvāṇa* and is meant to prove that that conception is nothing but a sectarian metamorphosis of *brahman*.

61 Cp. also the old-fashioned *svargati-* in ix, 20. Boehtlingk, *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1897, p. 11, conjectured *svargo*, instead of *sargo*, in v. 19 ; however, vii, 27, seems to me to prove that *sargo* should be retained. On the importance of *svarga* in the inscriptions of Aśoka, cp. Senart, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, ii, 322 f.

62 Acyuta as a name of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, of course, means the one who does not fall (*cyu-*), *i.e.*, who is not subject to the laws of metempsychosis.

63 Where the original text may have run somewhat like this : *s. u. m. rathaṃ sthāpaya keśava* (or *mādhava*).

64 *Acyuta* also occurs in xi, 42, which, however, is of no special importance in this connection.

vi, 33 : *Madhusūdana ;* 34, 37 : *Kṛṣṇa ;* 38 : *mahābāho ;* 39 : *Kṛṣṇa.*

viii, 1 : *puruṣottama ;* 2 : *Madhusūdana.*

x. 12 : *bhavān ;* 14 : *Keśava. bhagavan :* 15 : *puruṣottama, bhūtabhāvana, bhūteśa, devadeva, jagatpate :* 17 : *yogin, bhagavan ;* 18 : *Janārdana.*

xi. 2 : *kamalapattrākṣa ;* 3 : *parameśvara. puruṣottama :* 4 : *yogeśvara :* 15 : *deva ;* 16 : *viśveśvara, viśvarūpa :* 23 : *mahābāho :* 24 : *Viṣṇo :* 25 : *deveśa. jagannivāsa :* 30 : *Viṣṇo :* 31 : *devavara :* 36 : *Hṛṣīkeśa :* 37 : *mahātman. ananta, deveśa. jagannivāsa :* 38 : *anantarūpa :* 40 : *sarva :* 42 : *Acyuta :* 44 : *deva :* 45 : *deva. deveśa. jagannivāsa ;* 46 : *sahasrabāho. viśvamūrtte :* 51 : *Janārdana.*

xiv. 21 : *prabho.*

xvii. 1 : *Kṛṣṇa.*

xviii. 1 : *mahābāho. Hṛṣīkeśa. Keśiniṣūdana.*

xviii. 73 : *Acyuta.*

It will be seen from this list that—apart from the *Acyuta* in i. 21—which I have rejected above—there is in the allocutions of Arjuna no hint of the supremely divine nature of Kṛṣṇa until we arrive at the *puruṣottama* in viii. 1.[65] And it is only in the cantos x and xi that Arjuna raises himself to a language of the purest *bhakti* by using epithets like *devadeva, viśveśvara, Viṣṇo,* etc.[66] There is not the slightest doubt that this rising scale has been conscientiously aimed at by the author of the earlier Bhagavadgītā.[67]

After listening to this devotional exaltation it is with a certain feeling of astonishment that in xvii, 1. we meet again with the simple allocution *Kṛṣṇa*. And our astonishment will be considerably increased if with this last-mentioned verse we compare xi, 41—42 :

*sakheti matvā prasabhaṃ yad uktaṃ*
*he Kṛṣṇa he Yādava he sakheti* [68]
*ajānatā mahimānaṃ tavedam*
*mayā pramādāt praṇayena vāpi* || 41 ||
*yac cāvahāsārtham asatkṛto 'si*
*vihāraśayyāsanabhojaneṣu* |
*eko 'thavāpy Acyuta tat samakṣaṃ*
*tat kṣāmaye tvām aham aprameyam* || 42 ||

Here Arjuna expressively apologizes for having, because of not knowing his greatness, addressed the Supreme God as 'Kṛṣṇa,' 'Yādava' or 'comrade'; which is, of course, discourteous and inadmissible.[69] When, after that, the author of xvii, 1. makes him again talk to the Supreme Being as 'Kṛṣṇa', this can only be explained by assuming that he had for the moment forgotten this passage in the work of his predecessor. To suggest that the very same author should have committed, within such a limited space, such a blunder is scarcely admissible.

*(To be continued.)*

[65] Kṛṣṇa in viii. 4. pays a corresponding compliment by styling Arjuna *dehabhṛtāṃ vara.*

[66] There is a still longer list of such superlative epithets in the *Viṣṇusmṛti*, i. 49 f.

[67] There is something like this found in the use of the Buddha's epithets in the *Buddhacarita* and the *Saundarananda*. cp. Mr. Johnston, *JRAS.*, 1929, p. 538.

[68] On this incorrect form cp. Schlegel-Lassen, *l.c.*, p. xxx, n. ; Professor Rajwade, *l.c.*, p. 327. Lassen probably is right in looking upon it as being a senseless repetition of the previous correct *sakheti.*

[69] The situation undoubtedly reminds us of the *Mahāvagga*, i. 6. 12, where Buddha speaks thus to the *pañcavaggiyā bhikkhū : mā bhikkhave tathāgataṃ nāmena ca āvusovādena ca samudācaratha arahaṃ bhikkhave tathāgato sammāsambuddho.*

# RUSTAMJÎ MÂNAK: A NOTABLE PÂRSÎ BROKER.

BY HARIHAR DAS, B.LITT. (OXON.), F.R.HIST.S.

THE life-story of this famous Pârsî is of great interest to all students of the history of the East India Company, and especially to those who are tracing the genealogy of the great families of merchant princes and others both in Calcutta and in Bombay. The fortunes of some of their ancestors were made in the service of that Company, and their descendants are enjoying to-day the fruits of the achievements of their forefathers. The subject of this article, Rustamjî Mânak, born in 1660, was one of those who made a fortune in that service during the seventeenth century, and is the founder of one of the best known Pârsî families of our day in Bombay. We are not acquainted with the early history of Rustamji's family, but Mr. Henry Grose mentioned in his book, *A Voyage to the East Indies*, that the family was descended "from those kings of Persia, whose dynasty was destroyed by the Mahometan invasion." His descendants are still distinguished for their opulence and philanthropy, amongst them being Mr. K. J. Sett, one of the largest land-owners in the city of Bombay and a member of the Pârsî Panchâyat; and Sir Phiroz Settna, a member of the Council of State. There are occasional references to Rustamjî in Bruce's *Annals*, Hedge's *Diary*, Sir George Forrest's *Selections from the Records in the Bombay Secretariat*, as well as in other works. Mr. S. H. Hodivala delivered an interesting lecture in April, 1927, at the Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay, on the *True History of Rustam Mânak*. His paper was chiefly based on the above authorities and on private information. Mr. Hodivala has done a distinct service by pointing out inaccuracies with regard to certain facts and traditions associated with Rustamjî.

The object of the present article is to give a short account of the prominent part played by Rustamjî as broker to the New English East India Company, and interpreter to the Embassy of Sir William Norris to Aurangzeb. It has been compiled from records, not hitherto published, which are preserved at the India Office. These include Rustamji's *Diary* and the letters written by him during the time he was connected with the Embassy. The *Journals* of Sir William Norris contained references to Rustamjî, which have already been inserted by the writer in his articles on the Embassy published in various journals. Before further describing Rustamjî's connection with the Embassy, it may be mentioned that he amassed a large fortune in the Company's service and in private enterprises. He founded the suburb at Surat which still bears his name, Rustampura. His philanthropic spirit prompted him to devote a large portion of his money to charitable objects, and his descendants are continuing to emulate the generosity of their great ancestor.

Rustamjî was appointed broker to the New English East India Company by Sir Nicholas Waite a few months before the arrival of Sir William Norris at Surat in December, 1700. He enjoyed the entire confidence of the President for several years. It was customary at that time that any one receiving an appointment should make a present to the official to whom he owed his new office. When, therefore, Rustamjî was made chief broker, he presented Sir Nicholas Waite with the sum of Rs. 20,000, which was unanimously accepted by the President and his Council. In reporting to the Court of Directors, they wrote that the money would be "applied toward defraying the charge of building lodgings for your servants, with warehouses and other conveniences, wch charge, our house adjoining to the Wall and one of the city gates upon the river will in few years after have our Phirmaund dissipate said Expence in cartage etc., beside the great security it will be upon any revolution in this Govermt when have the comand of such a gate."[1] It may easily be concluded that, as Rustamji was able to pay so large a sum on receiving his appointment, the emoluments attached to his post as well as sums derived from other sources must have been very great.

[1] See No. 7032 O. C. 56—I; No. 7222 O. C. 56—II.

There was no dearth of candidates for that post, and many competitors were prepared to pay even larger sums if by any means they could have superseded him. His position was, therefore, at first one of considerable difficulty ; but, being in the good graces of Sir Nicholas Waite, he was able to withstand his enemies. In a letter written to the Court of Directors on the 30th November, 1700, Sir Nicholas Waite and his Council wrote :—" The Old Company's servants used many artifices for turning out of our present Broker being the first of the Parsee caste that hath at any time been in such publick employment which being in prejudice to all the Baman caste the Old and Chief managers of all business here hath occasioned a storme of envy from the last, and all those that may propose an advantage for their introduction when in our consciences believe it is your interest for us to suport him, when your honrs. may be assured that we shall certainly have advice of the least ill act he can contrive in your prejudice, and 'tis notorious to all the city that he is the best master of business with the Governmt which could never have been carried with that secresy and expedition had a Baman been our Broker wch cast being so exasperated have by Vittull Parrack the Old Compas late Broker (of whom wrote your honrs by the *Norris*) offered Sir Nicholas Waite one hundred thousand rupees to be Broker. Then by the Brother of the Dutch Broker seaventy thousand rupees worth of diamonds in hand and thirty thousand rupees when so declared wch. if the Consul had accepted, tho an estate for any reasonable man your settlemt. had by that interest purchased by the Old Factory been wth the Embassy totally over throwne which virtue not blinded with Gold or pretious stones can't believe that your honrs. will pass without cognizance for encouragement of such as are faithful and do well when have not recd. anything but what hath been brought to your credit, as a horse the Harcarra since the *Norris* sailed gave the President valued at Rs. 500 and 4 p : attlasses and 3 p. of Allejahs valued at Rs. 70 recd. from Abdul Goffore who was with Mirza Zaid our Landlord two of the Principall Merchts. of this city presented upon your honors account in cloth etc. to the value of——rups they being our friends and by whose interest have gained us the favour of the great Codgee [Kâzi] and Mufty of the King and others at Court and the merchants and others of this city......"[2]

After Sir William Norris' arrival at Surat in December, 1700, Rustamji Mânak was authorised to inform the local Mughal Governor and the other officials that by virtue of his authority the Ambassador had ordered the flag which Sir John Gayer had caused to be hoisted on board the *Tavistock* to be hauled down[3]. Rustamjî was commissioned by Sir Nicholas Waite to make all the preliminary arrangements connected with the Ambassador's landing, and he lost no time in visiting the latter in company with his chief. This proceeding greatly alarmed the servants of the Old Company who feared that, if Sir Nicholas followed implicitly the advise of Rustamjî, it would " cause new troubles in some kind or other." Shortly afterwards at a Council held at the Ambassador's Camp on January 3, 1700, the President and Council recommended their Chief broker Rustamjî as a faithful interpreter to attend his Excellency to the Mughal Court till the *farmân* should have been obtained for the Presidency of Surat. Accordingly Rustamjî accompanied Sir William Norris on his journey to the Mughal Court and was entrusted with a large sum of money for the necessary expenses. He was especially commissioned to superintend the Indian members of the retinue : but from the very beginning it appeared that the Ambassador was not favourably impressed by the manner in which Rustamjî performed his work. His dissatisfaction is shown by the following extract from a letter written by Sir William Norris to Sir Nicholas Waite on February 19, 1700-1 :—" I refer you to my brother's letter for account of all transactions in our march and in relation to ye behaviour of our Indian retinue, over which I have all along given Rustum the authority, but really he has not courage to execute, but suffers ye least of them to dispute his commands, and after he has given them am often

[2] See No. 7222, *O. C.* 56—II. [3] *Surat Factory Records*, vol. 99.

obliged to force ye Eddies to see them executed, suffering no Englishmen whatsoever to intermeddle or be concerned with them."[4]

On the other hand it was evident that Sir Nicholas Waite and his Council entertained a very high opinion of Rustamji's ability and integrity. They still considered him to be the most suitable person to assist the Ambassador in the negotiations with the Mughâl's ministers. This view was fully expressed in a letter to the Court of Directors dated March 6, 1700-1 :— "The Ambassador being upon his journey strongly guarded and we furnished with what were most acceptable to such whose corrupt natures adore the God of this earth, and accompanied with our Chief Broker Rustumjee faithful to your intrest well acquainted wth ye misterious intreagues of these people and capable to prevent the impolice and chargable projections of our hot brethren extorted this permission having no other in view that could repose so great a trust and beleiving in our conscience had been wanting in our dutys if not complied with his Excy's desire to keep him until our Phirmaund granted is past ye seal and another provided in his room and hope that your affairs will not be much prejudiced by his absence being all the *Mountagues* cargoe except peper drugs and coffee and most of what intended for the Rooke contracted for before the Rains tho he complains it will be considerably to his disadvantag: refusing any gratuity from his Excy referring himself to your hon from whom probably he may expect a medal and chain and some uncommon curiosity to be delivered if find him not staind in his stedfastness to your interest."[5]

*(To be continued.)*

## SOME ADDITIONS TO THE LALLÂ-VÂKYÂNI.

*(The Wise Sayings of Lal Ded.)*

By Pandit ANAND KOUL, Śrînagar, Kashmîr.

THE ages, it has been truly said, are mirrored in their old songs and sayings. In this age of spiritual rebirth, which is characterized by an insatiable thirst for higher knowledge, there cannot be an object of more intense desire than to gaze upon the matchless and eloquent forms of classical antiquity. The philosophical and poetical works of genius of every age and clime, hitherto hidden treasures, should, therefore, be recovered and made accessible to all by translation.

Lallishwari or Lal Ded is among the most venerable characters of moral antiquity and is the heroine of ancient popular religious culture in Kashmir. Her precious sayings—productions of divine inspiration—have rooted themselves in the popular mind and are resounding and vibrating many-toned within them. There reign in them both power and fulness of genius. She penetrated more deeply than ordinary mortals into the mysteries of theology. Her mind could well be compared to a mirror in whose depths was reflected the history of humanity. She lashed vice and extolled virtue, and her sayings are animated and inflamed with the most chaste metaphors, whose conception and composition are very beautiful, sweet and sublime, conveying vivid moral truths that can never be read without internal emotion. By the arrangement of her words her ideas are artfully disclosed and rendered beautifully picturesque. These unique effusions of real inspiration soothe the ear, mend and melt the heart and elevate the mind. In short they are a gift immeasurably precious to the world and to all nations.

In the life-sketch of this prophetess, published in the *Indian Antiquary* of November and December 1921, I stated that I had been fortunate enough to collect a number of her sayings in addition to those already published by Sir George Grierson and Dr. Lionel D. Barnett.

[4] See *O. C.* 56—IV.

[5] See No. 7478, *O. C.* 56—IV.

I have since translated them, and I give them below with the satisfaction of feeling that these literary jewels are now rescued from falling into the deep, dark and dim ditch of oblivion.

1.

*Âguruy raṭak sâri sâri tarak.*
*Adah kavah múḍo phaṭak zâh.*
If thou wilt go to the source (of a stream and) cross after feeling the feet firmly,
Then, O fool, how shalt thou ever be drowned ?

2.

*Âras nerih nah mudur shîray ;*
*Nir-viryas nerih nah shúrah nâv,*
*Murkhas prunun chhuy hastis kashun ;*
*Yaso mâli dândas bĕha tsâv.*
*Babrih-langas mushk no morey ;*
*Húni-bastih kâpúr nerih nah zâh.*
*Manah yud gwârahan, pheriy zerey,*
*Natah shâlah-ṭungey neriy kyâh.*
Sweet juice cannot be extracted from a plum ;
A eunuch cannot be called a hero.
To give instruction to a foolish person is to scratch an elephant (he payeth no regard to it) ;
Whichever ox hath become addicted to laziness (he cannot be made active).
A branch of sweet basil shall not loose its odour ;
Camphor can never come out of a dog's skin.
If thou rememberest (Him) in thy mind, (He) will turn to thee easily ;
Otherwise what will come out of a jackal's howl ? (*i.e.*, saying prayers with the tongue alone, with an absent mind, is as meaningless as a jackal's howl).

3.

*Asiy âsi tay asiy âsau :*
*Asiy dor kari paṭawat.*
*Shivas sorih nah zyun tah marun :*
*Ravas sorih nah atagat.*
Only we existed (in the past) and only we shall exist (in the future),
Only we did ever make excursion in the past.
Birth and death will not come to an end for Śiva ,
Rising and setting will not come to an end for the sun.

This saying compare with *Bhagavadgîtâ*, II. 12.

*Na tvevâhaṃ jâtu nâsaṃ na tvaṃ neme janâdhipâḥ* |
*Na caiva na bhaviṣyâmaḥ sarve vayamataḥ param* ||

The interminable round of birth and death.

In the *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, dated 30th May 1928, it was reported that a girl of seven years of age, named Râmkulî, daughter of Paṇḍit Gangâ Viṣṇu, a Brâhmaṇ in the village of Shâdînagar in the Farrukhâbâd district of the United Provinces, remembered her previous life in a family at a village named Maglabâgh, where, she said, she had three sons, one having been born shortly before her death. The eldest was named Siyârâm and the second Râmsvarûp. She was taken to this village and, when approaching it, she pointed

out two houses in the distance, in which, she said, she had lived during her previous existence. She confirmed her assertion by identifying her sons there. The girl was then cross-examined. She described correctly the alterations and repairs to the house, which had been effected some years before; and to other questions put by the villagers she gave correct replies.

4.

*Avitsâri pothěn chhih hau, mâli, parân,*
*Yitha tota parân "Râma" pinjras.*
*Gîtâ parân tah hîthâ labân ;*
*Param Gîtâ tah parân chhas.*

O father, the thoughtless are reading books,
As a parrot is repeating "Râma" in the cage.
(They are) reading the (*Bhagavad*) *Gîtâ*, having a pretext to do so,
I have read the (*Bhagavad*) *Gîtâ*, and I am still reading it.

The other version of this saying is given in No. 27 below.

5.

*Âyas tih siduy tah gatshah tih siduy ;*
*Sidis hul mĕh karĕm kyâh ?*
*Buh tas âsas âgaray vĕday*
*Vidis tah vĕndis karĕm kyâh ?*

I came straight and I shall also return straight.
What can a crooked person do to me, a straightforward person ?
I was acquainted with Him from the beginning,
What will He do to me, His acquaintance and a dear one ?

6.

*Azapâ Gâyatry hamsah hamsah zapit*
*Aham trâvit suy adah raṭ.*
*Yami trov aham suh rúd pânay.*
*Buh nah âsun chhuy opadesh.*

Without mentally reciting the *gâyatrî* (a verse from the Ṛig Veda) but reciting it by *hamsa hamsa* (which a human being utters 21,600 times unconsciously by breathing during 24 hours, and which means *âtma*, i.e., *hanti aredyâm hamsah*).

Hold Him (*âtma*) after leaving self-love.
He who left self-love remained himself.
"Ceasing to be 'I'" is the right doctrine.

7.

*Dachhinis abras zâgun zânahâ.*
*Samudras zânahâ kadit ath.*
*Mandis rogiyas waidyut zânahâ.*
*Mudas zânim nah pranit kath.*

I might know how to disperse the clouds from the south.
I might know how to drain away a sea.
I might know how to cure a feeble, sick person,
(These impossibilities might be possible for me, but) I could not know how to say anything to a stupid person.

8.

*Damah damah Oṁkar man paranâwum.*
*Pânay parân pânay bozân.*
*So'ham padas aham golum.*
*Teli Lal boh wâtsas prakâshasthân.*
Every moment I taught *Oṁkâr* to the mind.
I was myself reading and myself hearing.
From *so'ham* (I am He) I cut off *aham* (I am),
Then did I, Lallâ, reach the place of illumination.

9.

*Dish âyas dash dish tîlit.*
*Tsalit tsaṭum shani adah wâv.*
*Shivay dyûṭhum shâyi shâyi mîlit.*
*Shĕh tah trĕh trupimas tah Shivay drâv.*
*Sun drâv vahnih tah mal gau vathit,*
*Yĕli mĕh anilah ditumas tâv.*
*Katur zan gayas lolah viglit,*
*Yĕli kaṭhkush tsul nishi rau drav.*
*Lal buh rûzus tĕli shehilit,*
*Yĕli tsĕtas pĕr buh tas nâv.*
I came from my quarter after visiting ten quarters,
Then I cut and ran through void and wind.
I found Śiva pervading everywhere.
I closed six (senses) and three (*malas* or impurities which are the causes of the existence of the material world) and even Śiva appeared.
Gold came out of the furnace and dirt was removed.
When I heated it in fire.
I got melted by love, like ice
When the frost thawed and the sun appeared.
I, Lallâ, remained then in peace,
When I remembered "I" (to be) His name.

10.

*Graṭa chhuh pherân zerey zerey;*
*Uhukuy zânih graṭuk tshal.*
*Graṭa yĕlih pherih tay zâryul nerey.*
*Gû wâti pânay graṭabal.*
Slowly, slowly, is the mill turning;
The pivot alone knoweth the trick of the mill.
When the mill will turn, fine (flour) will come out;
Wheat (for being ground) will itself reach the mill-yard.

11.

*Guras mail pĕr âmen nâṭan:*
*Biyan pashan swâd kyâh âsey?*
*Yi hâl guras, tay râh kyâh tsâṭan?*
*Brahma kulis mewah kyâh piye!*
The spiritual teacher had an appetite for raw flesh:
Of what taste will be other animals (to him)?
This being the state of the spiritual teacher.
What fault lieth with the pupils?
What fruit is brought forth by the divine tree!

12.

*Hachivi hârinji pitsir kân gom :*
*Abak chhân pyom yath râzdhâney :*
*Manzbâg bâzaras kulfa rust wân gom :*
*Tîrtha rost pân gom kus mâli zâney.*
For a wooden bow I have got an arrow of rush grass ;
For (building) this domed castle I have got a foolish carpenter :
In the middle of the market I have got a shop without a lock :
My body has been without (bathing at) a pilgrimage : who will know this, O father ?

13.

*Hâ tsetta karah chhuy lagmut para mas !*
*Karah gug apazis pazyuk bront ?*
*Dishi buz rash kurnak para-dharmas :*
*Yinah gatshanah z na-maranas krout.*
O mind why hast thou become intoxicated at another's expense ?
Why hast thou mistaken true for untrue ?
Thy little understanding hath made thee attached to other's religion :
Subdued to coming and going ; to birth and death.

14.

*Kâliy sat kul gatshan pâtâliy :*
*Akâliy zalah malah varshan pĕn,*
*Mâmas ṭâki tay masah kiy pyâliy*
*Brahman tah tsrâliy ikawaṭah khĕn.*
The time is coming when seven generations will sink down to hell.
When untimely showers of rain and dust will fall.
When plates of flesh and wine cups
Brâhmaṇs and sweepers will take together.

*Tsrol* (singular of *Tsrâli*) is a corruption of *Chanḍâl*. This class of the people, having become Muhammadan converts, were appointed by King Zainu'l-'âbidîn (1422-74 A.D.) to go round as spies to the Brâhmaṇs' houses. They now supply lime to the Brâhmaṇs for use in religious rites and decorate the compound by marking a circular diagram in it (called *vyûg*) with lime and turmeric at weddings, etc., and receive presents from them.

15.

*Kamsan nendrih tay kamsan udy ?*
*Kamsan nish-budhy bhavan ?*
*Kamsan lolah nârah dady ?*
*Kamsan sâs tay kamsan sun ?*
*Kamsan maranas bronṭh mudy ?*
*Tim âsi sâs tay sapaniy sun.*
Who are asleep, and who are awake ?
Who are born devoid of intellect ?
Who are fired with the fire of love ?
Who are ashes and who are gold ?
Who died before death ?
They were ashes and became gold.

16.

*Kuner ay bozak kuni no rozak.*
*Kuniran kurnam haniâkâr,*
*Kunuy âsit don hund jang gom.*
*Suy Berang gom karit rang.*
If thou hearest of loneliness, thou wilt remain nowhere.
The loneliness hath turned me into the universe.
Being alone it became two persons' quarrel.
That Formless One went away after shaping me into form.

17.

*Kus marih tah kaso mâran ?*
*Marih kus tay mâran kas ?*
*Yus Harah Harah trâvit gharah gharah karey ;*
*Adah suh marih tay mâran tas.*
*Gurah shabdas yus yatsh patsh bharey,*
*Gnyânah wagih raṭih tsĕta turgas ;*
*Indrey shumrit ânand karey.*
*Adah kus marih tay mâran kas ?*
Who will die, and whom will they kill ?
Die who will, and killed who will be ?
One who leaving Śiva, Śiva, will desire home, home.
Then he will die, and him will they kill.
One who cherisheth love and faith in the Teacher's word,
Controlleth the horse of mind by the bridle of knowledge,
With senses subdued he will enjoy peace.
Then who will die, and whom will they kill ? (*i.e.*, none).

18.

*Lali mih dapuk loka-hând karani.*
*Tavay tsulum manih shenkh.*
*Mâgh nârum âg tsolum.*
*Krehnel kosum manih shenkh.*
I, Lallâ, was told to cry aloud in public :
By that alone I got rid of doubt from my mind.
I bathed during Mâgh (January-February) and bore the heat of fire (*i.e.*, suffered the rigour of both).
I cast off blackness—the doubt of the mind.

(*To be continued.*)

## NATURE STUDY IN THE SANSKRIT POEM MEGHADÛTA.

By LILY DEXTER GREENE, PH.D.

In a perusal of the Sanskrit poems and dramas, we find wonderful descriptions of natural scenery. These are used in such a way as to show real appreciation of material beauty of form, richness of colour and freshness of poetic fancy.

It is my purpose to make a study of Sanskrit Literature, with particular reference to these descriptions, and to find out, as far as possible, the names and principal physical aspects of the plants mentioned, and to show how the poetic fancy of the Hindu writer uses these wonderfully realistic descriptions to embellish his story, as he weaves his noblest thoughts and deepest feelings into a peculiarly variegated pattern.

These nature descriptions are not in the least prosaic and dull, but with accuracy of observation and delicacy of expression, the poet draws pictures that stand out vividly and challenge our highest praise.

First of all, let us consider Kalidâsa's poem, " The Cloud Messenger," or, as it is called in Sanskrit, *Meghadûta*. The subject of this poem is a simple one, but rather unique. One of the attendants of Kuvera has angered him, and, as a result, is condemned to a period of twelve months' exile from his home. In the lonely sacred forest, he longs to send some message to his wife, but as there is no human being to convey it, he calls upon the cloud, one of those fleecy masses seen in a tropical sky at the beginning of the monsoon.

The whole poem is full of beautiful imagery and replete with many references of mythological and local value. The *Yaksha*, who is the central figure, is an inferior divinity, and an attendant of Kuvera, the god of wealth, but he remembers, that the first duty of a polite suppliant is to offer an oblation, as if to a guest, or to a fellow deity. The usual oblation is called *argha* (अर्घ = boat) because of the boat-shaped vessel in which it is offered. It consists of water, milk, points of *kuśa* grass, curds, *ghî*, rice, barley and white mustard.

Various deities are offered special oblations, but here, with true poetic feeling, Kalidâsa substitutes the fragrant white blossoms of the Kuṭaya tree, instead of the more prosaic offerings. These new-blown buds are wonderfully fragrant, pure white in colour, and blossom at the beginning of the rainy season. This small mountain tree (*Wrightia antidysenterica*, Roxb., *Holarrhena antidysenterica*, Wall.) grows in various parts of India in elevated regions, and is commonly called *karaya*, *kuṭaja*, or *kuṭaya*. The seeds and bark of the *kuṭaya* are both considered very beneficial in certain diseases.

Stanza 17—

As the cloud passes on its way, bearing the message to the wife of the *Yaksha*, it is told to pass eastward, and the reference to " Indra's bow " means the rainbow—

" Thence sailing to the north and veering to the west
On Âmrakûṭa's lofty ridges rest."[1]

and in stanza 18, there is a fanciful, but picturesque idea in the words—

" When o'er the wooded mountain's towering head,
Thy hovering shades like flowing tresses spread."

In stanza 20 the mountain rivulets on the slopes are very realistically portrayed, where the Revâ (*i.e.*, Narmadâ) stream is spoken of in the following passage:

" Whose slender streams upon the brown hill's side,
Like painted streaks upon the dusky hide
Of the tall elephant."

One who has travelled in the higher ranges of the Himâlaya mountains during the rainy season will fully appreciate the scene where the streams " through stones and stocks wind slow their arduous way."

1 This and the subsequent quotations within inverted commas are from H. H. Wilson's translation in verse, first published at Calcutta in 1814

In the poem *Ṛtu-saṁhâra*, Kalidâsa refers to the ichor of the elephant in the following lines :—

" Roars the wild elephant inflamed with love,
And deep the sound reverberates from above,
His ample front like some rich lotus shows,
Where sport the bees and fragrant moisture flows."

In stanza 22 there is a beautiful touch in—

" Reviving nature bounteous shall dispense,
To cheer thy journey every charm of sense,
Blossoms with blended green and russet hue,
And opening buds shall smile upon thy view."

The brilliant flowering trees are like unto " incense that shall rise," and the " warbling birds with music fill the skies," as if in praise for the promise of rain to be.

In stanza 25 we have a very vivid picture of the common *pîpal* tree.

" Then shall the ancient tree, whose branches wear
The marks of village reverence and tear,
Shake through each leaf as birds profanely wrest
The reverend boughs to form the rising nest."

This tree—(Sanskrit अश्वत्थ—*Ficus religiosa*)—is at all times in India sacred to the Hindu mind. He calls it *devataru*, ' divine tree '; also *devabhavana*. ' divine habitation '; and *nâga-bandhu*, ' friend of snakes,' because of the belief that the snake deities were especially protected by it. In Sanskrit, the names commonly used for it are *pippala* and *aśvattha*. The latter name is thought by some to have been given because its fruit ripens in Aśvina. This tree is found all over India and is usually planted in every garden, for its dense shade and rapid growth. It is quite bare during the winter months. Owing to the long, slender, petioles, the gentlest breeze causes a constant shaking of the leaves, similar to that of the aspen tree (*Populus tremula*). The fruit, which is about the size of a small cherry, is vertically compressed. It has medicinal qualities and is greedily eaten by birds, but is not fit for food for man. The young tender leaves are eaten by silk-worms, and a milky, tenacious, juice exudes from any break in the bark—this is rich in caoutchouc and is often used to smear the inside of earthen vessels, so that they will hold fluids. In all villages inhabited by Hindus, the *pîpal* tree is planted and watered and most tenderly cared for. Frequently idols or temples are found beneath its sheltering branches, and garlands of flowers and offerings of fruit are placed before the idols or hung on the lower limbs.

In stanza 27 we find a rather naive thought of the Hindu mind, that pleasure or delight causes the hairs of the body to stand on end.

" Next o'er the lesser hills thy flight suspend,
And growth erect to drooping flowerlets lend,
While sweeter fragrance breathes from each recess
Than rich perfumes the hireling wanton's dress."

Or, translated more literally, " That hill with upright flowers is like the body with its hairs on end." The fragrance of the body here referred to is due to the abundant use of rich and fragrant perfume.

Stanza 28.—The tenderness and delicacy of the jasmine is accurately portrayed in the following :—

" And raise the feeble jasmine's languid head,
Grant for a while thy interposing shroud
To where those damsels woo the friendly cloud."

This probably refers to *Jasminum Sambac*, Ait., the well-known, single-flowered plant, the Arabian Jasmine, which blossoms during the hot season, but more profusely, after the rainy

season begins. Here, too, we find the work of the *mâlâkaras*, or wreath-sellers, who search for the early blossoms of the wild jasmine, to sell to devout Hindus, to be offered before shrines in the temples, or to be used in decorating their own homes. It is a common sight to see these flower vendors in the markets. The difficulty of gathering such flowers is vividly portrayed in the following lines :—

"As while the garland's flowery stores they seek,
The scorching sunbeams singe the tender cheek,
The ear-hung lotus fades : and vain they chase,
Fatigued and faint, the drops that dew the face."

In stanzas 30, 31 the river Nirvindhyâ is personified as a love-lorn maiden wooing the cloud.

"Who speaks the language amorous maids devise,
The lore of signs, the eloquence of eyes,
And seeks with lavish beauty to arrest
Thy course and woo thee to her bridal breast."

The cloud has barely escaped this enticing one, when another river, the Sindhu, appears, and now, its sympathy is appealed to, for the Sindhu, diminished by the hot season, is likened to the peculiar fashion in which the hair is worn by one whose husband is absent, as though this river-maid, because of the absence of the cloud, had bound her hair in one long, single braid, called वेणी (*veṇî*), to show her sorrow and dejection. The wife does not care to oil and adorn her tresses, with dozens of little braids and many jewels and other gay-coloured ornaments, unless her husband can be there to enjoy all her adornment.

In stanzas 32 to 36 the description of Avanti is exceptionally clear and beautiful.

"Here as the early zephyrs waft along,
In swelling harmony, the woodland song
They scatter sweetness from the fragrant flower,
That joyful opens to the morning hour ;

. . . . . .

With friendly zeal they sport around the maid,
Who early courts their vivifying aid.
And . . . . . . .
Here should thy spirit with thy toils decay,
Rest from the labours of the wearying way :
Round every house the flowery fragrance spreads :
O'er every floor the painted footstep treads :
Breathed through each casement swells the scented air,
Soft odours shaken from dishevelled hair."

The "painted foot-step" refers to the common custom of staining the soles of the feet with *meñhdî*, or henna. This is also applied to the palms of the hands and in the dry, hot season is very cooling. Its botanical name is *Lawsonia inermis*, Roxb. This is a shrub much used for low hedges and is readily started from cuttings. Its fresh, tender leaves are crushed and rubbed on the nails, the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet. This dyes them a rich, reddish orange colour, which is greatly admired by Indian ladies, and is considered, not only very elegant, but very refreshing. The colour remains until it wears off. The plant has very small, greenish-yellow flowers, which are strongly pungent and very beautiful.

Stanza 37.—The female attendants upon the idol are like bees, whose "glances gleam along the sky." The piercing gleam of their glance is, in effect, like the sting of the bee, and the poet likens the glance, to a long line of bees. What could be more effective in delineating the coquettish actions of these attendants than such expressive statements of the poet's keen observation.

Stanza 47—

"To him whose youth in Sâra thickets strayed,
Reared by the nymphs, thy adoration paid,"

refers to the legend concerning Skanda, or Kârtikeya, who is the son of Śiva and Pârvatî. He was created to destroy a demon, who by great austerities had acquired too much power to suit the gods. Skanda was cast into the flame of Agni, thence transferred to the goddess Gaṅgâ. After his birth, he was reared in the midst of thickets of *sâra* by the wives of seven rishis—these were later placed in the skies and are the Pleiades. The reed referred to is *Saccharum procerum* (Sâra). Roxb. This grows to be six to sixteen feet high and is related to the sugarcane, though it seems to be used chiefly for medicinal purposes and for reed pens used in writing the vernacular on paper or on *takhtis* (wooden slates).

Stanza 49—

"Whose arching brows like graceful creepers glow,
Whose upturned lashes, to thy lofty way,
The pearly ball and pupil dark display:
Such contrast as the lovely *kunda* shows
When the black bee sits pleased amidst her snows."

The *kunda* is the beautiful *Jasminum pubescens*, a small ramous shrub which bears an abundance of pure, white, sweet-scented blossoms during the rainy season, or *varṣâ*, as this season is called in Sanskrit. Girls and women are fond of wearing these blossoms in their hair, or as garlands around their necks or wrists. The Sanskrit poets are given to this comparison of the arched brows of the fair-faced ones to the graceful creepers, and of the large shining black eyes, to the honey-bee in the midst of the blossoms.

Stanza 54—

"As Śiva's bull upon his sacred neck,
Amidst his ermine, owns some sable speck,
So shall thy shade upon the mountain show,
Whose sides are silvered with eternal snow."

The bull is the animal sacred to Śiva and is supposed to be white, but the dust and "sable speck" may well be seen in hot, dusty India, and the dark shadow of the cloud upon the eternal snows adds a vivid touch of real Indian mountain scenery.

Stanza 55—

"From writhing boughs should forest flames arise,
Whose breath the air. . . . ."

In a hot country like India, frequent forest fires break out, and the poet explains this as caused by the mutual friction of intertwined branches aided by the blowing of the wind. It was a common thought in Vedic literature that the *śamî* (*Mimosa Suma*, Roxb.) and the ***aśvattha*** (***Ficus religiosa***) branches rubbed together would produce a sacred fire. The Hindus are said to kindle the temple fires by rubbing together a dried twig of each of these. This may be the case in legend only, as Purûravas is said to have generated primeval fire in this manner. The *Mimosa Suma*, Roxb. (the *Acacia Suma* of Buchanan and Hooker) is an evergreen tree with remarkably white bark and villous twigs. One of the peculiarities of this tree is that the flowers, at first bright-coloured, later turn pure white. In the laws of Manu, 8—246 and 247, both the *aśvattha* and *śamî* are mentioned as trees to mark boundaries.

Stanza 64.—The reference to the "golden lotus-covered lake" and "the dews of Mânasa," no doubt, means the sacred lake Mânasarovara, situated in the very heart of the higher ranges of the Himâlaya mountains, and supposed to be the source of the Ganges river, until Moorcroft penetrated to that remote region and disproved that view. The "heavenly trees" of this stanza are the five fabled varieties of tree in Indra's heaven. The ***kalpa*** tree is one of this variety, the names of the others are given in the *Amarakośa* of Amarasiṁha.

(*To be continued.*)

## BOOK-NOTICES.

A HISTORY OF MUGHAL NORTH-EAST FRONTIER POLICY, being a Study of the Political Relation of the Mughal Empire with Koch Bihar, Kamrup and Assam, by SUDHINDRA NATH BHATTACHARYYA, M.A. $8\frac{1}{2}\times5\frac{1}{4}$ in: pp. xxv + 434, with map. Calcutta, 1929.

The only comprehensive historical account of the north-east frontier region hitherto published is that contained in Sir E. A. Gait's *History of Assam*. The volume before us does not supersede that useful work, but largely amplifies and supplements it in respect of the Mughal period, and incidentally suggests some corrections, as a result of the fresh material used and a more detailed examination of the local chronicles. The scope of the work, in the author's words, is primarily that of "a political narrative, in which the origin, progress and result of an interesting phase of Mughal history, *i.e.*, Mughal foreign policy in the north-east frontier of India, has been described in as exhaustive and systematic a manner as has been found possible." This being the avowed object, the first two chapters, dealing with (I) the land, the people and their early history, and (II) the pre-Mughal Muslim relations with north-eastern India, are comparatively brief. In chapter II, however, the author puts forward certain conjectures as to the campaigns in this quarter by Ghiyâsu'd-dîn Bahâdur Shâh, Muhammad bin Tughlaq, Sikandar Shâh and Ghyâsu'd-dîn 'Azam, which, being based upon coin finds as yet otherwise uncorroborated, cannot be accepted as finally established. The bulk of the work deals with the period 1576-1682, or rather more than a century, falling within the reigns of the four great Mughal emperors—Akbar, Jahângîr, Shâh Jahân and Aurangzeb—commencing with Akbar's final conquest of Bengal from the Afghân dynasty and ending with the year in which the Assam king finally triumphed over the Mughals, and Kâmrûp passed out of their hands for good. The sections of these chapters (III to VII) deal with more or less distinct phases in the ever-shifting struggle for supremacy. The headings prefixed to them tend to give the impression that a fixed policy was maintained by the Mughal Court for definite periods of time, whereas the constantly changing local conditions and the variable conduct of the rulers, so often at feud between themselves, rendered continuity of policy largely impracticable. Much depended, moreover, upon the personal disposition of the Bengal viceroy. But this does not detract from the value of the historical matter that has been collected and arranged with great industry and much impartiality.

The credit of first drawing attention to the value of what appears to be a unique manuscript of the *Bahâristân-i-Ghaibî*, preserved in the Gentil collection in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris, lies with the distinguished historian, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who published an analysis thereof in the *JBORS.*, vol. VII, pt. I. This work, besides giving important information in regard to the complete subjugation of the Bengal and Orissa zamîndârs during Jahângîr's reign, furnishes a mass of detail in respect of the campaigns in Kâmrûp and its vicinity during the years 1612-24, in which the author himself took a prominent part. In chapters IV and V, Professor Bhattacharyya has made full use of this account, and in chapter VII, of the *Fathiya-i-'ibriya* of Shihâbu'd-dîn Tâlish. He has subjected all the available Assam and Ahom *buranjis* to a thorough examination, as well as Dr. Wade's MS. *History of Assam* in the I. O. library. He has, besides, utilized all the relevant portions of the better known Persian histories and the scanty numismatic and epigraphica evidence bearing upon the area concerned. The result is a valuable contribution to the history of the north-east frontier in Mughal times. The appendices contain a useful chronologica summary, lists of kings and an exhaustive bibliography. The index is fairly full, and the map, though not complete, is very helpful. The defects due to "rushing into print" will, no doubt, be rectified in the next edition.

C. E. A. W. O.

UNE GRAMMAIRE TIBÉTAINE DU TIBÉTAIN CLASSIQUE. LES ŚLOKAS GRAMMATICAUX DE THONMI SAMBHOṬA, avec leurs commentaires, traduits du Tibétain et annotés par JACQUES BACOT. $10\times6\frac{3}{4}$ in: pp. iv + 231 + 8 Plates. Paris: Geuthner, 1928.

In this work, which is published under the authority of the French Ministry of Instruction, and forms one of the Annals of the Musée Guimet, M. Bacot publishes for the first time the original Rules of Tibetan Grammar laid down in the seventh century by Thonmi Sambhoṭa, who, with the aid of Indian Pandits, created the written language of Tibet. The object of their labours was to translate the Buddhist scriptures into Tibetan, and for this purpose the language of the primitive nomads had to be adapted to represent and translate the abstract metaphysical and technical terms of the later school of Indian Buddhism. The result was a purely artificial language, bearing but little resemblance to the current speech of the people, restricted to their simple life and requirements. As M. Bacot observes, classical Tibetan is not a dead language, for it had never lived.

Thonmi Sambhoṭa embodied his Rules in 65 short aphorisms or articles called, after Sanskrit analogy, *Ślokas*, though they are actually of varying length. His *Ślokas* occupy in Tibetan the position corresponding to the rules of Pâṇini in Sanskrit, as the basis on which all subsequent Tibetan grammarians have built. M. Bacot gives the manuscript of Thonmi Sambhoṭa's Ślokas in 8 plates in photogravure, and also the Tibetan text (pp. 167-177) and their translation, with an index of the grammatical terms employed (pp. 76-107),

These aphorisms, like the *sûtras* in Sanskrit, require explanation and commentary, which has been done by subsequent Tibetan grammarians. M. Bacot also publishes the Tibetan text (pp. 109-165) of one of these grammars written in the seventeenth century, and also gives a translation of it, with explanatory notes (pp. 9-75). This grammar, as appears from the colophon, was written under the direction of *m*Khas *g*rub dam pa, a disciple of the grammarian Situ, and based upon his grammar. Situ's grammar has been already published by Sarat Chandra Das.

The Tibetan grammarians write for Tibetans, and their works are not therefore suited as an introduction for others to the classical language. M. Bacot, however, has provided this in his "Conclusion—Éléments et Mécanisme du Tibétain Littéraire," at the end of the volume. For this, and for his scholarly explanatory notes throughout the book, M. Bacot deserves the gratitude of all students of classical Tibetan.

The price of the book, 200 francs, unfortunately places it beyond the reach of most students of classical Tibetan. The essentials for that purpose—the Preface and Introduction, the Conclusion, the Translation of Thonmi Sambhoṭa's Ślokas and of *m*Khas *g*rub dam pa's grammar, omitting the expensive plates and the long Tibetan texts—would provide a valuable text-book of classical Tibetan within the reach of students of the language; and it is to be hoped that, in their interests, M. Bacot may consider doing this.

E. H. C. WALSH.

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THE AGRARIAN SYSTEM OF MOSLEM INDIA: An Historical Essay with Appendices, by W. H. MORELAND, C.S.I., C.I.E. 8½ × 5½ in.; pp. xvii + 296. Cambridge, W. Heffer & Sons, 1929.

In this work Mr. Moreland has set himself the difficult, and hitherto unattempted, task of presenting a connected view of the position of the peasants in their relations with the State and with the intermediary agencies, such as chiefs, assignees, grantees, farmers, headmen and other representatives, during the six centuries of Muhammadan rule in India. He refers briefly to the antecedent Hindu organization, suggesting the probability of its persistence, with adaptation and modification and change of nomenclature; and recent research in the economic conditions of pre-Muhammadan India bears this out in many directions. In a series of chapters, each devoted to a typical period, he then surveys the agrarian system from the time of Qutbu'd-dîn's assumption of the Sultanate of Delhi (1206) down to the end of the seventeenth century, as far as this can be ascertained or inferred from the extant chronicles or unpublished documents. The enormous labour involved in studying so thoroughly all the records and documents utilized can only be realized by those who have essayed to carry out research on similar lines. He then deals with what he calls the Last Phase in Northern India, carrying on his investigation into the period of the British administration, concluding, in chapter VIII, with a summary and a "hypothetical reconstruction," suggesting the inferences to be drawn from the details given in the preceding chapters. The scope of the work is practically confined to northern India, as sufficient material was not found for incorporating developments in the Muhammadan states in the south.

Students of Indian revenue history will find valuable matter in Appendices A to H, in which the various technical terms are explained and certain passages dealing with agrarian matters discussed. Some of the questions raised will, we hope, invite discussion, *e.g.*, the meanings of *ḥâṣil* and *maḥṣûl*, *nasaq*, *rai'*, *raqamî*, and what was the actual nature of the *jama'-i-tûmârî*, generally described as the 'rent-roll,' supposed to have been fixed by Ṭoḍar Mal for Bengal. We think that where Afîf writes: *muddat shash sâl bandagî Khwâja Khwush-khiṣâl dar bilâd-i-mamâlik gashta bar ḥukm-i-mushâhada maḥṣûl basta* 6 *karor* 75 *lak tanka*, etc., he means that Husâmu'd-dîn spent six years touring round the provinces, and fixed the demand at that sum on the strength of his observation, *i.e.*, the experience thus gained, that is to say, we think that *bar ḥukm-i* is here used as a prepositional phrase, meaning 'on the basis of.' It seems possible that Barnî used the expression in the same sense, *i.e.*, that *bar ḥukm-i-ḥâṣil* means 'on the basis of produce (or outturn).' If this be a reasonable interpretation, it would be unnecessary to regard *mushâhada* as having a special revenue meaning of 'sharing-by-estimation.'

In laying down this masterly review, which should be read by all interested in the revenue administration of India, and should be prescribed for study by all officers employed on settlement work, we feel that Mr. Moreland has enhanced the debt which all students already owe him for his previous researches into the economic conditions of that country under the Mughals.

C. E. A. W. O.

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THE MIMAMSA NYAYA PRAKASA OR APADEVI; a Treatise on the Mîmâṁsâ System by Âpadeva translated into English, with an Introduction, transliterated Sanskrit Text, and Glossarial index, by FRANKLIN EDGERTON, ix + 308 pp. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929.

Professor Edgerton, in his preface, tells us that this work is the outcome of his stay in 1926 in Poona, where he read the *Âpadevî* with Paṇḍit Wamana Sastri Kinjawadekar, the head of the Poona Mîmâṁsâ Vidyâlaya. From the rough translation prepared at that time the author has now produced a highly polished and most instructive one, to which he has added an interesting

and pellucid introduction and several very useful indexes. He has also given us a reproduction of the Sanskrit text itself, which will be the more welcome as Indian editions of it are very seldom seen in Europe. Thus Professor Edgerton has in every way put his colleagues under a deep obligation.

The Mîmâṁsâ system has certainly not been exhaustively studied in Europe; and the present writer—probably much like many other scholars—has not felt very greatly enlightened by the explications of it given by Professors Keith, Das Gupta, Radhakrishnan, etc. It is, therefore, most welcome to have got, from the experienced pen of Professor Edgerton, a trustworthy translation of one of the most highly valued hand-books on the Mîmâṁsâ system. Abstruse as it undoubtedly appears to European minds, it is none the less of great interest as going back to very remote times; and its method of reasoning has been of high importance for the development of Hindu legal literature. The principle of the Mîmâṁsâ that the *ânarthakya*, the senselessness, should everywhere be ruled out of the Veda is upheld with great vigour throughout the codes of Hindu law.

To a scholar who knows little of Hindu philosophy and still less of the special tenets of the Mîmâṁsâ, the most interesting point is perhaps the one concerned with the Vedic quotations found in Śabarasvâmin's Bhâṣya and in subsequent treatises of the Mîmâmsakas. It is quite obvious that the chief authority of these ritualistic philosophers consisted of the various Yajus texts. And it is extremely interesting to know that some of the quotations from such texts cannot be found in those now known to us; also that some others are found, but only in a more or less divergent form. We are at once reminded of Patañjali's notice concerning the existence of more than a hundred Yajur Vedas. For, even if that be an exaggeration, there can be no doubt that the four versions, together with fragments of a fifth one, of which we are now possessed, do not exhaust the possible number of Yajus Texts. We cannot but remember how the Paippalâda version of the Atharva Veda was happily unearthed in Kashmîr owing to indications given by Roth; and it seems somewhat curious that so far no systematic investigations have been carried on in Southern India, the native land of the Yajur Vedas. Anyhow, it would certainly be very valuable if a thorough and systematic collection of all the quotations from Vedic texts in the Mîmâṁsâ scriptures were brought together.

The quotation *pañca pañcanakhâ bhakṣyâḥ*, mentioned on p. 33, has been exhaustively dealt with by Professor Lüders, *ZDMG.*, lxi, 641 f. It occurs in Jâtaka 537, as *gâthâ* 58, in *MBh.*, xii, 141, 70, in the introduction to the *Mahâbhâṣya* and in various passages of the law literature (cp. also Dr. J. J. Meyer, *Die altindischen Rechtsschriften*).

Professor Edgerton has, through several highly accomplished works, earned the gratitude of his fellow-scholars. His last contribution to Sanskrit scholarship, upon which he is to be warmly congratulated, is certainly not the least.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

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DJAWA. TYDSCHRIFT VAN HET JAVA-INSTITUUT. Vol. IX, Nos. 2 and 3, May 1929.

Secretariat Van Het Java-Instituut, Kadipolo, Solo.

The whole of this issue is taken up with an article of 120 pp. by B. Van Tricht entitled *Living Antiquities in West Java*. It is divided into two parts—(1) The Badoejs, (2) Goenoeng Sĕgara. The information contained in the article was obtained during an expedition undertaken by Prof. J. Boeke, Prof. C. D. de Langen and the author, in the hope of making a medical examination of the Badoejs in South Bantam, whose secular isolation must have had important anthropological and physiological results. From this point of view, however, the expedition was a failure, owing to the passive resistance of the people. Many interesting facts, however, about the religious belief and worship, the social organization and the ethnography of this interesting people were observed and are recorded in this article.

J. M. B.

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# NOTES AND QUERIES.

## DOUBLE RING HAFTING.

The Indian Research Committee of the Royal Anthropological Institute seek the following information:—

A primitive method of hafting a flat axe blade (*i.e.*, a blade without hole or socket) survives in South India. The blade is inserted in a cleft stick, which is prevented from splitting by two rings, encircling the haft, one above and one below the blade, so that the shock of a blow falls on one or other of the rings, instead of on the wood.

It is desired to ascertain as accurately as possible the geographical distribution of this type of hafting and the whereabouts of specimens in museum collections. Any information, together with sketches of the specimens referred to, should be sent to—

K. DE B. CODRINGTON, Esq.,

Honorary Secretary,

India Research Committee,

Royal Anthropological Institute,

52, Upper Bedford Place, London, W. C. 1.

## SOME REMARKS ON THE BHAGAVADGITA.

BY PROF. JARL CHARPENTIER, PH.D., UPSALA.

(*Continued from page* 105.)

There is still another point where there seems to me to exist a marked difference between the earlier and later part of the Gītā. It seems quite obvious that the later cantos in certain passages quote different systematic treatises on philosophy, which is scarcely the case with cantos ii—xi. Thus in xv. 15:

*Sarvasya cāhaṃ hṛdi saṃniviṣṭo*
*mattaḥ smṛtir jñānam apohanaṃ ca* |
*vedaiś ca sarvair aham eva vedyo*
*vedāntakṛd vedavid eva cāhaṃ* || 15 ||

We hear about the Vedānta, though it may be doubtful whether by that is meant the Upaniṣads or the later Vedānta system. In xv, 20 and in xvi, 24, we hear about a *śāstra* which can scarcely be anything but a *yogaśāstra*; and that such is the case seems obvious from a comparison with xvii, 5 *a–b*:

*aśāstravihitaṃ ghoraṃ tapyante ye tapo janāḥ* |
. . . . . . . . *tān viddhy āsuraniścayān* ||

For what else could this mean but to denote those who practise austere and terrible penance—as, *e.g.*, the Jains—for which rules are not laid down in the orthodox *yoga-śāstras*. Then in xviii, 13, we hear of *pañca kāraṇāni*, which are laid down *sāṃkhye kṛtānte*. This must needs mean 'in the Sāṃkhya system'; and though it be quite true that the doctrine laid down here is not found in the existing handbooks of Sāṃkhya, this means nothing, seeing that they are all very late. There can be no doubt that an earlier exposition of that system is really meant here.

Finally we come upon a crucial point, *viz.*, the mention of the *brahmasūtra* in xiii, 4:

*ṛṣibhir bahudhā gītaṃ chandobhir vividhaiḥ pṛthak* |
*brahmasūtrapadaiś caiva hetumadbhir viniścitaiḥ* || 4 ||

It has been emphatically stated by Professor Jacobi[70] that this verse must be an interpolation, and upon his authority the same opinion has been expressed also by other scholars.[71] But Professor Jacobi's arguments seem to me scarcely valid. When he finds that the verse xiii, 4, destroys the connection between 3 and 5, this is a suggestion of entirely individual bearing, as I cannot find any sign of such a discontinuation. Stronger is the other objection, *viz.*, that Bādarāyaṇa has in three passages quoted the present Bhagavadgītā. It is quite true that the commentaries on i, 3, 23 (*api smaryate*); ii, 3, 45 (*api smaryate*), and iv, 2, 21 (*yoginaḥ prati ca smaryate smārte caite*) expressively point to the Gītā, xv, 6, 12 and xiv, 2; xv, 7 and viii, 23 *sq.*, as being those passages of the Smṛti alluded to by Bādarāyaṇa. Such statements in commentaries much later than the text[72] are, of course, not authoritative by themselves; and it should be distinctly proved that there exist no other passages in the literature regarded by Bādarāyaṇa as Smṛti[73] than even those from the Gītā, to which he

70 *Deutsche Lit. Zeit.*, 1921, 717 f.; 1922, 101 f.

71 Cp. Professors Winternitz, *Geschichte d. ind. Lit.*, iii, 429, n. i, and Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Lit.*, p. 475, n. 1, as well as Dr. W. Ruben, *Festschrift Jacobi*, p. 351. Other, and more sensible, opinions are put forth by Professor Hopkins, *The Great Epic*, p. 16, and Dr. Raychaudhuri, *Early History of the Vaishnava Sect*, p. 52.

72 The exact date of the Brahmasūtras still remains unknown. It is, of course, far above my power to criticise the opinions of Professor Jacobi on the dates of the philosophical Sūtras (*JAOS.*, xxxi, 1 f.). However, they appear to me inconclusive simply because I consider it impossible to date works, the internal history of which is entirely unknown to us, on purely internal grounds. That the Brahmasūtras should date from 200–450 A.D. is, of course, possible; but I should venture to think that an earlier date is not excluded by the arguments of Professor Jacobi.

73 "Unter Smṛti wird das Mahābhārata und insbesondere die Bhagavadgītā verstanden. Auch Sāṃkhya und Yoga werden als 'Smṛtis in Bezug auf die Yogins' bezeichnet." (Winternitz, *Gesch. d. ind. Lit.*, iii, 429 f.). However, it does not seem clear to me whether later and less authoritative works may not also have been looked upon by the commentators as belonging to Smṛti.

could have alluded here, before we take it for granted that the Brahmasūtras really quote the Gītā. However, I am fully prepared to admit that *Br. Sū.*, iv. 2. 21, is really a quotation from viii. 23 f., though the argument be not wholly conclusive, for this passage belongs to what I call the earlier Gītā, and that may certainly be older than the work of Bādarāyaṇa. The reference to xv. 7, in the commentaries on *Br. Sū.*, ii. 3. 45, is inconclusive as the same idea might easily be drawn from x. 41 f. As for i. 3. 23, Śaṅkara finds that it alludes to xv, 6, 12, while Rāmānuja quotes xiv, 2 : and whatever Bādarāyaṇa meant by his *api smaryate* in this passage it is perfectly obvious that he could not at one time have in mind both these entirely different passages.

Thus I can find it in no way proved that the author of the Brahmasūtras did ever quote from the book xiv or xv of the Gītā, and I feel fairly sure he did not. Consequently, I cannot look upon xiii, 4, as an interpolation, and it seems to me fairly obvious that the ***brahmasūtra*** mentioned means nothing but the one known to us.

To sum up what has been said hitherto : I venture to think that the present text of the Bhagavadgītā does mainly consist of three different parts, *viz.* :—

1. Cantos i and ii, 1—11, 31—38, belonging to the original text of the Mahābhārata.

2. Cantos ii, 12—30, 39—72 ; iii, 1—xi, 50, and xviii, 74—78, being what I would call the earlier Gītā. Of this part, the *Triṣṭubh* verses in xi, 15—50, may probably be an earlier fragment which has been incorporated in the text.

3. Cantos xi, 51—55, and xii, 1—xviii, 73, forming what I would call the later Gītā.

Suggestions like these can, unfortunately, never be proved. To different minds they may possess a greater or lesser degree of verisimilitude.

## II.

To try and form, with any degree of exactitude, an opinion on the date of the Bhagavadgītā—or rather of its different parts—will probably never be possible. However, a scholar who, like the present one, has tried to set forth his humble opinions on the original form and development of that text, will probably feel bound by duty to add a few suggestions also upon the problem of dates. This is perhaps the only excuse for the few modest remarks that follow below.

The Bhagavadgītā is insolubly joined with the names of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna. Whether these two were originally historical persons—which according to my opinion is highly probable—may be left aside here as being fairly irrelevant. However, we must begin with a rapid glance at those passages of the literature that contain some sort of information regarding their history, be it originally real or mythical.

Kṛṣṇa is said to have been the son of a certain Vasudeva—whence his paternal name Vāsudeva[74]—and Devakī, the cousin of Kaṃsa. His elder brother was Balarāma or Saṃkarṣaṇa, whose mother was Rohiṇī. Of this Kṛṣṇa we hear for the first time—this is at least

74 Professor Jacobi, *ERE.*, vii, 195, and *Festschr. Streitberg*, p. 162 f., has tried to prove that *Vāsudeva* is the old name of a tribal god from which was derived a name *Vasudeva* said to be that of his father. This is contrary to Patañjali on Pāṇ., iv, 1, 114, vārtt. 7, and can certainly not be upheld. That the form *vāsubhadra*, used in the *Saundarananda*, i, 23, and in the *Dūtavākya*, v. 6, should be very old, seems at least doubtful; also that the father's name was originally *Ānakadundubhi*, which sounds uncommonly like a nickname. Finally, an argument of Professor Jacobi's is completely unintelligible to me. It runs as follows : "In the Chānd. Up., iii, 17, 1, where we first hear of Kṛṣṇa (*Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra*) only his mother, not his father, is mentioned. Now, if Vāsudeva was really a patronymic it ought to be applied first of all to Vāsudeva's eldest son Saṃkarṣaṇa. He, however, is never styled thus but only by his maternal name Rauhiṇeya (from Rohiṇī)." With all due respect I should like to ask Professor Jacobi : what does this prove except that a tradition was preserved according to which Kṛṣṇa and Saṃkarṣaṇa were the sons of one father but of different mothers, Devakī and Rohiṇī ? In that case what could be more natural than that they should wear just these names, *viz.*, Devakīputra and Rauhiṇeya ?

the general opinion—in the *Chānd. Up.*, iii, 17, 1 f., a passage which has been repeatedly translated but may still be given here *in extenso* :—

"When one craves for food and drink and finds no pleasure—that is one's *dīkṣā*. (1.)

"When one eats and drinks and finds all pleasure—then one takes part in the *upasadaḥ*. (2.)

"When one laughs and feeds sumptuously and joins in sexual intercourse—then one takes part in *stotra* and *śastra*. (3.)

"Penance, almsgiving, upright behaviour, *ahiṃsā*, and truthfulness, these are the sacrificial gifts. (4).

"That is why they say : 'he will press Soma (procreate)—he has pressed Soma (procreated)'—that is his rebirth, that is his death. The ceremonial ablution is death." (5.)

*Ghora Āṅgirasa*, having explained this to *Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra*, said—for he was free from thirst : "In his last hour he should take refuge in this *triratna*[75] : 'Thou art the indestructible ; Thou art the never reborn ; Thou art the sharpening of the vital spirits.'"[76] And here are these two Ṛk-verses : (6)

"'Just then they see the early dawning light of the old kind [77] that gleameth beyond heaven.'

"'From out of surrounding darkness we, beholding the higher light, have come to Sūrya, god amongst the gods, the very highest light—yea, the very highest light.'"[78] (7.)

This Ghora Āṅgirasa is mentioned in *Kauṣ. Br.*, xxx, 6, as being the Adhvaryu of the Ādityas which probably means as much as a sort of Sun-worshipper. This certainly tallies well with the importance evidently ascribed to that luminary in the passage translated above. Whether again Kṛṣṇa (Devakīputra) is identical with the Kṛṣṇa Āṅgirasa mentioned in *Kauṣ. Br.*, xxx, 9, seems highly doubtful. Kṛṣṇa is by itself not an uncommon name ; and though he may well have called himself Āṅgirasa in imitation of his Guru, there is no necessity for an identification.

And now which is the doctrine that the otherwise unknown Ghora Āṅgirasa preaches to Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra ? The answer seems to be that he compares the phases of human life to the stages of the *dīkṣā*[79] which may be said to be an adequate interpretation if these phases be taken to be successive and not contemporaneous. We must remember that the *dīkṣā* is not inaptly compared with human embryoship and birth [80]; but this probably is not enough. For what Ghora expresses in *Chānd. Up.*, iii, 17, 1, can scarcely be said about the human embryo. This, however, is a fairly fit description of the life of a *brahmacārin* when the young student is bound to chastity (*na ramate*) and a very simple and austere life. Then in the two following paragraphs there is the description of the life of the newly married man, the *gṛhastha*, whose early domestic pastimes are compared to the *upasad* and the *stutaśastra*. But even during a gay and pleasant life one is bound to practise virtues,[81] and these are compared to the sacrificial gifts (*dakṣiṇā*), which, like good qualities, count as merit in a future life. But the height of earthly existence is the procreation of offspring, of sons who will be able to continue the family and feed the spirits of the forefathers ; and thus the procreative act is compared to the pressing of the Soma. When man is no longer able to procreate, then death is awaiting him, and the funeral ceremonies are aptly compared

75 I have allowed myself to borrow this Buddhist expression, not being able to find a fit modern equivalent of *traya* in this passage.

76 I feel somewhat baffled by the expression *prāṇasaṃśitam asi* ; however, *saṃśita* must probably mean the same as *saṃśiti* in *Ait. Br.*, i, 26.

77 *pratnasya retasaḥ* is puzzling ; it probably means '(the light seen) by the old forefathers,' cp. the use of the same expression in *RV.*, iii, 31, 10 (Geldner, *Der Rigveda*, i, 331).

78 A curious parallel to some parts of Ghora's teaching is found in *TS.*, vii, 4, 9, 1. But as that passage has probably got nothing to do with ours we shall not touch upon it further here.

79 Cp. Dr. Barnett, *Hindu Gods and Heroes*, 68 f. and 82 f.

80 Cp. *Ait. Br.*, i, 3, etc.

81 With *Chānd. Up.*, iii, 17, 4, cp. the enumeration in *Bhagavadgītā*, x, 4-5.

to the *avabhṛtha* ablution. Thus there is a strict parallelism between human life and the successive stages of the sacrifice. And this human life contains only two of the regular four *āśramas*, *viz.*, that of the *brahmacārin* and the *gṛhastha*.[82] Now Professor Winternitz[83] has shown that the oldest Upaniṣads, *viz.*, the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and the Chāndogya, know nothing of the later orthodox four *āśramas*, but that they make a difference between the life of the householder and that of the *muni* or *pravrājin*. Only the *Chānd. Up.*, viii, 15—almost certainly a late passage—knows the three successive stages, *viz.*, *brahmacārin*, *gṛhastha*, and *saṃnyāsin*.

The life of two *āśramas*, however, which I venture to think Ghora has been comparing to the sacrifice, seems to be the most natural one for the *kṣattriya*. For, even if great kings of yore have after the domestic life turned wandering ascetics—as, for instance, does Janaka in Jain and Buddhist lore—they undoubtedly were exceptions. The usual life of a *kṣattriya* probably ended either on the battlefield or in his own house— though the latter mode of death is sometimes disapproved by the authors of lawbooks.[84] A possible way of ending one's life may also have been by suicide by fire—a sort of self-sacrifice which was held to lead to *brahmaloka*=*svarga*.[85]

But there is something more still in the teaching of Ghora Āṅgirasa who was free from thirst (*pipāsā*, the *tṛṣṇā* of the Bauddhas).[86] In one's final hour one ought to take refuge in three precious thoughts, *viz.*, that some being is the indestructible, the never reborn (*i.e.*, the everlasting absolute), and the sharpening of the vital spirits. This being, as far as my understanding goes, is not *brahman* but even Sūrya, the Sun, or rather the radiant *brahmaloka* or *svarga* beyond the visible heaven to which pious men who fulfil their *svadharma* may aspire. In so far the teaching of Ghora tallies with the promise of *svarga* held out by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna[87]; but that is probably the common creed of the *kṣattriya* caste.[88] How far we can otherwise hope to find in the Gītā a reflection of the doctrine of Ghora Āṅgirasa may be somewhat doubtful, though the efforts of a most eminent scholar [89] in that direction are worthy of every attention. Unfortunately, the material for comparison is scanty and vague.

Thus the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* tells us about a certain Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra—and there is to me not the slightest doubt that he is identical with the Kṛṣṇa of the Great Epic—who was no doubt a *kṣattriya* and who was the pupil of Ghora Āṅgirasa. It is, of course, only natural to think that in some way or other he propagated these doctrines and perhaps others of his own, and thus perhaps became the founder of some sect—sects seem to have been numerous in India from time immemorial. The date of the *Chāndogya* is, unfortunately, just as unknown as that of nearly every important Sanskrit work. But upon the consensus of many leading authorities it is declared to be pre-Buddhist : and if that means anything

[82] Among recent literature on the problem of the *āśramas* cp. Professor Winternitz, *Festschr. Jacobi*, p. 215 f. (with literature); Dr. Eggers, *Das Dharmasūtra der Vaikhānasas* (Goettingen, 1929), and Dr. Weinrich, *Archiv für Relig. Wissenschaft*, xxvii, 77 f.

[83] *l.c.*, p. 216 f.

[84] Cp. *MBh.*, vi, 646; *Viṣṇusmṛti* 3, 44, etc.

[85] On suicide by fire, cp. a paper by the late Professor Hillebrandt called *Der freiwillige Feuertod in Indien und die Somaweihe* in the *Sitz. Ber. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1917, 8. Cp. also *Mṛcchakaṭika*, Act i, v. 4 c-d : *rājānaṃ vīkṣya puttram paramasamudayenāśvamedhena ceṣṭvā | labdhvā cāyuḥ śatābdaṃ daśadinasahitaṃ śūdrako 'gnim praviṣṭaḥ* ||

[86] I am totally at a loss to understand the suggestion of Mr. Jainath Pati, *IHQ.*, v, 272, n. 2, that *Zarathushtra* was known 'in Vedic times........either as Jarūtha or Ghora Āṅgirasa.' But as the theories of Mr. Pati in general seem to run outside the pale of scientific method and criticism, I may perhaps be excused for not discussing them here.

[87] Gītā, ii, 37.

[88] It should be remembered in this connection that what Kṛṣṇa preaches to Arjuna in the Gītā is expressly called the *rājavidyā*, the *rājaguhyam* (=*rājopaniṣat*), Gītā, ix, 2, cp. the *mahīpālavidhi* of *MBh.*, xii, 11876 (on which cp. Professor Edgerton, *AJPhil.*, xlv, 44 f.). And in iv, 1-2, we hear that the *yoga* has formerly been taught to a succession of *rājarṣayaḥ* (cp. *bhaktā rājarṣayaḥ*, ix, 33). The Gītā is essentially not a friend of the Brâhmans ; the conclusion of Professor Hopkins, *The Great Epic*, p. 384, that it is a 'purely priestly product' is simply unintelligible.

[89] Cp. Dr. Barnett, *l.c.*, p. 82 f.

at all, it must probably mean that this Upaniṣad belongs to the time about 600—550 B.C. at the very lowest.[90]

This Kṛṣṇa also, from the name of his father, became known as Vāsudeva, and as such he is undoubtedly mentioned by Pāṇini. I shall not venture to enter upon a renewed investigation of the rule iv. 3, 98 (*Vāsudevārjunābhyāṃ vun*) which has up to a very recent date given rise to a somewhat spirited and partly most infructuous discussion.[91] I shall simply take it for granted that in iv, 3, 95, *bhakti* has its usual sense of 'adoration' or 'worship,' and that Vāsudeva and Arjuna—of whom Vāsudeva is obviously looked upon as being the chief person—are the well-known heroes of the Mahābhārata. The *sūtra* of Pāṇini proves nothing for the existence of the Bhagavadgītā—which at his time in all probability did not exist—as Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna certainly formed a pair already in the earliest nucleus of the Epic. However, Pāṇini apparently knew that these two were worshipped by certain sectarians, which is, after all, no more marvellous than his acquaintance with the followers of Pārāśarya and Śilâlin, Karmanda and Kṛśāśva betrayed by *sūtras* iv, 3, 110—111—to mention only one single example. And these sectarians were according to him called *Vāsudevaka* and *Arjunaka*.[92] That is all: and this need probably trouble us no further. That Arjuna should also have shared in some divine honours, or at least have been worshipped as a hero of yore—which in India is scarcely a very uncommon thing—is not so very shocking, seeing that in the *Mahābhārata* Bhīṣma himself proclaims the divine nature of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna,[93] and that they were probably at an early date identified with Nārāyaṇa and Nara.[94]

Pāṇini's date, of course, remains somewhat of a puzzle. The one which has long been semi-traditional in European literature on the subject, *viz.*, 350 B.C., lacks even the very slightest value. The present writer has, some years ago, given it as his humble opinion that some time about 500 B.C. would suit him better,[95] and he has so far found no reason to change his opinion.[96] If such be the case, then it would follow that Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna were worshipped as heroes about the presupposed date of the Buddha. That this worship should have had any special connection with the North-Western Frontier, the home of Pāṇini, would be a precipitate conclusion. Still it may be well to remember that, according to the *Mahābhārata*, Arjuna conquers the North and North-West and performs his mighty penance in the far North. He also at the end, like his brothers, dies in the mountains of the North.

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90 The very wise words of the late Professor Rhys Davids (*CHI.*, i, 172 f.) ought to be taken more to heart by scholars than is perhaps generally done. The present writer willingly admits that he has at one time himself (cp. *IA.*, xliii, 118 f., 125 f., 167 f.) maintained, in the face of evidence perhaps just as valuable, that the year of Buddha's death was 477 B.C. This as well as other dates is, of course, mere guess-work. All we know is, unfortunately, that Aśoka (about 250 B.C.) knew of his (pretended or genuine) birth-place, and also that Aśoka called him *bhagavân*. It may have taken some considerable time ere such a title was applied to the founder of a sect that was at the beginning perhaps not very numerous. That time may have been two or three centuries, perhaps even more and certainly less. There would, of course, be a slightly older testimony for Buddha's existence if the fragment in Clem. Alex. Strom., i, xv, 71, 6, be really taken from Megasthenes; but this seems to me highly uncertain. However, the Σαρμâνχι may really have been Buddhist friars, and in that case such people would be proved to have existed before 300 B.C.: but that does not carry us very much further.

91 Cp. Kielhorn, *JRAS.*, 1908, p. 502 f., Professor Keith, *ibid.*, 1908, p. 847 f.; Sir G. Grierson, *ibid.*, 1909, p. 1122; Bhandarkar, *ibid.*, 1910, p. 168 f., *Vaiṣṇavism*, p. 3; Professor Hopkins, *The Great Epic*, p. 395, n. 2; Garbe, *Bhagavadgītā*, p. 34 f.; Mr. Ramaprasad Chandra, *MASI.*, No. 5 (1919), etc.; and quite lately Mr. U. Ch. Bhattacharjee, *IHQ.*, i, 483 f., ii, 409 f., 865, and Mr. Ḳ. G. Subrahmanyam, *ibid.*, ii, 186 f., 864 f. The editor of the *IHQ.* is to be complimented upon having closed the last mentioned discussion at a fairly early date.

92 In *MBh.*, xiii, 1, 18 f., a hunter is introduced by the name of *Arjunaka*.

93 Cp. Holtzmann, *Mahābhārata*, ii, 110; cp. also Dr. Barnett, *l.c.*, p. 87 *sq.*, 92 f. The Gītā itself (x, 37) mentions Vāsudeva and Dhanañjaya in close connection.

94 Vāsudeva and Nārāyaṇa are identified with each other (and with Viṣṇu) already in *Taitt. Ār.*, x, 1, 6.

95 Cp. *Zeitschr. f. Indologie*, ii, 147 f.

96 Cp. also *BSOS.*, iv, 343; *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 345 f.

If now we proceed further, we next meet with the testimony of Megasthenes. The value of his fragments has at times been somewhat overrated[97]: however, we gather from him that about 300 B.C. Kṛṣṇa was a great god, the Indian Heracles, who was specially worshipped by the Śūrasenas around the towns Mathurā and Κλεισοβόρα. This is anyhow in perfect accordance with Hindu tradition.

To make a long story short, we have now only to turn to the well-known Besnagar inscription and to the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali—other testimonies of a somewhat later date may well be left aside. The inscription on a column at Besnagar, which must probably be not much later than 200 B.C., tells us that a Garuḍa-column of Vāsudeva, the *deva-deva*, was erected by the *bhāgavata* Heliodorus, son of Dion, from Taxila, who came as an ambassador from the Great King Antialcidas (*Aṃtalikita*) to King Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra. And there are below it the two lines which tell us that :

*trini amutapadāni (su)anuṭhitāni*
*nayaṃti svaga damacāga apramāda.*

And Patañjali, whose date must fall about 150 B.C.,[98] in his commentary on iv. 3, 98, speaks of Vāsudeva as *bhagavān* and in that on ii. 2. 34, mentions temples of Rāma and Keśava.

Now, I venture to think that what the Besnagar inscription tells us is strongly reminiscent of what I have proposed to call the earlier Gītā, *viz.*, cantos ii—xi. Heliodorus, son of Diya, calls himself a *bhāgavata*, a follower of Bhagavān : and he styles his god Vāsudeva the *deva-deva*, the 'god of gods,' an epithet which recurs in the Gītā, x, 15 and xi, 13, but is otherwise only used in a few passages of the *Mahābhārata* and in the late *Bhāgavata-purāṇa.* And at the end of his inscription he refers to 'three immortal steps' that lead to heaven, *svarga*, the *svarga* promised by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna (ii. 37) and spoken of in still other passages of the earlier Gītā, the common goal of the brave warrior and the *bhakta*. And these three 'steps' are *dama*, 'self-control;' *tyāga*, which may well mean 'restraint' but also 'liberality,' 'almsgiving;' and *apramāda*, 'alertness': all these three are qualities specially characteristic of and laudable in a *kṣattriya*.[99]

Such coincidences cannot, in my humble opinion, be quite fortuitous. And I should thus venture to conclude that if the earlier Gītā (ii—xi) be not exactly contemporaneous with the Besnagar column inscription, it still belongs to a period which falls somewhere about 200 B.C. or perhaps even slightly earlier. That such a conclusion is not wholly preposterous seems clear to me also because the late Professor Garbe arrived, for his purified Gītā, at a period about 200—150 B.C., though for reasons that are perhaps partly fallacious.[100] As for the later Gītā (xii—xviii) I can fix upon no definite period whatsoever that would particularly suit it. However, I should not feel astonished if there were an interval of several centuries between the two parts of the poem.

Such are the modest conclusions at which I have been able to arrive. It would be quite tempting to go into some other details connected with this extremely important text, but lack of time unfortunately prevents me from doing it.

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97 This seems to me to be the case in the otherwise very valuable work by Professor O. Stein, *Megasthenes and Kauṭilya* (1922).

98 I still feel convinced that the Yavana king mentioned by Patañjali is really Menander. Professor Konow sometime ago (*Acta Orientalia*, i, 35) tried to prove that he was rather Demetrius but his arguments seem to me to carry little weight. Apparently he was not aware that such an idea had been forestalled by M. Lévi *Quid de Graecis veterum Indorum monumenta tradiderint*, pp. 38, 63, and by R. O. Franke, *Goett. gel. Anzeigen*, 1891, p. 953.

99 Dr. Raychaudhuri, *JProcASB.*, xviii (1922), 269 f., has very happily compared the final verse of the inscription with *MBh.*, xi, 7, 23 *sq.*, where *dama*, *tyāga* and *apramāda* are said to be the three steeds of Brahmā that lead to *brahmaloka*. We are well aware that *brahmaloka* here means the same as *svarga*. We are reminded again of the part played by *svarga* in the edicts of Aśoka, which are about half a century older than the Besnagar inscription.

100 Cp. Garbe, *l.c.*, p. 75 f. Garbe thought that the grammarian Patañjali and the author of the Yoga-sūtras must be the same person, which, in spite of the high authority of Professor Liebich, is perhaps not the case. Otherwise dates suggested for the Gītā are very vague ; cp., *e.g.*, Holtzmann, *Mahābhārata*, i, 127, ii, 121 ; Professor Hopkins, *The Great Epic*, pp. 205, 402 ; Professor Liebich, *Pāṇini*. (Cp. also Franke, *Gott. gel. Anzeigen*, 1891, p. 956.)

## SOME ADDITIONS TO THE LALLA-VAKYANI.

*(The Wise Sayings of Lal Ded.)*

BY PANDIT ANAND KOUL, SRINAGAR, KASHMIR.

*(Continued from page 113.)*

19.

*Laz kûsey shît nivârey :*
*Tran zal karey âhâr.*
*Yih kami opadesh kuruy, hûta Bhaṭṭâ.*
*Atsîtan waṭas sutsîtan kaṭh dyun âhâr ?*

It (the sheep) removeth shame and dispelleth cold (by clothing made of its wool),
It eateth (and) drinketh grass (and) water.
Who taught this doctrine to thee, O foolish Brâhmaṇ,
To give a living sheep to a lifeless stone to eat ?

20.

*Loluk nâr Lallih lolih lalanowum.*
*Maranay moyus tah rúzas nah zaray.*
*Rangah ratshih zâtsaiy kyâh nah rang howum ?*
*Buh dapun tsolum ; kyâh sanah karay ?*
*Râvanah manzay râvun rovum.*
*Râvit athih âyas bhavasaray.*
*Asân gindân Sahazay provum.*
*Dapanuy karum pânas saray.*

I, Lallâ, bore the fire of love in my bosom.
Before death I died and remained not in old age.
What form did I not show in my formless nature ?
I got rid of egotism. What shall I do ?
In the loss I lost the loss.
After getting lost I got found in the lake of existence (*i.e.*, this world).
Laughing (and) playing I found the True Nature (Śiva).
This matter I did ascertain for myself.

21.

*Mandis vidar tay vidaris sakrey.*
*Sakrey karak marak nah zâh.*
*Sakrey trâvit karak kukrey,*
*Adah wakray gatshîy tah bhalak nah zâh.*

Sickness (overtaketh) the weak and to the weak treatment (is necessary).
If thou undergoest treatment thou shalt never die.
If thou, having left treatment, wilt do ill deeds,
Then thou shalt get cramped and shalt never be cured.

22.

*Muḍas prunun chhuy muiwâl tsîdun ;*
*Muḍas prunun chhuy muri dyun koh ;*
*Muḍas prunun chhuy samudur pûrun :*
*Muḍas prinân râviy doh.*

To impart instruction to a fool is tantamount to splitting a hair :
To impart instruction to a fool is tantamount to piling up a hill as a screen ;

To impart instruction to a fool is tantamount to filling in the sea,
In imparting instruction to a fool thou shalt lose the day (*i.e.*, it will be a useless labour).

23.

*Mudo kriy chhey nah dhârun tah pâran.*
*Mudo kriy chhey nah rachhin kây.*
*Mudo kriy chhey nah deh sandârun—*
*Sahaz vetsârun chhuy opadesh.*
O fool it is not a pious deed to observe a fast and to eat after a fast.
O fool it is not a pious deed to preserve the body.
O fool it is not a pious deed to feed the body.
To comprehend the Supreme (Śiva) is the (true) doctrine.

24.

*Nâtho, buh no râniy mangay :*
*Meh Râvanun râj karĕm kyâh ?*
*Yih gom likhit tih mâ harĕm :*
*Harĕm harĕm tah harĕm kyâh.*
Lord. I shall not ask Thee for even a queen.
What will even Râvan's kingdom avail me ?
Whatsoever (He) hath inscribed as my lot, that cannot be effaced.
Go off, go off from me, and what shall go off from me ?

25.

*Parân parân zĕv tâl phajim :*
*Tsĕh yugi kriy tajim nah zâh.*
*Sumran phirân nyoth tah anguj gajim :*
*Manach duyî mâli tsajim nah zâh.*
By reciting (and) reciting my tongue and palate got worn away,
I could not do practice befitting Thee.
By telling the beads of the rosary my thumb and index-finger got worn away ;
(But.) O Father, I never got rid of the inner duality of my heart.

26.

*Parit tah búzit Brahman tshĕṭan :*
*Âgar ghaṭan tihindi Veda satîy :*
*Paṭṭanach san nit thâvan Maṭṭan :*
*Mohit man gatshĕk ahankârîy.*
After reading and hearing (what religion is) the Brâhmaṇs will get polluted.
The sources (of rivers) will shrink down by their (recitation of) Vedas.
They shall carry to Maṭṭan property stolen from Paṭṭan.
Having committed robbery, their mind will become proud (instead of being repentant).

Paṭṭan is a village in the Bangil *pargana*. Maṭan is a village near which are the magnificent ruins of the temple of Mârtaṇḍa, or the Sun. This saying expresses remorse and agony at the prospect of the doom of degraded Brâhmaṇs.

27.

*Par par karân zal do mandân ;*
*Badyok timany ahambhâv ;*
*Gîta parân hethâ labhân.*
*Param Gîta tah parân chhas.*
(They are) reading (and) re-reading, as if (they are) churning water (*i.e.*, doing useless work) ;
To them self-love hath increased,
(They are) reading (the *Bhagavad*) *Gîtâ* (and) finding a pretext (to do so).
I have read (the *Bhagavad*) *Gîtâ* and am still reading it (*i.e.*, it is futile to read it without profiting by its teachings).

The other version of this saying is given in No. 4 above.

28.

*Rangas manz chhuy byun byun, labhun.*
*Soruy tsâlak bharak sukh.*
*Tsak rashi tah vair ay gâlak ;*
*Adah deshak Shiva sund mukh.*
He is in different guises in the actor's show. Find Him.
If thou bearest everything, thou shalt enjoy peace.
If thou killest anger, envy and enmity,
Then thou shalt see the face of Śiva.

29.

*Samsâr ho mâlih yâriv jangul ;*
*Lâriy kĕlam tah biyih badbúy.*
*Gharah*[1] *karun ho mâli pĕtha pyun sangur ;*
*Nerak nangur tah darog-goy.*
The world is, O father, like a forest of pine trees ;
Thou shalt be stained with tar and get an evil smell (there).
To maintain a household (is a calamity as bad as) a mountain coming crash down (upon you).
Thou shalt go out as a pauper and a liar.

30.

*Shayih âsas shayih chhas :*
*Lay buh pânay pânas chhas.*
*Nîrit gatshân ; tîlit yiwân.*
*Mîlit pânah Dayî chhas.*
I was in the six (attributes of the Supreme Deity). I am in the six (the same attributes),
I am absorbed within myself.
I go out (into the world) ; after an excursion I return (to the Supreme Deity).
I am one with the Supreme Deity.

31.

*Shiv chhuy zâryul zâl waharâvit ;*
*Kranzan manz chhuy tarit kyat.*
*Zindah nay wuchhihan adah katih marit ?*
*Pânah manz pân kad vitsârit kyat.*

[1] *Scil. garah.*—[EDITOR.]

Śiva is with a fine net spread out,
He permeateth the mortal coils.
If thou, whilst alive, canst not see Him, how canst thou when dead ?
Take out Self from self, after pondering over it.

32.

*Suyih kul no dudah sati sagizey.*
*Sarpinih-ṭhúlan dih zih nah pháh.*
*Sīki-sháṭhas phal no wavizey.*
*Ráwarizih nah kum-yájan tíl.*
*Muḍas gnyánach kath no wanizey.*
*Kharas gor dinah ráviy doh.*
*Yus yuth kariy suh tyut surey.*
*Krerey karizih nah pananuy pán.*
Irrigate not the nettle with milk.
Hatch not a snake's eggs.
Sow not seeds on the sandy river bed.
Waste not oil over bran-cakes.
Tell not matters of religion to a fool.
If thou givest molasses to an ass thou shalt lose the day (*i.e.*, thou shalt lose thy labour),
Whoever treateth thee in whatsoever manner, he will himself fare in the same way.
Let not thyself fall into a well.

33.

*Uchhán tah buh chhas sárisay andar ;*
*Uchhum prazalán sárisay manz.*
*Búzit tah rúzit, uchh Haras.*
*Garah chhuh tasanduy ; buh kusah, Lall ?*
I saw and (found) I am in everything ;
I saw (God) effulgent in everything.
After hearing and pausing, see Śiva.
The house is His alone : who am I, Lallâ ?

# NATURE STUDY IN THE SANSKRIT POEM MEGHADUTA.

BY LILY DEXTER GREENE, PH.D.

(*Continued from page* 117.)

In stanza 65, we have the wonderfully striking figure of the Ganges as a "costly train skirting the sacred hill" of Airavata, which is really the Elephant of Indra, or the Regent of the East. The Hindu idea is that each point of the compass has a presiding deity and each of these deities has a male and a female elephant attendant. This, too, with reference to her garments, is vividly realistic :—

"Where brilliant pearls descend in lucid showers,
And clouds like tresses clothe her lofty towers."

The description of the city of Alaka, the capital of Kuvera's kingdom, as the "city of the gods" is full of the extravagant imagery of Oriental writers. The toilet of the *Yakṣiṇîs*, whose only "care" is "dress" and "all their labour play," is minutely described with special reference to the flowers used for personal adornment. They are described as spending much of their time in elaborate toilet preparations, which deal chiefly with the adornment of their persons with flowers, at the special period when these flowers bloom. Stanza 67 gives the names of several of these.

1. Lotus.—The Lotus—*Nelumbium speciosum*—blooms in *Śarad*, the sultry, moist, autumn season of August and September. At that time these *yakṣiṇîs* render the hot hours bearable by using great fragrant lotus blossoms as fluttering fans, and at the same time, no doubt, enhance their own personal charms. In some parts of India, as along the moist Coromandel coast, the lotus blooms all the year, but in Bengal in April, May and June, and in Kashmîr in *Śarad*.

The plant derives its botanical name, *Nelumbium*, from two Sanskrit words नील (*nîla*) —blue, and अम्बुज (*ambuja*) produced in water. The Sanskrit name is *padma*, the name so familiar in the Buddhist prayer, *Om mani padme hum*. The blossoms are frequently used in the sacrificial rites of the Hindus. The broad, oval-shaped leaves, often rest on the surface of the water. The edges are smooth and unbroken, except that the part which was topmost before the leaf began to expand is emarginate when fully opened.

The leaf's upper surface is a rich pea-green, soft and perfectly smooth, while the underside is of a vinaceous colour. Roxburgh says that when the blossoms open, they lift their heads a few inches above the surface of the water, but in the Dal Lake in Kashmîr, the blossoms and leaves as well, are four feet or more above the surface of the water. The white, pink, and cream-coloured ones are the most common, but there is also a blue variety.

2. Kunda.—"*Kunda* topknots crown the jetty hair." Here we seem to have a reference to the *Jasminum pubescens*, Roxb., or to the *Jasminum grandiflorum*, for both of these have large, circular, snow-white blossoms, which are particularly effective as hair or ear ornaments, and both bloom during the rainy season.

3. Lodhra.—The custom of tinting the cheeks red is referred to in the following :

"Now o'er the cheek the Lodh's pale pollen shines."

The *lodhra* or *rodhra* in Sanskrit is a small-sized tree—*Symplocos racemosa*, Roxb.,—commonly found in sub-Himâlayan tracts and in Chota Nagpur. The bark of this tree is used to make a red dye with which cloth is coloured. Ground to powder, it is used by the Hindus to throw upon each other during the days of the Holî Festival. It flowers during *hemanta*—the winter season—and ripens its seeds in May. The seeds when ripe are strung like beads and hung round the necks of little children, with the superstitious belief that they will keep off evil or sickness.

4. Amaranth.—The passage, "Now 'midst their curls the Amaranth entwines," refers to the *kuravaka* or *kurabaka*, which is *Gomphrena globosa*. This is an annual, cultivated commonly in Indian gardens during *vasanta*, or spring. There are two varieties, one with

crimson flowers, the other with white, and both blossom during the rainy season and the winter. Some authorities consider the *kuravaka* a red variety of *Barleria*.

5. Śirîṣa.—" Sirîsha blossoms deck the tender ear." The large, fluffy, ball-like flowers, with globular heads of greenish-white, fragrant corollets are often worn so as to droop gracefully from the ears, as though a jewel of some sort. This is the flower of the common tree, *Albizzia Lebbek*, the *Mimosa Sirissa* of Roxburgh, which flourishes all over India and is much valued in gardens because of its dense shade. It puts forth its blossom during *grîṣma*—the hot season.

6. Kadamba.—" Or new Cadambas, with thy coming born,
The parted locks and polished front adorn."

This points to the fact that the large tree known as *kadamba*, or *nipa*—the *Nauclea Cadamba* of Roxburgh—puts forth its blossoms at the coming of the refreshing rains. This tree is common in India, is very ornamental and furnishes dense, close shade. Its flowers are celebrated in Indian literature as among the beauties of the hot season, and as having a fragrance similar to that of new wine. No doubt the name *Halipriya*, by which it is known, refers to this fragrance, as Hali was the Bacchus of India. These fragrant blossoms are used by the women as graceful hair ornaments suspended down the central parted portion of the hair and allowed to rest on the forehead as indicated in the words " the parted locks and polished front," etc.

Stanza 73—

" The *Lord of Love*, remembering former woe,
Wields not in Alaca his bee-strung bow:
Yet still he triumphs, for each maid supplies
The fatal bow with love-inspiring eyes."

Here we have once more the idea of the bee-strung bow of Kâma, the god of love. Kâma of the Hindus is the Grecian Eros or the Roman Cupid. He was the son of Viṣṇu and Mâyâ, and his bosom friend was Vasanta. He is represented as a beautiful youth, spending much of his time in gardens or temples, with his mother, or his companions. Sometimes by moonlight he rides on a lory or a parrot, surrounded by dancing nymphs, one of whom, the leader, carries a banner, on which is a fish on a red ground. This refers to a marine monster called *makara*, which he is said to have subdued. His favorite haunt is near the region of Kṛṣṇa's loves with the *Gopîs*—the forest of brindavan, the modern Brindiban. Kâma is armed with a bow made of sugarcane. His bowstring is made of bees and his five arrows are pointed with flowers. According to Sâyaṇa, the names of the five flowers are the lotus, *aśoka*, *śirîṣa*, *âmra*, and the blue lotus, and each arrow has a name supposed to indicate the quality possessed by the flower. According to Sir William Jones, these flowers are *campaka*, *âmra*, *kesara*, *ketaka*, and *vilva*. Still other lists are given in the *Gîtâ-govinda*.

The " former woe " refers to the story of Kandarpa or Kâma, given in the *Râmâyaṇa*, I. 25, 10. There he is said to have sent one of his darts towards Śiva, while the latter was practising austerities, whereupon the enraged deity cursed him with a terrible voice and, flashing his wrathful eye upon him, consumed his bodily nature. From that time on, he is said to have had power over the minds of mortals only and is called *Anaṅga* (bodiless). (See " Hymn to Kâma Deva " in the works of Sir William Jones.)

Stanza 74—

" Where on rich boughs the clustering flower depends,
And low to earth the tall *mandâra* bends."

The *mandâra* is a splendid and fairly lofty tree (*Erythrina indica*), commonly known as the Indian coral tree. The flowers are in clusters like great branches of coral, and each single flower has a peculiar arrangement of keels and wings which makes it bear a marked resemblance to the parrot, hence the Indian children call it the *tota*, or parrot, flower. The flowers bloom in great profusion in March and April, long before the leaves appear. In some parts of the East the tree is used to support the black pepper vines. See Marsden's *History of Sumatra* for the extensive use of the tree for that purpose. The rapid growth

of these trees makes them very suitable for this, and they are easily grown from cuttings. Their firm, strong, smooth bark, which never shales off, affords a strong hold for the vine, while the dense shade of its abundant leafage during the hottest months, not only affords protection from too much heat, but also keeps the ground moist. During the cold season, the leaves fall and expose the vines to the beneficial effects of the winter sun and rain, which renders them even more productive. For the purposes of this cultivation of the pepper vine, the young trees are topped, and the lateral branches trimmed so as to render pepper gathering easier. The tree is very ornamental and the flowers, being rich in nectar, attract many birds during florescence. The wood is valuable as it does not warp or split, and hence, is much used for fine lacquered work in various parts of India.

Stanza 77:—

1. Mâdhavi.—" See where the clustering *Mâdhavi* entwines." This is a creeper known as *Gaertnera racemosa* (Roxb.), or *Banisteria bengalensis* (Linn.). It is the *Hiptage Madablota* of Gaertner. It is referred to by Hindu poets because of the superior appearance of its rugged vine and leaf, and the remarkable beauty and fragrance of its rich white blossoms.

2. Kuruvaka.—This is probably the same as the *kuravaka* of stanza 67, the crimson Amaranth, though it is possible that this may refer to the *Barleria cristata*, with its purplish blue and white flowers, as this, too, is called *kuravaka*.

3. Aśoka.—" Profuse, Asoka sheds its radiant flower . . . . " well expresses the wonderful beauty of the Aśoka blossom. The *Saraca indica* (*Jonesia Asoka*. Roxb.) is a middle-sized tree with dense foliage and shapely form. The branches are very numerous and spread in all directions, so as to form a very large, symmetrical, compact tree head.

When fresh new leaves come out, they are tinted with a rich wine color, and the edges are slightly crinkled. The flowers, which are very numerous, appear at the beginning of the hot season, but the seeds do not ripen until the rains. When the flowers first open, they are of a beautiful, deep, orange-scarlet, striped with yellow. These gradually change from day to day, through a variety of rich shades, to deep red. The rare fragrance of these blossoms is given off at night, after sunset and before sunrise, when they are covered with the morning and evening dews. This tree, when in full bloom, with its rich leafy foliage, is one of the most beautiful objects in the plant world. A poetic thought of the Hindu mind is that the Aśoka tree blossoms at the touch of the face or the foot of a woman who is in love.

Stanza 82—" And budding Cesara adorns the bower."—The plant called *kesara*, or *vakula*, in Sanskrit is a large tree (*Mimusops Elengi*, Linn.), commonly cultivated in the parks and gardens of India. The flowers, neither very large nor very small, droop on the tree and are very fragrant, pure white, blossoms. When the flowering season is over, the fruit appears as an oval, smooth, yellow berry, with a central seed, and is eaten by man.

Stanza 83—

" These are my rivals ; for the one would greet,
As I would willingly, my charmer's feet,
And with my fondness, would the other sip,
The grateful nectar of her honey'd lip."

This refers to the belief of the Hindus that the *kesara* tree blossoms at the touch of a woman's lips, and the *aśoka* at the touch of her foot or her lips.

Stanza 98—

" For when the Sun withdraws his cheering rays,
Faint are the charms the *Kamala* displays."

The *kamala* is the lotus, which opens at the touch of the rising sun and closes again at sunset. Here the Yakṣa's separation from his wife is likened to the separation of the sun from the lotus.

## A HEBREW INSCRIPTION FROM CHENNAMANGALAM.

BY P. ANUJAN ACHAN, STATE ARCHÆOLOGIST, COCHIN.

DURING my inspection work last year, I happened to come across a very important Hebrew inscription of the thirteenth century A.D. in the possession of the Black Jews residing at the eastern end of the island of Chennamangalam, in Cochin State. It is neatly engraved on a piece of polished granite measuring about 14″ by 8″ and is complete in nine lines. Though the subject matter of the inscription may not be of any great interest, in that it merely records the day of the burial of one Sarah, daughter of Israel, the facts that it was engraved so many centuries ago, and that it was, and is still, so carefully preserved by a small colony of Jews residing in a remote corner of the country, invest it with considerable interest.

The inscription is dated "in the year 1581, of the era of contracts, on the tenth day of the month of Kislev," which corresponds to 1269 A.D. It is said that there once took place at Cranganore—a place hardly two miles and a half down the Periyar river, to the west of the Jewish settlement at Chennamangalam—a great feud between the reigning head of the Jews and his brother, in which the White Jews sided with the former and the Black Jews with the latter. But, in the end, the elder brother with the help of the local Râja was able to drive out of Cranganore the younger brother and his comrades, the Black Jews, who fled to Chennamangalam, Parur and other neighbouring places and settled down under the protection of the respective local chiefs. The inscription under reference was, according to tradition, brought with the Jews from Kottappuram—a locality in Cranganore—when they first migrated to Chennamangalam from that place.

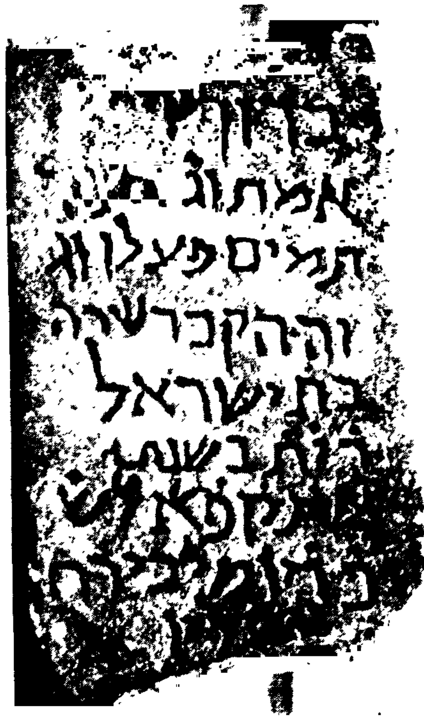
Cranganore had been the first place of settlement of the Jews on the west coast. "According to their own account the Jews made their way to this coast soon after the destruction of the second temple of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 A.D. They appear to have been well received in their adopted country and to have enjoyed a degree of toleration to which they were strangers in Europe. In course of time they evidently attained a considerable amount of material prosperity, which is evidenced by the copper-plate charter granted to them by king Bhâskara Ravi Varman. The charter (which is now in the possession of the White Jews at Cochin) conferred valuable privileges upon them, and raised the head of the Jewish community virtually to a position of equality with the *Nâḍuvâḻi* chiefs. They continued in the enjoyment of this high standing till the arrival of the Portuguese, who not only persecuted them, but compelled them to leave their ancient settlement at Cranganore in 1565."[1] The Cochin State Manual evidently omits to mention the feud that took place at Cranganore between the White and the Black Jews, and the consequent dispersal of the latter to other places. In the *Malabar Quarterly Review* for June 1902 (vol. I, No. 2, p. 131), Mr. C. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, who has contributed an article on *The Jews of Cochin*, writes: "In the middle of the fourteenth century two brothers of a noble family quarrelled for the chieftainship of the principality [of Anjuvannam] which fell vacant when the line of Joseph Rabban became extinct.[2] The younger brother who was backed up by his converted slaves, slaughtered the White Jews, who enlisted themselves under the banner of the elder brother. They sought the help of the neighbouring Râjas who planted themselves in the principality and dispossessed the Jews of Anjuvannam. The younger brother fled to Cochin (Chennamangalam and other places) with some of his followers, and the elder brother had to follow suit (after two centuries) on account of the persecution to which he and his followers were subjected by the Portuguese."

The point at issue now is as regards the probable date of the first dispersal of the Jews from their ancient and foremost settlement at Anjuvannam[3] in Cranganore. According to

[1] The *Cochin State Manual* by C. P. Achyuta Menon, pp. 129-30.

[2] This is only another version of the story.

[3] In the copperplate charter granted by Bhâskara Ravi Varman it is stated that the village of Anjuvannam was given to Joseph Rabban, the head of the Jews, with all its proprietary rights.




A Hebrew Inscription of 1269 A.D. from Chennamangalam

tradition two things have to be accepted :—(1) the quarrel between the White and the Black Jews over the disputed succession to the chieftainship of the principality of Anjuvannam, and (2) the victory of the White Jews over the Black Jews. That the defeat of the Black Jews was followed by their subsequent dispersal to other more peaceful centres, where they could exercise better freedom, is undisputed. That one of the centres in which they found it convenient to settle was the nearest island of Chennamangalam is also confirmed by tradition. What now remains to be decided is when were the Black Jews forced to leave their chief settlement at Cranganore, and when did they first come to colonize Chennamangalam. The fact that the tombstone, with its inscription in the Hebrew script dated 1269 A.D., was brought with the Jews from Cranganore when they first left that place precludes us from assuming an earlier date for their advent to Chennamangalam. Ibn Batuta, the famous Arab traveller (1342-47 A.D.), who makes mention of a prosperous colony of Jews at the eastern end of this island, throws definite light on the point. Speaking of his journey by the back-water in 1342 A.D. from Calicut to Quilon, he says: "It (Quilon) is situated at the distance of ten days from Calicut. After five days I came to Kanjirakkara which stands on the top of a hill, is inhabited by Jews, and governed by an Emir, who pays tribute to the king of Kawlam (*sic*)."[4] Mr. C. P. Achyuta Menon, commenting upon this passage, writes:—"This Emir was evidently the Villârvaṭṭat Chief. The river hereabouts used to be known as Kanjirappuzha, and the palace of the chief, the site of which is still pointed out, was on the top of the hill[5] at the eastern end of the island of Chennamangalam. At the foot of the hill is a Jewish settlement, one of the oldest in Cochin."[6]

Thus, while the tradition helps us to assume a date near about 1269 A.D. for the first dispersal of the Black Jews from Cranganore, the interesting account left behind by Ibn Batuta definitely suggests a date much earlier than 1342 A.D., by which time one section of the Black Jews had stably settled down at Chennamangalam. "If the statement that some of the tombstones of the Black Jews are said to be six hundred years old is a fact," writes Mr. C. V. Subrahmanya Iyer in the *Malabar Quarterly Review* (vol. I, No. 2, p. 133), "then the Jews must have migrated to Cochin from Cranganore about the year 1200." We do not know to which tombstone reference has been made here, but the tombstone that we now edit is nearly 660 years old. It is impossible to say whether this latter is that of a Black Jewess or a White Jewess. Mr. E. I. Hallegue of Cochin, himself a White Jew and a Hebrew scholar, holds the opinion that the feud between the reigning head of the Jews and his brother, which caused the dispersal and the consequent advent of the Black Jews to Mattancheri (Cochin), Parur and Chennamangalam, had taken place about the date of the inscription or soon after it. This view, I think, is more plausible.

I am indebted to Professor M. Winternitz, of Prague University, for the English translation of the inscription which I give below. The era of contracts is the so-called Seleucidan era, which dates from the battle of Gaza in 312 B.C. "It is called 'era of contracts,'" remarks the Professor, "because it was used by the Jews in legal documents. It was used by the Jews as early as the Book of Maccabees, and it was likewise used by the Oriental Jews and Syrians until late in the Middle Ages and is still occasionally employed by Jews in the East." The word "Rock" in the inscription means God. "He is the Rock, his work is perfect." (The Bible, Book of Deuteronomy, ch. 32, verse 4.)

TRANSLATION.

"Praised be the true Judge, the Rock; perfect is his doing. And there was buried Sarah, daughter of Israel, in the year 1581 of the era of contracts, on the tenth day of the month of Kislev."

4 The *Cochin State Manual*, p. 96, *f.n.*

5 *Vide* the *Annual Report of the Archæological Department*, Cochin State (1926-27), plate I (*a*).

6 The *Cochin State Manual*, p. 96, *f.n.*

## RUSTAMJI MANAK: A NOTABLE PARSI BROKER.

BY HARIHAR DAS, B.LITT. (OXON.), F.R.S.L., F.R.HIST.S.

(*Continued from page* 108.)

It was not possible to obtain at Surat a more reliable and experienced interpreter than Rustamjî to accompany the ambassador on his mission to Aurangzeb, and Sir Nicholas Waite and his Council were therefore quite justified in the choice they made. Sir William's prejudice against Rustamjî may perhaps have been due to the influence of his secretary, Mr. Mills. Sir Nicholas strongly advised the ambassador to avoid giving occasion for misunderstanding to arise between Mr. Mills and Rustamjî, and also urged him to take the latter into his confidence because he was "well-vers'd in ye misterious intreigues of the Durbars may probably place money that will have it's operation sooner than greater sums all delays and formalitys being dangerous at this juncture when our rivals are for divideing your Excy etc from your [sic] and the most apt of your retinue, and so aged an Emperor and all the European Compas in combination for oposing any Phirmaund [*farmân*] . . . . if Rustum's found unfaithful to your interest please to return him imediately that regards your honor equally with his owne."[6] Sir Nicholas Waite and his council had such great confidence in Rustamjî that they repeatedly impressed upon the ambassador their firm belief that the broker was "unspotted in your interest (however his other natural man may be inclined) for managing matters with those great men and their durbars in wch he is esteemed here a proficient master of those misteries."[7] There was, therefore, no doubt in the minds of the Surat authorities concerning Rustamjî's fitness for they wrote again to the Court of Directors on the 27th October 1701, complaining that the ambassador, not having sufficient confidence in Rustamjî, had entrusted the management of affairs to Mr. Mills.

Throughout the difficult negotiations conducted by Sir William Norris with the Mughal officials Rustamji's help proved invaluable. He thoroughly understood the intricacies of such transactions at Court as would involve the distribution of presents, or in other words diplomatic bribery necessary to enable him to effect the object of the mission. He was constantly in attendance upon the ambassador and was in fact the sole intermediary between him and the Court officials. He was thus entrusted with considerable responsibility and it is necessary to judge how far he honestly served his master and the Company during the negotiations.

In Sir William's journal glimpses can be obtained of Rustamjî's own transactions, but these were of an unimportant nature. The latter, in the diary written in the form of letters from the Mughal's *lashkar* at Burhânpur, describes the causes which led to Sir William Norris' sudden departure from the Court and its sequel. The letters are written in "Gentu" script and were afterwards translated into Portuguese. It is doubtful whether the translator has retained the dignity and colour of Rustamjî's original letters, for the Portuguese version (now preserved at the India Office) does not appear to have been carefully executed. The first letter, dated 12th November 1701, is addressed to his son Framjî at Surat, with the request that he would communicate its contents to Sir Nicholas Waite and his Council. It contains details which explain the enormous difficulties experienced in the endeavour to secure the necessary *farmâns* and the reasons for Sir William's detention on the way to Surat by the Mughal's general Ghâzîu'd-dîn Khân Bahâdur Fîrûz Jang. Rustamji's account is of great value as giving an exact description of what happened when Sir William Norris left the Camp without the Emperor's permission. Rustamjî was always with the ambassador, and is therefore able to give first-hand information of all that occurred. In his letter he describes the negotiations between Nawâb Asad Khân and the ambassador regarding the security of the

[6] See 7569, O. C., 57—I, India Office.

[7] *Ibid.*

port of Mocha and the particulars of privileges to be obtained from the Emperor, and also shows that when the business was transferred to the hands of Inayatullâ Khân, the question of security again came into prominence. There seems to be no doubt that the intrigues engineered by the Vakîl of the Old Company at the Court were particularly designed with the view of thwarting the plans of Sir William Norris. Rustamjî comments on the attitude taken by the ambassador towards the Mughal officials, which in his opinion demonstrated a decided lack of diplomatic tact at the most critical phases of the negotiations. The impatience shown by the ambassador and his threat to return to England if the necessary *farmâns* were not granted, omitting the obligation of the security of the seas, caused, as Rustamjî tells us, great annoyance to Nawâb Asad Khân. The fact that Sir William did not entrust the negotiations entirely to Asad Khân resulted in a breach between the latter and Inayatullâ Khân. Rustâmjî vividly narrates the forcible detention of Sir William Norris by the Emperor's messenger Mu'tabar Khân, who endeavoured to persuade him to return to the Camp and made a great, if ineffectual, effort to induce him to refrain from returning to England without the Emperor's permission. As a result of his attempt to do so, the ambassador was detained by the Mughal's general and Rustamjî acted as an intermediary between them. His account shows that the ambassador repeatedly refused to return to the Camp for the reconsideration of the privileges to be obtained by the New Company.

At this crisis the shrewd broker took immediate steps to communicate all the circumstances to Sir Nicholas Waite and further informed him that the Emperor had sent a command to the Mughal Governor at Surat to detain Sir William Norris in case he attempted to embark for England. He definitely states that the ambassador's own conduct was prejudicing the business; and that further complications were added by the moral support given him by the minister Yâr 'Alî Beg, who had thereby incurred the Emperor's displeasure.[8]

On the 25th November 1701, Rustamjî communicated again with Sir Nicholas Waite and his Council, informing them of an exchange of civilities which had taken place between the Nawâb Ghâzîu'd-dîn Khân and the ambassador. In return for the Nawab's present of fruit, Sir William had sent Rustamjî and three other persons to present to him " 100 gold mohurs, six scarlet pieces, four big muskets, two pistols, two large brass guns, two watches, and one hundred broadswords." Before taking leave they were regaled with a sumptuous banquet and presented with " serpaws "[9] [*sar u pâ*] by the Nawâb. The latter took the opportunity of sending a message to the ambassador to the effect that the Emperor would be annoyed if Sir William did not refrain from going to Surat until all his business had been satisfactorily settled. He also emphasized the fact that he would do everything in his power to further the granting of the *farmâns*. As a mark of friendship and courtesy the Nawâb sent him a magnificent dinner, which was conveyed to the ambassador's Camp in " 18 dishes of gold, with covers of the same; seven silver dishes, with covers of the same; and seven gold dishes with bread."

Sir William, in recognition of the Nawab's kindness, sent Rustamjî and three Englishmen to present to him a gift of 101 gold *mohurs*, which were all accepted and, in return, " serpaws " [*sar u pâ*] were again bestowed upon them. Before taking their leave they were assured by the Nawâb that he had written to the Emperor on behalf of Sir William Norris and that the *pattamars*[10] would convey the letter immediately. Rustamjî alludes to the visit of the Nawâb's chief physician to the ambassador and to the long conversation which took place between them. This is followed by a detailed description from his pen of further communications between the ambassador and the Nawâb. He tells us that Sir William persisted in his refusal to visit the Nawâb, in spite of the great courtesy shown him and of the

8 See 7757, O. C., 57—II.

9 Robe of honour.

10 Foot messengers—Ovington.

fact that the latter was desirous of personally giving him the presents from the Emperor to the King of England as well as those for the ambassador himself. G͟hâziu'd-dîn K͟hân gave him emphatic warning of the consequences which would ensue if he did not return to the Court, telling him that he had received orders from the Emperor to detain him by force if necessary. Rustamji is no less emphatic in declaring that Sir William continued to slight the request of G͟hâzîu'd-dîn K͟hân, notwithstanding that it was impressed upon him that the Nawâb occupied an exalted position, being considered as a "second king" in the Empire. The remonstrance had no effect upon Sir William, who in an angry outburst declared that if the Nawâb were "to give me the whole of Hindustan I would not go to take it." Rustamji's account proves that if the ambassador had shown due courtesy to the Nawâb in receiving at his hands the presents intended for the King of England he might have avoided giving needless offence to him. Sir William Norris lacked the qualities of a shrewd diplomat in his dealings with Nawâb G͟hâzîu'd-din K͟hân, who had not only shown great courtesy to him, but had also offered in every way to expedite his journey to Surat. The ambassador went so far as to reply to those overtures in more haughty terms than before, going, according to Rustamji, so far as to say: "Though you were to assemble all the Umaras of Hindustan to guard me more closely, yet I will not stay."

Rustamjî explains that on account of the obstinacy shown by Sir William the long drawn out interviews between him and the messengers from G͟hâzîu'd-dîn K͟hân had ended in a deadlock. Sir William's attitude greatly annoyed the Nawâb, who, when he next summoned Rustamjî, told him of the indignities offered to his messengers and asked why the ambassador had appeared so alarmed by the prospect of the proposed visit. The Nawâb therefore put Rustamji in prison as a hostage pending the safe return of the messengers and also threatened if any harm befell them to cut off his head. The poor broker suffered greatly during the few hours he was kept in the prison. Meanwhile the ambassador made one more attempt to effect his departure, and actually rode away. But being pursued by a large Mughal force, described by Rustamjî as consisting of "from 1,500 to 2,000 horsemen, 1,500 to 2,000 gunners, 20 gun carriages," which followed him for "three leagues begging the ambassador to return." Sir William was compelled to retrace his steps and return to the Camp. Rustamji's detailed account of this episode is corroborated by Sir William's own version of his arrest. Rustamji writes that he was entrusted by Sir William with a petition to the Nawâb in which he protested against his detention. Not without some justification, the Nawâb in his reply pointed out to Sir William that he had been kindly received at the Emperor's Court as the representative of the King of England, and that his actions had been unworthy of the position he occupied. He reiterated his great regret that he had been compelled to detain him because he had not taken formal leave of the Emperor. At the same time he gave him an assurance that no further harm would be done to him, but that he must remain at the Camp till the Emperor's pleasure became known. According to Rustamjî, a long discussion between him, Mr. Mills and the Nawâb's brother followed, concerning the time when the ambassador might be allowed to take his leave, whether that would be permitted in two or four days. They debated whether the *farmâns* should be given now or within forty days at Surat. It was also decided that if the *farmâns* contained no promises regarding the security of the seas, a lakh of rupees should be given to the Emperor and to G͟hâzîu'd-dîn K͟hân and Rs. 20,000 to Hamîd K͟hân. Rustamji was also commissioned to give a written guarantee that these promises would be carried out.[11]

The last phase of the negotiations between Nawâb G͟hâzîu'd-dîn K͟hân and the ambassador is revealed in a letter written by Rustamjî from Burhânpur to Framjî at Surat on December 1, 1701. From this it is evident that the Agent of the Old Company was still actively engaged

[11] See 7754, O. C, 57—II.

in placing impediments in the way of the ambassador and that he was endeavouring to persuade the Nawâb not to grant the *farmâns*. It was reported that the Nawâb's messengers, when they failed to persuade Sir William to visit him, threatened that the Nawâb would agree with the proposal of the Old Company's Procurator not to grant the *farmâns*, and that the ambassador might return to England. In this letter Rustamjî expresses his disgust at the nature of the proceedings generally. The ambassador had not yet received any *farmân* and as Rustamjî was not sure whether he should take leave of the Nawâb, he solicited the advice of the Consul as to the best course to be pursued under the circumstances, and further suggested that Sir Nicholas Waite himself might be willing to come to receive the *farmâns* from the Nawâb and in case he decided to the contrary, that Mr. Bonnell might be sent as his representative. In either case Rustamjî expressed the hope that the Consul would communicate with him as to the procedure to be adopted with the Nawâb. He warned the Consul that no communication as to the above proposal could be conveyed to the ambassador on account of the strained relations between him and Sir Nicholas Waite, and also informed Framjî that the ambassador would quickly repair to Surat if no further obstacles were placed in his way.[12]

After the ambassador had finally taken leave of the Nawâb and had received from him the letter and presents for the King of England, it was decided that Rustamjî should remain at Burhânpur in the hope of obtaining the three *farmâns*. Sir Nicholas Waite and his Council also directed him not to advance or pay any of the sums promised till he had obtained them. Rustamjî was so hopeful of obtaining the *farmâns* that he informed the President that they would be forwarded to Surat within a few days. But this hope was doomed to disappointment.[13]

The charges incurred by Rustamjî's residence at the *lashkar* became so great that the President and Council wrote to him on the 9th December 1702, revoking their former order and instructing him to make no further demand for the grant of the three *farmâns* nor to pay any money towards securing them, but to return to Surat with all convenient speed and to resume his former employments.[14] Rustamjî on his part represented to the President that he had already been compelled to disburse considerable sums for the purpose of securing the ambassador's pardon. This protest was only an excuse for prolonging his stay at the Court and for procuring payment of a still larger amount for his expenses. Sir Nicholas Waite however did not accept those excuses and insisted on seeing for himself the various items of the expenses incurred. Rustamjî was finally permitted to return to Surat on the 26th February 1702-3.

When the two Companies were united, Rustamjî, on the nomination of Sir Nicholas, was continued in office as their broker; but his position with the Company's authorities gradually became insecure, partly owing to his own conduct and practices, and partly also to the rivalry and jealousies existing amongst his employers. In a letter dated the 25th April 1706, Sir John Gayer and his Council stated that Rustamjî's corrupt practices in connection with private shipping were very prejudicial to the interests of the Company and that it was doubtful whether they would continue to employ him. This accusation was endorsed by Sir Nicholas Waite in a letter to the Court of Directors written in the following year.[15]

It was unfortunate that Rustamjî, who had been enjoying the entire confidence of Sir Nicholas Waite for the last few years, should have now incurred his displeasure, which culminated in his dismissal from the service of the Company in 1706. It was alleged that Sir Nicholas Waite on his transfer to Bombay evaded the payment of Rs. 50,000 claimed by

12 See 7786, O. C., 57—II.

13 See vol. VII, pp. 172, 286, of *Surat Factory Records*.

14 See O. C., 58—II.

15 See p. CV, vol. III, of *Hedges' Diary*.

Rustamji as a reward for using his influence with the Mughal Governor to keep Sir John Gayer in prison. Rustamjî circulated his grievances amongst the servants of the English Company at Surat, and this action greatly annoyed Sir Nicholas. At the time of his dismissal the Pârsî broker also claimed a large sum from the Company for various transactions. The representatives of the English Company at Surat, who were hostile to Sir Nicholas Waite, took the opportunity to conspire with Rustamjî and reported against the former to the Court of Directors, bringing various charges against him, some of which were based on information from Rustamjî. They rightly maintained that great loss would accrue to the Company's trade and business at Surat if Rustamjî were not restored to his former position, seeing how great was his influence with the merchants and local Mughal officials, while they also called attention to the irregularities practised by Sir Nicholas Waite in defiance of the rules laid down by the Court of Directors.[16]

Rustamjî was perfectly justified in claiming the sum promised him by Sir Nicholas Waite, and there is no room for doubt that the latter used him as an instrument for keeping Sir John Gayer in prison. If Rustamjî was dismissed on that ground alone, his dismissal was undoubtedly an unjustifiable act on the part of Sir Nicholas Waite and the betrayal of a trust reposed on him. There is no doubt that the Company was indebted to Rustamjî for a very large sum at the time of his dismissal, and that the Company's servants at Surat and Bombay tried their utmost to secure the rejection of the broker's claim. But the latter's claim for sums expended by him in securing Sir William Norris' pardon from the Mughal may well be considered to have been an afterthought. He did not, however, live to see his claims admitted by the Company, dying in 1721, but the three sons—Framji, Bomanjî and Naurojî—who succeeded him as brokers in the Company's service, fought hard to substantiate their father's claims.

Naurojî was deputed by his brothers to proceed to England to state a case before the Court of Directors. Accordingly he presented a petition in May 1724 on behalf of himself and his brothers, praying that justice might be done them in relation to the demands made by them on the Company. The case was referred to the Committee of Correspondence for the purpose of being examined with regard to the allegations contained therein. The Committee, after carefully considering the demands made by Nauroji, and having examined the accounts contained in the Company's books, decided that the matter should be submitted to arbitration. After nine months, the arbitrators gave their award in favour of Nauroji, his two brothers, and of their deceased father Rustamji Mânak with regard to the sum of money due to them from the Company "in their own right or as representatives of their said father five hundred forty six thousand three hundred and ninety rupees which the Company are to pay." The whole sum was ordered to be paid to them by instalments within the next two years. His other complaints against the Company's servants at Surat and Bombay were also placed before the Directors, and were all satisfactorily settled by the Court. His business now being concluded, Nauroji returned to India in the *Wyndham*, taking with him ten brass guns and provisions for himself and his twelve servants free of freight.[17]

The decision of the Court in favour of Naurojî was received by the Company's servants at Surat and Bombay with some dismay, but they had no choice but to carry out the orders of the Court. The three brothers each received a *sar u pá*, and in addition a horse was given to Naurojî. In a despatch sent to the Court of Directors, the Company's servants pointed out that Rustamjî Mânak and his family were considered as of no importance at Surat before they joined the Company's service, but that thereafter their fortunes were assured. Though some wrong, they admitted, had been done to Rustamjî's family and the decision had been

16 See vol. III, pp. 595-6, 619 of *Bruce's Annals*.

17 See *Court Book* 51, I. O.

given in favour of the latter by the Court of Directors, they nevertheless maintained that they had acted in the Company's interest. In despair the factors complained that their point of view had received very little consideration from the Court and that it would reflect on their reputation.[18]

In reviewing Rustamjî's connection with the Company it is difficult to agree with Mr. George Briggs, who in his book, *The Parsis,* tentatively described the broker as "the quintessence of mischief." There are also other writers whose estimate of Rustamjî's character is not altogether fair and accurate. They based their statements only on despatches sent by the Company's servants at Surat and Bombay. The latter were Rustamjî's enemies and they misrepresented his actions to the Court of Directors. The position occupied by Rustamji proved a difficult one, for the factors were unable to dispense with his services and he had therefore unlimited power over the entire trade of the Company, which led at times to abuses of his responsibility. On the other hand the circumstances and environment of that period must be taken into account. Rustamjî had dealings with the local merchants and Mughal officials who were in the habit of giving presents in money for services rendered. He was a shrewd and hard-headed man of business, who thoroughly understood how to deal with his clients and how to profit from opportunities of increasing his own assets. He, therefore, indulged at times in practices which practically amounted to bribery and corruption. Perhaps the best summary of his character and business acumen may be found in an unsigned document, entitled "Observations on Surat," without date or year, preserved in the India Office. It was written by an unknown writer, evidently after the termination of Sir William Norris' Embassy, who compared the Old Company's broker Venwallidas with Rustamji and considered the former to be "a sorry lying flatering dissembling pittyfull covetous fearful person," whereas the latter seemed to him "a bold spirited person. hath abundance of friends at Court, a great many he made when he went with the Ambassador and I believe served the New Company with all his might and seldom or never undertook anything but performed."[19] He also alludes to the fact that Rustamjî had considerable influence with the Mughal Governor at Surat and that the Old and New Company's servants from various settlements were obliged to employ him as their broker, otherwise their trading would be obstructed. The writer further adds that it was "believed by all that the last embargo laid upon all merchandize of both Old and New Comp[es] goods in Suratt was occasioned by him."[20] In the same writer's opinion Rustamji's services were indispensable on account of his ability to get any business entrusted to him speedily accomplished.

*Note.*—A complete account of Rustamji Mânak's connection with the New English East India Company is under preparation by the present writer.

18 See *Bombay Letters*, vol. I-A.
19 See O. C. 56—IV, pp. 406-7.
20 *Ibid.*, p. 408.

# BHÂMAHA AND DIṄNÂGA.

By Professor GIUSEPPE TUCCI, Ph.D.

THE date of Bhâmaha has been the subject of long discussions among scholars, which have been recently summarized by Professors Batuk Nâth Śarmâ and Baladeva Upâdhyâya in their learned and diligent introduction to the new edition of the *Kâvyâlaṅkâra*.[1] It is not my purpose to study here all the various questions connected with the solution of this problem, but only to point out some facts, which have, I think, their weight.

## I.

As it has clearly been seen by Professor Jacobi[2] and the Benares Professors, in the fifth chapter of *Kâvyâlaṅkâra*, containing a brief allusion to logical theories, we are confronted with some data, the value of which cannot be sufficiently emphasized when we want to fix the approximate time of the completion of the book.

The views held by scholars are two : according to Jacobi, followed by Professor S. K. De,[3] Bhâmaha was influenced by Dharmakîrti, and therefore must come after him. But Professors Śarmâ and Upâdhyâya are against this theory and try to show that no influence of Dharmakîrti can be traced in the *Kâvyâlaṅkâra*. I quite agree with their views. But since this is a fundamental point for fixing the chronology of our text it is worth while to examine thoroughly the logical theories as expounded by Bhâmaha, and then to find, if possible, their exact correlation in the Buddhist *Nyâya-śâstras*. We shall then be able to ascertain whether this view can be accepted as a well established fact rather than as a probable hypothesis.

(*a*) *Pramâṇas*.—According to our author they are only two, that is : *pratyakṣa*, direct perception, and *anumâna*, inference. So far as our present knowledge goes, we can safely assume that the doctrine maintaining the existence of two *pramâṇas* only represents an innovation due to Diṅnâga : though it was not accepted by *all* Buddhist schools, as is generally believed. The followers of the ancient Yogâcâra system, as expounded by Maitreya and Asaṅga, insisted upon maintaining three *pramâṇas*, viz., *pratyakṣa*, *anumâna* and *âgama*. Such a view was accepted by Sthiramati and continued even by relatively later authors, such as Haribhadra (ninth century A.D.), the commentator of the *Aṣṭasâhasrikâ-prajñâ-pâramitâ*.[4] On the other hand, the Mâdhyamikas (*prâsaṅgikas*) were ready to accept the four traditional *pramâṇas*, but of course in the mere plan of contingent experience, *saṃvṛtisatya* : because *paramârthataḥ pramâṇas*, as well as any other notion, or *dharma* (*prameya*) are antinomical, contradictory, and therefore *śûnya*, as was expounded in great detail by Nâgârjuna in his *Vigrahavyâvartanî*.

But according to Diṅnâga and his followers, such as Śaṅkarasvâmin, Dharmakîrti, Dharmottara, etc., the *pramâṇas* are certainly two.

Now the definition of these two *pramâṇas*, as given by Bhâmaha, " *asâdhâraṇasâmânyaviṣayatvaṃ tayoḥ kila* " (v. 5), though finding its parallel even in the *Nyâyabindu*, is really that already given by Diṅnâga in his *Pramâṇasamuccaya* as well as in his *Nyâyamukha*,[5]

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1 Kâśi Sanskrit Series, n. 61, 1928. Cf. also the article of Mr. Diwekar in *JRAS.*, 1929, p. 825, where a relation between Bhâmaha and *Nyâyapraveśa* is stated.

2 *Sitz. d. Preuss. Akad. Wiss*, XXIV, 1922, p. 211.

3 *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, vol. I, p. 50.

4 So also by his master Vimuktisena in his *Abhisamayalaṅkârakârikâvṛtikhyâ*. Both works are being edited by me. For the various theories on *pramâṇas* before Diṅnâga I must refer to my *Buddhist Logic before Diṅnâga*," *JRAS.*, 1929, p. 451, and to the Introduction of my book, *Pre-Diṅnâga Buddhist Logic*. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series.)

5 And not *Nyâyadvâra*. See *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 8. This book has been translated into English by me and will appear shortly in Heidelberg in the Bulletin published by the Buddhist Institute of Prof. Walleser.

where we read : "Thus there are only two *pramâṇas* by which we can apprehend [respectively] the thing in itself (*svalakṣaṇa*) and its universal character (*sâmânyalakṣaṇa*). There is no other knowable besides these two, which could be apprehended by a *pramâṇa* other than these two."

(*b*) *Pratyakṣa.*—Of direct perception we find in our text two definitions—(1) *kalpanâpoḍha*, (2) *tato 'rthât*. The paternity of these two definitions can easily be traced. Chronologically the second must come first, and the first second ; in fact we know that *tato 'rthât* (*rûpâdes tata eveti nânyataḥ*, v. 10) was the definition of *pratyakṣa* given by Vasubandhu, or rather by the author of the *Vâdavidhi*, whoever he may have been. The passage quoted by Uddyotakara[6] has been identified by me in the *Pramâṇasamuccaya*, where Diṅnâga attributes this definition to the *Vâdavidhi*,[7] and refutes it.

The second definition *kalpanâpoḍha* is, as already noted by the Benares professors, quite peculiar to Diṅnâga : he suppressed the word *abhrânta* or *avyabhicârin* contained in the definition of *pratyakṣa*, as already given by Maitreya and Asaṅga ; but, as is known, *abhrânta* was again added by Dharmakîrti, for reasons expounded by Mallivâdin in his *Ṭippaṇî* (p. 19) on *Nyâyabinduṭîkâ*.[8] It is almost certain that the word *abhrânta* was again added to *kalpanâpoḍha* by Dharmakîrti, because Śaṅkarasvâmin, who lived between Diṅnâga and Dharmakîrti,[9] still strictly follows *Diṅnâga*, in his definition of *pratyakṣa*.[10]

(*c*) The definition of *kalpanâ* as *nâmajâtyâdiyojanâ.*—This is the doctrine of Diṅnâga : *kalpanâ* is joined with *nâma* and *jâti*, etc., and it is just this doctrine which was criticised by Uddyotakara in his famous passage (p. 41) : "*apare tu manyante pratyakṣaṃ kalpanâpoḍham iti, atha keyaṃ kalpanâ ? nâmajâtiyojanâ.*"[11] But on this point, as on many others, Dharmakîrti held a different view: for him *kalpanâ* or *vikalpa* is *nâmasaṃśraya* (*abhilâpinî pratîti* according to Śântirakṣita, *Tattvasaṅgraha*, p. 366).

*pratyakṣaṃ kalpanâpoḍhaṃ pratyakṣeṇaiva sidhyati*
*pratyâtmavedyaḥ sarveṣâṃ vikalpo nâmasaṃśrayaḥ*[12]

or, as said in *Nyâyabindu* : *abhilâpasaṃsargayogyapratibhâsapratîtiḥ*. This discrepancy is not of mere words, but involves also difference of views, upon which we have not to insist now, especially because all this point has been so well illustrated by Śântirakṣita and Kamalaśila (*Tattvasaṅgraha*, p. 398).

We must only remember that the definition of *kalpanâ*, as known to Bhâmaha, is that of Diṅnâga, but it has no relation whatsoever with that propounded by Dharmakirti.

(*d*) *apoha.*—This is quite peculiar to Diṅnâga's teaching (though it was also continued long after him—cf. the *Apohasiddhi* by Ratnâkaraśanti) : it was refuted, as is known, by Uddyotakara. *Nyâyavârttika*, 328 f.

6 *Nyâyavârttika*, p. 40 ; cf. *JRAS*., 1929, p. 473.

7 On this book cf. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. IV, p. 631, and vol. V, p. 81.

8 Cf. *JRAS*., 1929, p. 472.

9 And was known to Yuan Chwang, while no mention of Dharmakîrti is to be found in the Memoirs of the great Chinese pilgrim.

10 *Pratyakṣaṃ kalpanâpoḍhaṃ yaj jñânaṃ rûpâdau nâmajâtyâdikalpanârahitaṃ tad akṣaṃ akṣaṃ prati vartata iti pratyakṣaṃ*. Cf. the definition of *pratyakṣa* contained in *Nyâyamukha*, and the Sanskrit original of which has been preserved in the *pañjikâ* of Kamalaśila to *Tattvasaṅgraha* (p. 372, l. 23) : *Yaj jñânaṃ artharûpâdau viśeṣaṇâbhidhâyakâbhedopacâreṇâvikalpakaṃ tad akṣaṃ akṣaṃ prati vartata iti pratyakṣaṃ*.

11 This is the right reading, instead of *kalpanâ nâmajâtyâdi* of the printed text of *Kâvyâlaṅkâra* as well as of *Nyâyavârttika*.

12 So Dharmakîrti in his metrical commentary of *Pramâṇasamuccaya*, called *Pramâṇavârttika*. See my note, *JRAS*., 1928, pp. 378 and 906.

(e) *anumâna*.—Here also, as noted by the editors, two definitions of inference are referred to by Bhâmaha—(1) *trirûpaliṅgato jñâna* and (2) *tadvido nântarîyârthadarśana*. This second definition is quoted by Uddyotakara. I have found in the *Pramâṇasamuccaya* the corresponding translation of this passage, which is quoted by Diṅnâga as being taken from *Vâdavidhi* and refuted by him.[13]

As to the first definition we cannot be so precise as regards its identification; in fact we know that the definition of the *anumâna* as given by Diṅnâga in *Pramâṇasamuccaya* was: *anumeye'tha tattulye sadbhâvo nâstitâ 'sati*.[14]

But it is quite evident that here the essential and fundamental aspect of the *anumâna* is contained, viz., its *trairûpya* : *pakṣadharmatâ, sapakṣasattva, vipakṣâsattva*. This theory of the *trairûpya*, as I have shown elsewhere,[15] does not represent an innovation due to Diṅnâga, since it was certainly pre-existent, as is sufficiently proved by the fragments of the *Tarka-śâstra* preserved in Chinese.

Therefore, even in this case, the facts alluded to seem to point to an analogy with Diṅnâga more than with Dharmakîrti.

(f) *pratijñâdoṣas* or *pratijñâbhâsas*, viz., thesis or proposition vitiated by errors. The definition of *pakṣa* and that of *pratijñâ* imply that Bhâmaha considers *pakṣa* as different from *pratijñâ*, viz., *pakṣa* is the formulation of the *probandum*, quite independent of the *sâdhana*, and *pratijñâ* is this very *pakṣa* enunciated as the first member of a *sâdhana*. This doctrine (on which see *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. IV, p. 632) was accepted by Asaṅga and the *Vâdavidhi*, but Diṅnâga suppresses the *pratijñâ* and substitutes for it the very *pakṣa*. Bhâmaha in this place also seems, therefore, to follow doctrines anterior to Diṅnâga. Bhâmaha knows only six *pakṣâbhâsas* :—

(a) *tadarthaviruddha*.
(b) *hetuviruddha*.
(c) *svasiddhântaviruddha*.
(d) *sarvâgamaviruddha*.
(e) *prasiddhadharma*.
(f) *pratyakṣaviruddha*.

Diṅnâga also knew five *pakṣâbhâsas* only, as is evidenced by his *Nyâyamukha* and *Pramâṇasamuccaya* : while in the *Nyâyapraveśa* by his pupil or follower, Śaṅkarasvâmin, we have a list of nine *pakṣâbhâsas*,[16] which again Dharmakîrti reduces to four (*anumânanirâkṛta, pratyakṣanirâkṛta, pratîtinirâkṛta, svavacananirâkṛta*). For Diṅnâga the five *pakṣâbhâsas* are as follows :—

(1) *svavacanaviruddha* : *mâtâ me bandhyâ sarvaṃ vacanaṃ mithyâ*,
(2) *pratyakṣaviruddha* : *anuṣṇo 'gniḥ*.
(3) *anumânaviruddha* : *nityo ghaṭaḥ*.
(4) *lokaviruddha* : *śaśî na candraḥ*.
(5) *âgamaviruddha*.

Now it is evident that of the six *pakṣâbhâsas* quoted by Bhâmaha, (a)=(1), (c)=(5), (d)=(4), (f)=(2). The second—(b)—cannot be so easily identified ; but from the example given it seems that it consists in the assumption of a *dharmin anyatarâsiddha*, that is, a subject not proved for one of the opponents : *e.g.*, when a Sâṅkhya discusses with a Buddhist he cannot state this proposition : "the *âtman* is existent," or "*prakṛti* is existent," because the *prativâdin* does not admit of any *âtman* or *prakṛti* : so that the thesis would in fact ignore one of the

[13] *JRAS.*, 1929, pp. 474-475.
[14] *Nyâyavârttika*, p. 55.
[15] *JRAS.*, 1929, pp. 479.
[16] Cf. *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 12.

fundamental aspects of *pakṣa*, viz., *prasiddha-dharmin*. This kind of *pakṣâbhâsa* is not in Diṅnâga, but is to be found in Śaṅkarasvâmin, and, as is evidenced by the commentary of K'wei-chi on the *Nyâyapraveśa*, was largely discussed in logical schools after the great logician. One of the possible ways to avoid this fallacy was found in the theory of the *avadhâraṇa* or specification, viz., the *âtman*, in which we believe, or in which you believe, etc.

Anyhow it is worth mentioning that the example given by Bhâmaha as the second case of *pakṣâbhâsa* clearly shows that it was taken from some Buddhist *vade mecum*.

(*g*) *Trairûpya* of the *hetu*.—I have shown elsewhere[17] that Diṅnâga cannot be considered as the author of this theory, which we meet also in the *Tarka-śâstras*, certainly anterior to him, and was perhaps contained also in the *Vâdavidhi*. Anyhow the definition of *vipakṣa* as *sâdhyavyâvṛtti* was not of Diṅnâga, who in *Nyâyamukha* as well as in *Pramâṇasamuccaya* contests the validity of such definition. We find *vipakṣavyâvṛtti* in *Tarkaśâstra*.

(*h*) *Dṛṣṭânta*.—The first definition, *sâdhyasâdhanadharmâbhyâm*, may be compared with that given by the author of *Vâdavidhi*: *tayoḥ sambandhanidarśanaṃ dṛṣṭânta* quoted by Uddyotakara (*NV*., p. 137, l. 3). The second is beyond any doubt of Diṅnâga, and it is reproduced almost literally by Bhâmaha. He says:

(v. 27) *Sâdhyena liṅgânugatis tadâbhâve ca nâstitâ sthâpyate yena dṛṣṭântaḥ*—
and the definition of Diṅnâga, in *Nyâyamukha* and *Pramâṇâsamuccaya*, quoted and refuted by Uddyotakara (*NV*., p. 137) in its Sanskrit original, runs thus:—

*sâdhyenânugamo hetuḥ sâdhyâbhâve ca nâstitâ.*

(*i*) *Jâtis*.—The *Jâtis* were reduced by Diṅnâga to 14 only in *Nyâyamukha* and *Pramâṇasamuccaya*. According to Śaṅkarasvâmin they are considered as *sâdhanadoṣodbhâvanâni*; and *sâdhanadoṣa* is *nyûnatva*, etc., viz., *âdhikya*; this is just the theory that we find in Bhâmaha, though in his case mention of *sâdharmyasamâdaya*[18] is still to be found, just as in Diṅnâga's works.

## II.

Now if we are to sum up the results of this comparison of Bhâmaha's logical chapter with Nyâya theories known to us, it appears evident that no trace of Dharmakîrti can be found in *Kâvyâlaṅkâra*. All the doctrines upon which Jacobi founded his conclusions, viz., that Bhâmaha is dependent on *Nyâyabindu*, after closer examination prove to be not peculiar to Dharmakîrti but anterior to him. We may add that not a single theory, proper to Dharmakîrti, can be traced in *Kâvyâlaṅkâra*. On the other hand, Bhâmaha refers twice quite unmistakably to Vasabandhu, or better, to the author of *Vâdavidhi*, whose doctrines are so often alluded to and refuted in *Pramâṇasamuccaya*. And it is known that the *Vâdavidhi* was completely superseded by the big work of Diṅnaga and the logical activity of his followers, so that after Diṅnâga it is only occasionally alluded to for polemical purposes, *e.g.*, by Uddyotakara, but it did not influence in any way the *Nyâya* theories of post-Diṅnâga time. On the other hand, Dharmakîrti, with his *Pramâṇavârttika*, *Pramâṇaviniścaya* and *Nyâyabindu*, very soon took the prominent part, and after him *Pramâṇasamuccaya* and its author were left in oblivion. Vâcaspati and Jayanta as well as the Jaina logicians are always engaged in refuting Dharmakîrti's views, and only occasionally refer to Diṅnâga's doctrines. But from the comparison that we made in the first part of this paper it appears that Bhâmaha's views reflect chiefly the older *Nyâya* theories, such as those expounded by the *Vâdavidhi* and *Pramâṇasamuccaya* or *Nyâyamukha*, from which texts he seems to differ in a few points only. The fact that he still quotes from *Vâdavidhi* and ignores the nine *pakṣâbhâsas* of Śaṅkarasvâmin

[17] Cf. *JRAS*., 1929, p. 479.

[18] This must be the reading, and not *samâdhayaḥ* of the printed text.

seems to indicate that he was nearer in time to Diṅnâga than to Dharmakîrti. The verbal quotations that have been noted in connection with the definition of the two pramâṇas, *pratyakṣa* and specially of *dṛṣṭânta* prove beyond any doubt that he had direct acquaintance with Diṅnâga's works, and that he was strictly dependent on them.

For all these reasons I think that the priority of Bhâmaha to Dharmakîrti must be considered as a well established fact, and not as a debatable hypothesis. His theories as a whole are essentially pre-Dharmakîrti and show but very little influence of the progress which took place in *Nyâya* after the *Pramâṇasamuccaya*. Whatever the religious creed of Bhâmaha might have been, there is no doubt that in his work we find a new proof of the great influence exercised by Diṅnâga and his logic not only upon Buddhist thinkers, but upon Indian philosophy in general. Unfortunately we do not know very much about the philosophical and, more particularly, *Nyâya* literature of the time which separates Diṅnâga from Dharmakîrti. But from the scattered information at our disposal, we may gather that the theories of Diṅnâga were largely discussed and developed. This is what we can deduce from the commentary of K'wei-chi upon the *Nyâyapraveśa*, which sheds much light upon the evolution of logical theories after Diṅnaga and shows that many doctrines which appear now in the works of Dharmakîrti had been discussed and formulated before him. And it seems to me that not only Buddhist authors were taking an active part in these discussions, but that thinkers belonging to other currents also contributed to them. Difference of opinion was always possible as regards the metaphysical and ontological points of view, but as regards *Nyâya*, and chiefly *parârthânumâna*, viz., syllogism and its laws, as applied to dialectical discussions on philosophical topics, there was a general agreement.[19] Praśastapâda continues views that had been already elaborated by Buddhist *Tarka-śâstras*. Śaṅkarasvâmin, whom we have no arguments either for identifying or not with the philosopher of the same name quoted by Kamalaśîla, cannot perhaps be considered, at least if we are to judge from his name, as a Buddhist. The *Mâṭharavṛtti*, as I hope to show in a forthcoming paper, expounds logical theories similar, and therefore chronologically near, to those of Śaṅkarasvâmin, and so does the Jaina *Pramâṇanirṇaya*.[20]

Thus, we are confronted, it seems, with a general predominance of formal logic as elaborated by the *Tarka-śâstras* and Diṅnâga in his fundamental works, which influenced all the *vâda-śâstras* of t e time. This is a fact which is perhaps alluded to by Uddyotakara in his *maṅgalâcaraṇa : kutârkikâjñânanivṛttihetuḥ*. Unfortunately, except the *Nyâyapraveśa*, no other work of this kind has been preserved, though the names at least of some other great logicians have come down to us. One of these, for instance, is *Îśvarasena*, well known from Tibetan sources.[21] He was the teacher of Dharmakîrti and he seems to have held particular views as regards the interpretation of Diṅnâga's works, which were not accepted by his great disciple. But his works are lost : only some few fragments have come down to us.

Quotations from Îśvarasena are, in fact, to be found in the following Sanskrit texts :—

(1) Fragment of a Buddhist *Nyâya-śâstra*, preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The references to Îśvarasena have been given by MM. Haraprasâda Śâstrî as follows [22] :—

(*a*) *na tu yatheśvaraseno manyata upalabdhyabhâvamâtram anupalabdhir iti*

(*b*) [*u*]*palabdhyabhâvamâtram anupalabdhim abhâvasya prasahya* [corr. *prasajya*-] *pratiṣedhâtmanaḥ pramâ ṇântaratvena gamikâm icchanti Îśvarasenaprabhṛtayaḥ*.

[19] Practically no result is possible in dialectical debates if the opponents do not agree about the fundamental laws of the discussion itself.

[20] We must remember, in fact, that the logical classifications of *Nyâyapraveśa* are identical neither with Diṅnâga's theories, nor with Dharmakîrti's. We must, therefore, deduce that they represent a particular moment in the evolution of logic between Diṅnâga and Dharmakîrti.

[21] Târânâtha, *History of Buddhism*, transl. by Schiefner, pp. 159, 176.

[22] *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. I, Buddhist MSS., p. 31.

In another fragment of a *Nyâya* treatise, which was kindly shown to me by His Holiness Śrî Hemarâja Śarmâ, guru of His Highness the Mahârâja of Nepal, mention of him is also found :—

......*cânayati tattvat. para......vity abhiprâyeneśvarasena evâparo 'bhipretaḥ.*

These documents are few and quite inadequate to give an idea of the main features of the system of Îśvarasena ; but considering that they are the only thing that time has left,[23] they are not without value. They also belong to that period of great philosophical elaboration which took place between Diṅnâga and Dharmakîrti, and of which Bhâmaha also has preserved some not insignificant traces.

## BOOK-NOTICES.

CEYLON JOURNAL OF SCIENCE, Section G. Archæology, Ethnology, etc., vol. I, pts. 1 to 4 ; vol. II, pt, 1 : edited by A. M. HOCART, Archæological Commissioner, Ceylon. London, Dulau & Co., 1925-28.

EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA, vol. III, pt. 2 : edited by H. W. CODRINGTON and S. PARANAVITANA. Oxford University Press, 1929.

Scientific research in Ceylon has made a noteworthy advance in the last few. years, thanks chiefly to the work of Messrs. H. W. Codrington, E. R. Ayrton and A. M. Hocart. The results are contained in a series of publications, including the above, the *Memoirs* of the Archæological Department, Mr. Codrington's *Coins and Coinage of Ceylon* and his valuable *Short History of Ceylon*. The parts of the *Journal of Science* before us, besides the archæological summaries, contain some striking articles by Mr. Hocart, *e.g.*, on the Origin of the Stûpa, India and the Pacific, and the Indo-European Kinship System ; but perhaps the work of greatest value to which he has devoted his attention is the attempt to establish criteria by which the archæological remains of Ceylon can be dated. Chronological data are peculiarly scanty in the epigraphical records of Ceylon, and the extant chronicles are also defective in this respect. By patient, methodical examination of the monuments, the materials employed and the methods of construction, the sculpture, balustrades, guardstones, 'moonstones,' etc., Mr. Hocart has been able to differentiate three main periods, which he calls (1) archaic, (2) classical and (3) archaistic. Though this nomenclature may not meet with universal approval, we must congratulate him upon the perseverance with which he has tackled this difficult subject and laid a reliable foundation, at least, for future work. He is being ably seconded on the epigraphical side by Mr. Paranavitana, who has also contributed a very interesting note on Mahâyânism in Ceylon.

The present part of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* contains readings of the texts, with translations and annotations, of the (1) Oruvaḷa *sannasa* c.p. inscription, probably of the time of Parâkrama Bâhu VIII, (2) the Badulla pillar inscription of about 942 A.D., and the Mannar Kacceri pillar inscription of about 900 A.D., the second of which contains matter of special interest in connexion with village organization, trading, fines and tolls, etc. The interpretation of many words and phrases in the latter inscriptions are admittedly yet doubtful.

C. E. A. W. O.

DU KUMARAPALAPRATIBODHA : *Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Apabhraṁśa und der Erzählungs-Literatur der Jainas. Von Ludwig Alsdorf.* (*Alt. und Neu-Indische Studien herausgegeben vom Seminar für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens an der Hamburgischen Universität.* 2.) xii + 227 pp. Hamburg : Friederichsen, De Gruyter and Co., 1928.

Regions visited long ago remain alluring to the memory ; and even he who will probably never be able to revisit them will sometimes think of them with a melancholic pleasure. Being some twenty years ago a pupil of Professor Jacobi the present writer made some little progress in the study of Jain narrative literature. And, though he will probably never find a real opportunity for resuming those researches, it is with a special pleasure that he studies the researches of other scholars upon this and cognate subjects.

Dr. Alsdorf, a pupil of Professor Schubring, one of the leading authorities on Jainism, has produced an extensive and solid work on the Kumârapâlapratibodha of Somaprabha, or rather on those parts of it which are written in Apabhraṁśa. Literary Apabhraṁśa—apart from smaller contributions chiefly by Pischel—has become

23 References to him are to be found in the commentary to *Pramâṇavârttika* by Devendrabodhi.

known by two masterly publications of Professor Jacobi; and there is scarcely any doubt that there is still in existence an extensive literature in that interesting, if monotonous, idiom. Dr. Alsdorf has used the edition of the *Kumârapâlapratibodha* published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol. XIV. And, though he has not been able to avail himself of any manuscript materials, there can be no doubt that he has produced in the plurality of cases a sound and reliable text.

The Apabhraṃśa stanzas of the *Kumârapâlapratibodha*, some 250 in number, make up an allegoric tale called the *Jîvamanaḥkaraṇasaṃlâpakathâ*, a tale of the famous saint Sthûlabhadra, a hymn on Pârśva, a small dogmatic text, four verses on the seasons, and 42 separate verses of different contents. Of all these, Dr. Alsdorf gives text and translation, as well as a list of words. In an extensive and well-written introduction he deals with his texts from a literary, grammatical and metrical point of view. And in five appendices we are able to study other texts dealing with the fortunes of Sthûlabhadra. The author, whose name we have probably not met with before, has produced an altogether learned, interesting, and excellent book.

Tempting though it be, we cannot here enter into details which would really lead too far. We shall only allow ourselves a few passing remarks which will at any rate prove that we have studied the work with attention and with profit.

On p. 112 (Sthûlabhadra, 102, 4-5) we read the following lines:—

*Kasaṇa-vannu uppayai nahi | bhanjai jai vi aviḍhu*
*taha vi durehahã reha na hu | pâvai gôvarakhîḍu.*

The text is undoubtedly in slight disorder, as the second half of the first line is untranslatable. In any case I suppose that we shall have to read *bhunjai* instead of *bhanjai*; unfortunately, however, I am completely unable to solve the riddle of the word *aviḍhu*. The rhyme proves it to be fairly correct—the sense must be something in the way of Skt. *amṛta* or *madhu*. The translation would run somewhat like this: 'the black-coloured dung-beetle, even though he flies up to the sky and eats (honey ?) will not attain the lustre of the bees.' The word *karrâḍiya-*, 'a porter' (p. 151), may possibly stand in some relation to (Skt.) *karcaṭa-* in one of its different senses. For *jôyai paśyati* we miss a reference to Hemacandra's grammar, iv. 332, with Pischel's note, and the *Prakritgrammatik*, p. 173, § 246. *Jhôṭinga-* (p. 159) seems to mean a sort of ghost: it would not be quite impossible to derive it from *dyotis-* 'light,' as I believe to have proved long ago that glow-worms, etc., are at times looked upon as ghostly apparitions, cp. *Kleine Beitr. z. indoiranischen Mythologie*, p. 1 f (1911). The curious word *bhullaya*, quoted on p. 174, does not simply mean *viaticum*; Hemacandra explains it by *prabandhapravṛttam pâtheyam* (Dr. Alsdorf's quotation is not quite exact), and it is also explained by *adhikâri śambalam*. But I fail to make out the exact sense underlying these explanations.

We take leave of Dr. Alsdorf with expressions of gratitude for his able and interesting book, and hope soon to meet with new contributions from his pen.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

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MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, No. 41. Survival of the Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley, by RAI BAHADUR RAMPRASAD CHANDA, B.A. 13 × 10 in., pp. 40, with 2 plates. Calcutta, 1929.

In seeking to find a link between the Vedic traditions and the chalcolithic civilization of the Indus basin, as disclosed from the remains found at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, Mr. Chanda propounds his views upon certain subjects, which, though of wide interest, hardly fall within the scope of archæology. For example, he would abandon what he calls the "orthodox view," that the upper Indus valley was wrested from Dâsas and Dasyus by a vigorous race of Âryan immigrants, and suggest, as better fitting the evidence, that "the Âryans, mainly represented by the Ṛishi clans, came to seek their fortunes in small numbers more or less as missionaries of the cults of Indra, Varuṇa, Agni and other gods of nature and settled in peace under the protection of the native rulers who readily appreciated their great merit as sorcerers and employed them to secure the assistance of the Âryan gods." We must point out, however, that Indian tradition would seem clearly to indicate that the earliest *ṛṣis* were established in the land before the so-called Âryan immigration. He would go further, and recognize in the warrior clans—the Bharatas, Pûrus, Yadus, Turvaśas, Anus, Druhyus, etc., of the Ṛig Veda—the representatives of the ruling class of the indigenous chalcolithic population. Here again we are up against a mass of Indian tradition. Rather than attribute the rigidity of caste to the sharp distinction between the Ârya and the Śûdra, he prefers to regard it as due to the wide gulf that separated the cultures of the "proto-Brahmans and the proto-Kshatriyas"—terms that seem to call for some definition. He proceeds to develop his view of a fundamental difference in the mentality of the Brâhmaṇa and Kṣatriya of ancient India by citing evidence to show that their attitude towards *puruṣamedha* and *anumaraṇa* were antagonistic. The theory elaborated by him, that certain statuettes found at Mohenjo-daro represent Yatis of the protohistoric and prehistoric Indus valley civilization seems somewhat premature. We feel, in fact, that the author attempts in this short *Memoir* to solve too many difficult problems, though his views, if not convincing, are in many respects suggestive.

C. E. A. W. O.

# PINDARÎ.

BY PROF. JARL CHARPENTIER, PH.D., UPSALA.

OF the nefarious dealings of the Pindaris, of the unspeakable atrocities perpetrated, during their raids, upon the peaceful population of Central India, and of their rapid and complete extinction through the splendid activity of the Marquess of Hastings, not a word need be said here. They are all too well known to every reader of the *Indian Antiquary*. But we might allow ourselves here a few words upon the etymology of the word *piṇḍârî*, a problem that does not seem so far to have been satisfactorily settled.[1]

Not a few etymologies of this word have been suggested, which may be shortly mentiontioned here as far as they have become known to the present writer.

Leaving aside Prinsep's fanciful connection[2] of *piṇḍârî* with *Pandour*, we notice that Sir John Malcolm[3] suggested a derivation from Mar. *peṇḍhâ*, meaning 'a drink (for cattle and men) prepared from *jondhaḷâ* (*Holcus sorghum*, L. or *Sorghum vulgare*, Pers.) by steeping it and causing it to ferment; also a drink (for cattle) prepared from *bhâteṇa*, or rice straw' (Molesworth). And Malcolm's suggestion was confirmed by Karîm Khân as well as by other Pindaris. Wilson[4] again thought of another *peṇḍhâ* which, according to Molesworth, means 'rice-straw; a bundle of rice-straw; a load or bundle of three *ghâḍa* or rolls of rice-straw'; from this *peṇḍhâ*+*hârâ*, 'taking' or 'fetching,' would be formed an apt name for those hangers-on to an army whose chief business it was to collect forage.

However plausible such conjectures may at first seem to be, they do not carry much conviction and may nowadays quietly be left aside. Nor can any great probability be ascribed to the etymology suggested by Sir Henry Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed., p. 711 b., according to which the word ought to be connected with Hindî *pîṇḍ-parnâ* and Mar. *piṇḍâs-basneṅ*, both of which mean 'to follow, to stick closely to.'[5] Formal difficulties are in the way of such a derivation; nor is such a suggestion strongly convincing from a semasiological point of view. A suggestion by Shakespear[6] may conveniently be passed over in silence. And another one proposed by Balfour[7] apparently upon older authority, and which implies a relationship between *piṇḍârî* and *Beḍar*, has been aptly refuted by Irvine. However, his own derivation—from *Pǎndhâr*, a place situated in the neighbourhood of Burhânpur—carries, just as little conviction as the others. First of all, Irvine has scarcely succeeded in making it probable that the Pindaris did really originate from the place in question; and further the real name is undoubtedly *piṇḍârî* and nothing else, which cannot well be brought to tally with *Pǎṇḍhâr*, whatever be the origin of that somewhat obscure name.

Thus, though there is no lack of more or less ingenious explanations of the word, we are left completely in the dark as regards its real origin.

Curiously enough no one, as far as I am aware, has noted the fact that traces of the word are to be found in Sanskrit as well as in Prâkrit texts. The Marâṭhî forms of the word recorded by Molesworth are the following: *peṇḍhârǎ*, 'a body of Pindaries, also that people considered collectively'; *peṇḍhâra*, 'the depredations of these marauders,' and *peṇḍhârî* or *peṇḍhârakarî*, 'a marauder, a Pindari.' But there is no doubt that this form is of later

1 On the etymology of this word cp. *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed., p. 711 f.; Irvine, IA., xxix (1900), 140 f., Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, iv, 388 f., together with the literature quoted in these passages.

2 Cp. *History of Political and Military Transactions*, i, 37 n.

3 Cp. *Central India*, 2nd ed., I, 433.

4 Cp. *Glossary of Indian Terms*, p 414.

5 These words may possibly be connected with *peṇḍavai* = *prasthâpayati* mentioned by Hemacandra, iv, 37.

6 Cp. *Hindustani and English Dictionary*, col. 555.

7 Cp. *Cyclopædia of India* (ed. 1885), iii, 216.

origin, the aspiration (*dh*) being of secondary nature[8]: and thus a form *peṇḍârî* or *piṇḍârî* would be the original one. And for this form we really find suitable connection in Sanskrit and Prâkṛit. In the *Kauṭilîya*, ed. Jolly, p. 76, 1, we find a word *piṇḍâraka*, which probably means 'buffalo-herd.'

Hemacandra, *Anekârthasaṃgraha*, iii. 571 (ed. Zachariæ), tells us as follows:

. . . . . . *piṇḍâro bhikṣuke drume*
*mahiṣîpâlake kṣepe* . . . . . . ||

*i.e.*, '*piṇḍâra* means a beggar, a certain tree (probably *Flacourtia sapida*, Roxb.), a buffalo-herd,[9] and an opprobrious denomination.'[10] The second meaning (a certain tree), of course, has got nothing to do with the others: and though it is quite possible, it may be doubtful whether they have all been drawn from a common source. But there is scarcely any doubt that the most important meaning of the word, and the one upon which we have to fix our attention is that of 'buffalo-herd.' For the same Hemacandra in his *Deśînâmamâlâ*, 6. 58, has preserved the gloss: *peṇḍâro gopaḥ | peṇḍâro mahiṣîpâla iti Devarâjaḥ* || *i.e.*, '*peṇḍâra* means cowherd; *p.* means buffalo-herd according to Devarâja.' This Devarâja is mentioned by Hemacandra as an authority on lexicography also in 6, 72 and 8, 17, and according to Bhuvanapâla he is the author of certain stanzas in Hâla's *Saptaśatî*.[11] As a matter of fact our word occurs also in a verse preserved in one of the numerous versions of that anthology and bearing the number 731.[12]

*uvahâriâi samaaṃ*
*piṇḍâre na kahaṃ kuṇantammi* |
*naravahuâi saroṣaṃ*
*savva ccia vacchaâ mukkâ* ||

'Look! when the buffalo-herd[13] starts talking with the maid, the young mistress of the house out of jealousy lets loose all the calves.'

The commentary here seems to prefer the reading *peṇḍâra* to the *piṇḍâra* of the text, which certainly makes no great difference.

Considering these passages from different authors there can be no doubt at all that there exists a Prâkrit word *piṇḍâra*, *peṇḍâra*—which, like innumerable others, has found its way also into Sanskrit works—with the sense of 'buffalo-herd.' In this connection it is certainly important to notice that the present-day Pindaris, of which there seem to exist some 10,000 in all, are professionally 'herdsmen and tenders of buffaloes.'[14] For it cannot well be doubted that in the *piṇḍâra*, *peṇḍâra*, testified to by various lexicographers—of whom Devarâja must be previous to Hemacandra, *i.e.*, at least belong to the tenth or eleventh century—by Kauṭilya and by a stanza in the Saptaśati, must be the source of the name 'Pindari' which during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries won for itself such a sinister celebrity.

[8] Such secondary aspiration does not seem to be altogether uncommon in Mârâṭhî, judging from materials which I have gathered quite at random from Professor Jules Bloch's excellent work *La formation de la langue Marathe*. Thus, *e.g.*, *khâpar*: Skt. *karpara-* (the explanation given by Professor Bloch, p. 319, seems to me not quite correct); *khujâ*: Skt. *kubja-*; *khemkaḍ*: Skt. *karkaṭa-*; *caḍhṇem*: Pkt. *caḍai*; *niḍhâl*, besides *niḍâl*; *babhûḷ*, besides *bâbûl*, etc. (Bloch, l.c., p. 375); *bhar* (<*b(h)adra-); Skt. *badara-*; *phophal*, besides *pophal* (cp. *Orientalist. Lit. Zeit.* 1930, col. 176; *raṃdhâ* besides *ruṃdâ*, etc., and above all *peṇḍhî*, 'a bundle of grass, a sheaf of corn,' besides *peṇḍa*, 'the refuse of seeds or nuts from which the oil has been extracted, oil-cake,' etc., *peṇḍâ* 'a load of fresh loppings or green grass; rice straw; lumps of moist cow dung,' etc.—all these derived from Skt. *piṇḍa-* (cp. also *peṇḍa-* = *piṇḍa-*, Hemacandra, i, 85).

[9] On this the commentator (Mahendra) remarks: *mahiṣîdohavaidagdhyam piṇḍâre na tu piṇḍite* | which is not quite clear to me.

[10] The *Medinikośa* and the *Haimâvalî* (which are unfortunately inaccessible to me here), also give *bhikṣu* and *mahiṣîpâla* as meanings of *piṇḍâra* (cp. the *Petersburg Wb.* . . .)

[11] Cp. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prâkrit-Sprachen*, pp. 10, . ., . .

[12] Cp. Weber, *Das Saptaśatakam des Hâla*, p. 393 f.

[13] Weber, upon the authority of the *Medinikośa*, translates 'cowherd'; following the *Anekârthasaṃgraha* and Devarâja I venture to prefer 'buffalo-herd.'

[14] Cp. Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, iv, 389.

As for the further relationship of this word *piṇḍâra*, *peṇḍâra*, I have nothing definite to suggest. However, I should like to point once more to the *Deśînâmamâlâ*, where in 6, 80 we read : *peḍḍâ* . . . *mahiṣî* . . *kecit peḍḍaśabdena mahiṣam âhuḥ* || Thus there seems to have existed a word *peḍḍâ*, 'buffalo, she-buffalo'; and an interchange between *peḍḍa-* and *peṇḍa-* (*piṇḍa-*) would be nothing unheard of within the Prâkṛits. Possible as it would thus be to suggest that *piṇḍâra*, *peṇḍâra* were in some way connected with this name of the 'buffalo,' we shall prefer to make no definite assertions. And we shall rest content to think that the riddle of the name of the Pindaris has perhaps been solved in a very simple way.

## A FURTHER NOTE ON THE ŚVETÂMBARA AND DIGAMBARA SECTS.

By KAMTA PRASAD JAIN, M.R.A.S.

In the September 1929 issue of the *Indian Antiquary* Mr. Puran Chand Nahar, a learned Śvetâmbara Jain, has expressed his ideas on the two sects of the Jains, and contends for the greater antiquity of the Śvetâmbara sect as compared with the Digambaras. But, unfortunately, he has not supported his opinions with reliable references, and they hardly represent the true view of the facts. His conclusions, therefore, cannot be taken as the last word of "unbiassed research" on the point, and it becomes necessary to examine them in the light of the historical facts. He seems to lay great stress on the following points to prove the antiquity of the Śvetâmbara sect :—

1. That the "idea of nudity or remote antiquity and the idea of the dressed or a later period" is not tenable, because, taking the period of Vedas, hardly any Prâkṛit literature is found existing before the Vedas, although the Prâkṛit, or natural language, is taken to be older than the Sanskrit, or corrected language. And because the Śvetâmbara Jains hold that all the predecessors of Mahâvîra Tîrthaṅkara wore clothes, the idea of nudity was preached by the last Tîrthaṅkara for the first time.

2. That the ancient Jain images bear no trace of any particular sect, but belong to the undivided Jain Saṅgha. Besides this, a good number of such images, in the sitting posture, bear no trace of nudity.

3. That the inferior status assigned to woman by the Digambara sect, in denying her the possibility of full spiritual emancipation, is of later origin, "for, such narrow dogmas had their birth in times when a strong reaction had already set in against the broad-minded democratic religion of Buddha and Mahâvîra . . . . ."

4. That those who advocated the most conservative ideas became known as the Digambaras, "and in order to establish the new theory, these Digambaras had to discard the whole of the then existing Jain canons," which are respected and recognised by the Śvetâmbara sect alone, who maintain the same old principles as those taught by Mahâvîra.

5. That the Mathurâ antiquities speak for the priority of the Śvetâmbara sect.

6. And that Digambaras hold the conservative idea, contrary to the Śvetâmbaras, that only a Digambara Jain holding Digambara doctrines can attain *nirvâṇa*, which is against the original teaching of Mahâvîra. It is owing to this conservatism that they did not flourish during the Muhammadan period.

1. Now let us examine these points one by one. As for the first point, we should remember that it was not only in the times of Mahâvira that nudity was practised in the country, but, on the contrary, it was treated with great reverence before Mahâvîra[1] and in the Vedic period itself. "The wind girdled Bachhantes," the *Munayo Vâtavaśanâs*, are mentioned in the *Rik-Saṁhitâ* (X, 136-2) and the learned Prof. Albrecht Weber regarded this as showing the greater antiquity of the Digambaras, whom he also took as referred to in the well-known accounts of the Indian 'Gymnosophists' of the time of Alexander the Great.[2]

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IX, p. 162. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. XXX, p. 280.

Besides, it is worthy of note that in almost all the Brahmanical Sanskrit literature which notice the Jains, Jain monks are designated as *naked* recluses.[3] In the ancient and authentic literature of the Buddhists, too, the Jains (Niganthas) are described as *naked* monks.[4] These notices refer not only to the Nigantha Samanas of the order of Mahâvîra ; but indirectly they describe the pre-Mahâvîra Nigantha Samanas as naked monks as well. For it is said in the *Mahâvagga* (I, 70, 3)[5] that—

" At that time the Bhikkus conferred the *upasampadâ* ordination on persons that had neither alms-bowl nor robes. They went out for alms naked and (received alms) with their hands. People were annoyed, murmured and became angry, saying 'Like the Titthiyas, etc.' "

These Titthiyas were, no doubt, the non-Buddhistic monks belonging to older orders than those of Mahâvîra and Buddha.[6] The description of them, as given above, coincides exactly with that of a Digambara Jain monk, as described in their *śâstras*. Hence there is little doubt about their being the naked monks of the school of Lord Pârśva, the immediate predecessor of Mahâvîra. Moreover, I am tempted to believe the Digambara *śâstras* on the ground that their accounts are in agreement with those references in the Buddhist Tripiṭaka and other secular literature which mention the Jains.[7] For instance, the rules of conduct for the Śramaṇas (Jain monks) given in the *Kassapa-Sîhanâda Sutta* coincide to a word with those given in the Digambara Jain literature for their monks, and they mention the very first rule of the Jain *muni*, which requires him to go about naked.[8]

Thus the literary evidence would indicate that the nakedness of the Jain monks was in accordance with the original practice, and not a subsequent innovation started by Mahâvîra. The latter idea, moreover, is against the tradition of the Śvetâmbara Jains themselves ; for, it is said in their authentic and canonical books that Lord Riśabhadeva, the first Tîrthaṅkara, also passed his life as a saint in a state of nudity.[9] This means that the practice of nudity was first introduced in the Jain Church by Lord Riśabhadeva. This is exactly what the Digambaras say. But they do not say that along with the discarding of clothes the first Tîrthaṅkara also allowed the Jain saints to put them on. He, no doubt, did allow the Kṣullaka to wear one or even two garments, but the Kṣullakas are only householders observing the vows, and are called *Ekaśâṭaka* in the Digambara *śâstras*.[10] This division of the Digambaras is supported by the Buddhist references, since in them, too, the clothed Nirgranthas are styled *Sâvaka gihî odâta vasanâ*[11] and *Nigantha ekaśâṭaka*.[12] We find clear mention of the naked Jain *munis* and clothed Jain *sâvakas* in the Buddhist literature, and therefore the mere mention of the naked *munis* also in the Śvetâmbara books cannot justify the division of the Jain *munis*—naked and clothed—as they have propagated.

Therefore it is clear that the practice of observing nudity stands for remote antiquity.

3 *Viṣṇu Purâna*, Bk. 3, ch. 18, vs. 2-10 ; *Vedânta Sûtras*, II, 2, 33-36 ; *Daśakumâra-carita*, 2 ; *Varâhamihira-Saṁhitâ*, 19-61 and 45-58 ; *Mahâbhârata*, 3, 26-27 ; *Râmâyaṇa Bâlakâṇḍa Bhûṣaṇa Ṭîkâ*, 14, 22 ; and *Bhâgavata*, 5. 4, 5, 6.

4 *Jâtakamâlâ*, *S.B.B.*, vol. I, p. 145 ; *Viśâkhâvatthû-dhamma-padattha-Kathaâ*, P.T.S., vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 384 ; Dialogues of the Buddha, vol. 3, p. 14 ; *Divyâvadâna*, p. 165 ; *Mahâvagga*, 8, 15 ; 38 ; *Cullavagga*, 8, 28, 3 ; *Saṁyuta Nikâya*, 2, 3, 10, 7, etc.

5 *Vinaya Texts*, *S.B.E.*, vol. XIII, p. 223. I have established this theory fairly well in my Hindî book, *Bhagawâna Mahâvîra aur Mahâtmâ Buddha*, which ought to be consulted.

6 *Historical Gleanings*, pp. 11-12.

7 *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. II, pp. 698—710.

8 *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*, Anno III, 1927, pp. 4-8 ; and *The Jaina Hostel Magazine*, VI, No. 2, pp. 8-21.

9 *Kalpa Sûtra*, *JS.*, *SBE.*, Pt. I, p. 285.

10 त्यक्तागारस्य सद्दृष्टः प्रशांतस्य गृहांशिनः । प्राग्दीक्षो पयिकात्कालदेकशाटकधारिणः ॥ ३८ । २५८ ॥ आदिपुराण.

11 *Dîgha Nikâya*, *PTS.*, vol. III, pp. 117-118.

12 *Anguttara Nikâya*, vol. III, p. 383.

As to the existence of a Prâkṛit literature prior to the Vedic Sanskrit, nothing can safely be said in regard to this, since no literature of that period is available. Still we learn from scholars that there assuredly was a different and older literature existing besides the Vedas.[13] But the fact does not alter our position in the least.

2. The second point bears reference to the ancient Jain images. Only certain of the images found at Mathurâ and at Khaṇḍagiri-Udayagiri (Orissa) can safely be taken as dating from before the Christian era ; and these are found to be nude.[14] Those Jain images of Mathurâ, on which references are made to the *gacchas*, *gaṇas*, etc., as found in the Śvetâmbara *Kalpasûtra*, are also nude, like those found at the Digambara Jain temple of that place.[15] This leaves no shadow of doubt as to the ancient shape of the Jain images. They of course were naked, and it was not the case with them that they should neither bear any sign of robes or of nudity as the Śvetâmbaras say.[16] As to the images in the sitting posture, which bear no sign of the male organ, no particular stress can be laid upon them, since even to this day many a Digambara Jain image is found so fashioned. The absence of the male organ seems to be due to the difficulty felt by the sculptor in chiselling it out, and reliance cannot be placed on this evidence. On the contrary, if any of them had traces of drapery, the point would surely have been indisputable. In the existent conditions the argument does not support the Śvetâmbara views, but is consonant with the Digambara one.

3. As to the third point, it is regrettable that the learned writer here, too, has been led into error and confusion. For the dogma which assigns an inferior status to women in the religious Order is not of late origin, when a strong reaction had already set in against the broad-minded democratic religion of Buddha and Mahâvîra. The 'democratic' Buddha was himself reluctant to give a place to women in his Bhikkû Saṅgha; and when such a thing was forced upon him, he expressed regret for it and said that the life of the Saṅgha had been shortened. The Buddhists, like the Digambaras, hold that only a man can become a Buddha.[17] And in regard to Mahâvîra, the Śvetâmbara themselves make him say, "Women were known as the causes of all sinful acts."[18] In the Vedas we read that boys were welcomed (RV., iii, 16, 5) and girls cursed (AV., viii, 6, 25). And the extremity is reached when it is said in the *Śatapatha Brâh.* (iv, 4, 2, 13) that (women) own neither themselves nor an inheritance. (नात्मनश्चतेशते न दायस्य.) Everywhere their inferiority is manifest in these works.[19] Therefore it is not safe to accept the verdict that the inferiority assigned to women is of later origin ; and so the point does not affect Digambara antiquity in the least.

4. It is painful to read the fourth point, unsupported as it is by any argument that may be deemed to justify it. The Digambaras had no need of establishing the new theory, since they remained adherents of the old ideas. The real Jain canon has been lost owing to the shortness of memory of the Ṛishis and the tradition now receives clear support from the ancient inscription of the Jain emperor Khâravela.[20] Hence the extant *Aṅga-granthas* of the Śvetâmbaras cannot be taken as the very original ones. As Prof. A. Berriedale Keith says :—

> "The language of the Jain canon [Śvetâmbara Jain *Aṅgas*] is far later than the time of the Nandas, and, if the language could be changed, then the content also was far from secure ; indeed Jain tradition reveals its early losses, and we have no right to hold that the present canon in substance or detail goes back to the fourth century B.C."[21]

13 *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. III, pp. 307-309.

14 Smith, *Jaina and other Antiquities of Mathurâ, and Hindi Bengal, Bihar and Orissa Jaina Antiquities.*

15 Smith, *Jain. Antiq. Mathurâ*, p. 24.

16 पुव्विं जिणपडिमाणां नगिणत्तं नेव नावि अपल्लवओ। तेणं नागोट्टणं भेओ उभएसि संभूओ ॥ प्रवचनपरीक्षा.

17 Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 101-106.

18 *Âcârâṅga Sûtra, JS., SBE.*, pt. I, p. 41.

19 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 292.

20 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. XIII, pp. 236 f.

21 *Sir Ashutosh Memorial Volume*, p. 21.

5. The Mathurâ antiquities are only about a century older than the date on which the Jain Saṅgha divided into two sects, and they rightly show signs of the Śvetâmbara origin at the time. The inscription mentioning the Śvetâmbara *gaṇas*, etc., inscribed on the Digambara or naked images, bears testimony to this fact and shows that the Śvetâmbaras were the dissenters from the original Saṅgha and took pains to connect themselves with hoary antiquity. The Mathurâ antiquities show the topsy-turvy condition of the Jain Saṅgha at the time, which was but natural for a Saṅgha that divided just within a hundred years of their date. Hence they do not carry the age of the Śvetâmbara sect beyond the first century B.C. But the mention of the loss of the Jain canon, in conformity with the Digambaras' belief, is mentioned in the Hâthîgumphâ inscription of the second century B.C. The facts that only naked images were installed at that time and that these naked images are under the exclusive management of the Digambara sect, prove the greater antiquity of the Digambaras. And the coincidence of the rules of conduct of the Jain *munis*, as laid down in the Digambara *śâstras*, with those given in the Buddhist literature takes us back directly to the fourth century B.C. at the very least.[22]

6. The Digambara *śâstras* do not plead such conservatism as would go against the very teaching of Lord Mahâvira. Their earliest Âcârya, Śri Kuṇḍakuṇḍa, frankly says that "Jinendra preached the doctrine, the root of which is Right Faith, to all the followers": it is not reserved for any particular sect or class of man.[23] But the present conservatism of the Digambaras, which took root during the medieval period, when Pauranic Hinduism held sway in India, and particularly in South India, where the Digambaras flourished, is a foreign exotic. Our Śvetâmbara brethren, too, are not wanting in such a conservatism to a degree. And it is far from true that Digambara Jains did not flourish at all during the Muhammadan period. The pages of history of these times in South India and the enormous collection of Jain images in the Digambara temples, which were consecrated during that period, tell a very different tale. If the Digambaras were not a flourishing community like the Śvetâmbaras under the Muhammadan rule, would it have been possible for Digambara pontiffs to approach the Muhammadan sovereigns, like 'Alâu'd-dîn and Aurangzeb, and preach to them the Jain doctrines ?[24] If the Digambaras were a dead body, how happened it that a learned scholar (*paṇḍita*) like Nainsukhadâsjî forsook the Śvetâmbara creed and adopted the Digambara faith ?[25]

In short, we should not forget that facts are facts and the history of any country or class should not be whitewashed. It is desirable that scholars studying and solving the vexed question about the origin of the two sects should not be misled, and should keep in mind what the non-Jain sources have to say in this respect.

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22 *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. II, pp. 698-710.

23 'दंसणमूलो धम्मो उवइट्ठो जिणवरेहिं सिस्साणं '

24 *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, pt. II, p. 132.

25 *Jaina-Jagat*, vol. II.

# THE ORIGIN OF THE PALLAVAS.

By MUDALIYAR C. RASANAYAGAM.

In volume LII (pp. 77-80) of the *Indian Antiquary*, an article entitled "The Origin of the Pallavas" was published over my name, and in it a theory was put forward that the progenitor of the Pallava dynasty was Toṇḍaimân Iḷam Tirayan, the son of a Chôḷa king born of a *liaison* with a Nâga princess of Maṇipallavam, and that the name "Pallava" given to the dynasty was a matronymic indicating the origin of his mother. Professor S. Krishnaswâmi Aiyangar, in his *Lectures on South Indian History*, published a short time afterwards, and in his valuable paper on "The Origin and the Early History of the Pallavas of Kânchi," which appeared in the *Journal of Indian History* (vol. II, pt. 1) for Nov. 1922, held that they were native to South India and not a dynasty of foreigners. Further, on the grounds that their earliest charters were in Prâkṛit and Sanskrit and not in Tamil, and that their culture was Âryan and Brâhmanic and not Dravidian, he suggested that they were in all probability a family of Nâga feudatories of the Śâtavâhanas of the Dekkhan. Sir Richard Temple, while referring to the two theories in his paper entitled "A Sketch of South Indian Culture" published in the *Indian Antiquary* (vol. LIII, p. 26), stated that "if the Professor's conclusions are to be accepted, Mr. Rasanayagam's argument is ruled out. However, in its favour it may be said that the acceptance of purely Indian soil as the original home of the Pallavas does not account for their name, the Sprout, which is what Mr. Rasanayagam aims at explaining. The question then is not even yet finally settled, though the foreign Pahlava origin of the Pallavas may now be definitely regarded as inadmissible."

In Vincent Smith's *Early History of India* (4th edition, revised by the late Mr. S. M. Edwardes, C.S.I., C.V.O., and published in 1924), Mr. Edwardes, in commenting on my theory (p. 49), stated that the possible origin of the Pallavas, as suggested by ancient Tamil poetry, did not appear to conflict with known facts and might perhaps offer an additional reason for the enmity which unquestionably existed between the Pallavas and the Tamil kingdoms. Being, however, reluctant to set aside the theory of so great a scholar and historian as Professor S. K. Aiyangar, he added that the historical Pallavas were feudatories of the Śâtavâhanas of the Deccan and belonged to the Nâga family.

Mr. R. Gopalan, the latest writer on the Pallavas in his *History of the Pallavas of Kânci*, edited with an Introduction by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, and published in 1928, while reviewing all the theories propounded on the origin of the Pallavas, seems to favour the view of the learned Professor that the Pallavas must have come down from the north. The difficulties that make it impossible for him to accept my view are said to be these :—

(1) that the inscriptions do not mention the Chôḷa-Nâga origin or even the name of Toṇḍaimân Iḷam Tirayan as the earliest member of the dynasty; but that on the other hand the Pallava kings described themselves as belonging to the Bhâradvâja *gotra*, and as performers of Âryan sacrifices;

(2) that their earliest charters are in Prâkṛit and Sanskrit and never in the Tamil language; and

(3) that the early Pallava kings were hostile to the Tamil rulers such as the Choḷas and the Pâṇḍyas.

These objections seem to have been put forward only for the sake of argument, for Mr. Gopalan in another part of the book (p. 160) unwillingly expresses his belief that Iḷam Tirayan did belong to the Pallava dynasty, by stating that "Tirumaḷisai was a contemporary of one of the Pallava kings, perhaps Toṇḍaimân Iḷam Tirayan." Further, these objections presuppose that the early Pallava rulers were necessarily either Tamils or patrons of the Tamil language; but the mere fact that the progenitor of the dynasty, Toṇḍaimân Iḷam Tirayan, was a patron of the Tamil language is not enough to sustain any such assumption.

If the Pallava inscriptions had mentioned the actual origin of the dynasty, there would have been no need now to search for its beginnings and its progenitors. The early Prâkṛit

and Sanskrit charters and the Brâhmanic culture that is now inferred from them, do not negative the Chôḷa-Nâga origin. One single ruling family could not have introduced that culture to an alien people in a comparatively large area. As for the language of the inscriptions, it would most naturally have been the language or dialect prevalent in the district in which the inscriptions were set up, or else the language which influenced the literature of the period. Whatever it was, it certainly would not have been a foreign language brought in by the earliest member of a ruling dynasty, and understood only by himself and his few followers.

The absence of certain positive statements in inscriptions and literature should not be taken as an argument to prove a negative. It is quite probable, and the known facts do not make it an impossibility, that the early descendants of Iḷam Tirayan, or even Iḷam Tirayan himself, married among one or other of the northern dynasties, such as the Chuṭu Nâgas, the Sâtavâhanas or the Kadambas, as it would have been extremely difficult for Iḷam Tirayan to obtain brides from among the haughty and exclusive Tamil dynasties on account of the taint of illegitimacy in his blood. The statement in the Vêlûrpâḷayam plates that the earliest Pallava 'acquired the emblems of sovereignty on marrying the daughter of the Lord of the Serpents' is either a reference to the parents of Iḷam Tirayan or to an alliance contracted by Iḷam Tirayan himself with the Chuṭu Nâgas and the acquisition of the northern dominions of the Pallava kingdom through such an alliance. The early Pallava rulers, therefore, may have adopted a culture in keeping with the alliances made by them. The dialect of the earliest inscriptions in Ceylon was Prâkṛit, although the rulers were Nâgas and Kaliṅgas ; and some of the later non-Siṁhalese rulers issued their charters in Siṁhalese, although they wrote their own signatures in Grantha or Tamil. The diffusion through the Pallavas of some elements of Brâhmanic culture in the Chôḷa and the Pâṇḍya kingdoms can be easily traced. The Grantha characters displaced the Vaṭṭeḻuttu of the Tamils first in the Chôḷa, and then in the Pâṇḍya country, and such influence came through the Pallavas. If the culture came from the north, it is not very essential that the dynasty of kings who readily accepted that culture should also have come from the north.

Even before the time of Iḷam Tirayan, Kâñci had become a stronghold of Buddhism and Jainism. The different modes of worship in the country seem to have been considered by the people as equally true and by the rulers as equally useful. This toleration was the means of producing not only complete religious freedom, but also political concord between the inhabitants and the rulers. For a Hindu king to see his son converted to Buddhism or Jainism was not an infrequent phenomenon. The Pâli and Sanskrit literature ushered in by the Buddhists and Jains and the influence of Vedic Brâhmans made such a strong combination as to change the outlook of the Kâñci rulers within a very short time. Hindu religious intolerance began at a much later period with the advent of the Saivite Saints and the Vaiṣṇava Âḷvârs.

Prâkṛit records belong to the third and fourth centuries A.D. If Iḷam Tirayan came to the throne in the third quarter of the second century A.D., if he and his successors came under the influence of Brâhmanic culture, and if the Kâñci kings brought under their sway the territory below the river Kṛiṣṇâ, which was under the Ândhra rule till about the first quarter of the third century, it would be only natural to find Prâkṛit charters in that territory. And the statement in the Allahabad pillar inscription, that the said territory was under the rule of Viṣṇugopa then, becomes quite intelligible. Those charters would have been, in all probability, issued inimitation of the charters already issued by Ândhra kings and their chieftains.

If it be admitted that the Maidavôlu and Hirahadagalli plates, the earliest of the Prâkṛit records, were issued by Śivaskandavarman, who preceded Viṣṇugopa by four reigns, then it is clear that the kings of Kâñci had, by the middle of the third century A.D., come under the influence of northern culture ; for these charters recorded grants to temples and Brâhmans.

The decadence of the Tamil language in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam after Iḷam Tirayan and the failure of his successors to extend their patronage to Tamil literature do not necessarily mean that the Pallava kings of Kâñci came from the north. It was owing to fresh interests

and a change of outlook that the kings of Kâñci. during this obscure period, appear to have neglected Tamil literature. They seem to have actively participated in the spread of the culture in which they were then steeped. The presence of Sanskrit poets in the court at Kâñci proves no more than an interest in the culture that these poets represented, and it is not valid to argue from that that the kings were Sanskrit-speaking men from the north. On the other hand, the kings of the East did not at any time discriminate in the matter of the language of the poets whom they encouraged at their courts. Kamban, the Tamil poet, was welcomed and honoured by Rudra I, the king of Warangal, and a Tamil astrological work called *Sarajoti Mâlai* received its imprimatur in the court of Parâkrama Bâhu. the Simhalese king of Dambadeniya. The decadence of Tamil literature synchronised with the rise of the Pallava power, and hence the absence of Tamil poets in the court of Kâñci.

The fact that the members of the ruling dynasty of Kâñci were not well-disposed towards their neighbours, the Chôḻas, and that within a short time they became the over-lords of the Chôḻa kingdom, can be easily inferred from the total absence of any mention of Kâñci kings in Tamil literature and from the disappearance of the Chôḻas as powerful rulers after the second or the third century A.D.

The enmity of the early Pallavas towards the Tamil kings is not at all surprising and is no argument to disprove my theory. When we know that members of the same branch of a family often fall out in the deadly struggle for power and glory, it is impossible to expect members of two different branches—and one a bastard line—to maintain cordial relations for any length of time. The futility of this objection was foreseen by Mr. S. M. Edwardes when he stated that the origin of the Pallavas might perhaps offer an additional reason for the enmity which unquestionably existed between the Pallavas and the Tamil kingdoms. The pure branch of the Chôḻas was cut off within a very short time, and the authority of the Pallavas extended over that kingdom, too, almost to the end of the ninth century.

If the earliest Tirayar of Kâñci were patrons of Tamil literature and the later Pallavas of Sanskrit, it is not necessary to premise a change of dynasty in order to explain the decay of Tamil and the rise of Sanskrit. It is well known that this depended solely on the influence wielded by the Brâhman ministers, officers and poets who thronged the court. Did not some of the later Pallava kings come under the influence of Tamil ministers ? and did they not encourage Tamil men of letters and cause inscriptions to be set up in Tamil ? Are we, therefore, to infer that these kings were members of a different dynasty ?

There was nothing to prevent the Pallava Tirayar who ruled over Kâñci from the third quarter of the second century to the first quarter of the fourth century A.D. from manufacturing a *gotra* genealogy and calling themselves Pallavas as they slowly rose to power and sovereignty. The fact that the name 'Toṇḍaimân' is identical with 'Pallava,' as admitted by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar and as seen from the names of several chiefs and generals who flourished under the later Pallavas and the Chôḻas, and that Iḻam Tirayan was the earliest Toṇḍaimân, shows that the earliest kings of Kâñci were called 'Pallava Tirayar,' to distinguish them from Tirayar who hailed from other countries. Merely because the earliest kings of Kâñci were called Tirayar in Tamil literature, and the later kings called themselves Pallavas in their charters, it does not follow that the Pallavas belonged to a different dynasty to the Toṇḍaimâns who were called Tirayar. Viṣṇugopa of Kâñci was not described either as a Tirayan or as a Pallava in the Allahabad pillar inscription, whereas Śivaskandavarman, who was a king of Kâñci before Viṣṇugopa, is called a Pallava in the Maidavôlu plates. It does not, therefore, negative the fact that Viṣṇugopa was a Pallava.

If the dynasty of Iḻam Tirayan continued to rule at Kâñci, Bappadeva, the father of Śivaskandavarman, and the earliest Pallava king to be mentioned in the charters, must have been the son or grandson of Iḻam Tirayan. Had the dynasty not continued, and had another dynasty supervened, it must have been immediately after Iḻam Tirayan's death. If Bappadeva

was the actual name of the first of the line, he could have been nothing more than an obscure chieftain : and his son would not have dared, during the lifetime of his father, to manufacture a name and a *gotra* for the family and to have it published in the very neighbourhood in which the father had risen to his petty eminence. Some generations, at least, must have expired before the family thought of propping up their newly acquired kingship with an imaginary pedigree. It is, however, rather curious that the pedigree was not traced to the Sun or the Moon, or even to Iksvâku, the common ancestor of all kings of the Solar dynasty. The earlier records and inscriptions merely stated that the Pallavas belonged to the Bhâradvâja *gotra* ; it was the later Sanskrit records that developed the theme and improved the pedigree by tracing it back to Aśvatthâman and Droṇa, who, according to the *Mahâbhârata*, belonged to the Bhâradvâja *gotra*.

It is quite probable that the words 'Palvêṛ Tirayan' (பல்வேற்றிரையன்) appearing in the Tamil work Peṛumpânâṛṛupadai (line 37) was a misreading for 'Pallavat Tirayan' (பல்லவத்திரையன்). The early manuscript of the work which Nachcinârkiniyâr used in writing his commentary would have been written in Vaṭṭeḷuttu and the word 'Pallavat' (பல்லவத்) could have been easily mistaken for 'Palvêṛ' (பல்வேற்). From the context it can be surmised that Pallava was the original word, as the words Annîṛtirai [அந்நீர்த்திரை—the waves of that (country)] appear in a previous line (l. 30) and the name of the country alluded to is omitted. It is wrong to think, as the commentator has done, that the words Annîr (அந்நீர்) allude only to Munnir (முன்னீர்—sea), in the beginning of the line (l. 30). If this reading of mine is accepted by Tamil *paṇḍits*, then the argument can be clinched, and Toṇḍaimân Iḷam Tirayan can be safely admitted as the first Pallava Tirayan. The derivation of the term 'Tirayan,' as given by the commentator, may be fanciful, but it does not certainly take away from it the actual meaning that Iḷam Tirayan came from beyond the seas, and that the waves which brought him were those of the Pallava seas. If he was the earliest of the Pallava Tirayan, would not his descendants be called Pallavas. If he, who was admittedly a Tirayan, was not a Pallava Tirayan, is there any proof or even a suspicion that he was a Tirayan from any other country? That there were different tribes of Tirayar living in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam about the tenth century A.D. can be seen from the *Toṇḍaimaṇḍalappaṭṭaiyam* referred to by A. Kanagasabaipillai in his *Tamils 1800 Years Ago.* They were :—

(1) Paṅgâḷa Tirayar—Tirayar from Bengal :
(2) Chîna Tirayar—Tirayar from China ;
(3) Kaḍâra Tirayar—Tirayar from Kaḍâram, or Burma ;
(4) Siṁhala Tirayar—Tirayar from Siṁhalam, or Ceylon ; and
(5) Pallava Tirayar—Tirayar from Pallavam.

What was this Pallavam, and where was it? The only possible answer is that it was the ancient Maṇipallavam of the Manimêkhalali and the Maṇi Nâgadvîpa of the *Mahâvaṁśa*.

Whether the child born of a *liaison* between a Chôḷa king and a Nâga princess of Maṇipallavam was shipwrecked as an infant and was wafted ashore by the waves, or whether as a young man he sought out his father and claimed a kingdom from him, makes no difference to my proposition. It is clear that the earliest Toṇḍaimân was a Pallava Tirayan. He reigned at Kâñcipuram, just as the later Pallavas did. To assert that there was an interregnum between the Tirayar and the Pallavas and to attempt to locate it at a time after the reign of Viṣṇugopa is ridiculous, as the genealogy given in the charters will not admit of such a conclusion ; for, if Viṣṇugopa is not to be regarded as a Pallava because he was not described in the Allahabad Pillar inscription, neither is he described as a Tirayan there, and according to the same reasoning he must not be regarded as a Tirayan either. Nor, with this data at our disposal is it, as my critics seem to think, sufficient to say that the Pallavas were the feudatories of the Ândhra-Sâtavâhanas somewhere in the northern districts, without attempting to trace the origin of the term 'Pallava,' now that the theory of the foreign Pahlava connection has been dropped.

# THE CULTURE OF MEDIEVAL INDIA AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE AJANTA FRESCOES.*

By K. de B. Codrington.

It is customary to speak of Indian "culture," but it must be confessed that in the present state of Indian studies the phrase is almost meaningless. A culture must not only be represented by a considerable corpus of objects of daily life, but also be defined chronologically and geographically. The comparative study of the results of excavation in India has not yet been attempted, nor indeed have detailed illustrated lists of finds been published; this is especially true of pottery. Without these basic facts any talk of cultures must be exceedingly vague. The problem is further complicated by the loose dynastic chronology customarily used by Indian historians, and by a complete disregard of the geographical problems of distribution.

With this state of affairs in mind, it seems worth while to attempt an analysis of the culture so vividly represented on the frescoed walls of the medieval Ajanta caves. The style of the work, although mannered and often calligraphic in its delight in the sweep of line, is built up upon minute observation of life. The rendering of fruit and flowers vouches for the accuracy of the vision, and there is no reason to doubt that the textiles, arms and accoutrements of the frescoes rendered with such loving attention to the least detail, are faithful witnesses to vanished originals. The use to which the frescoes are put at Ajanta emphasize their trustworthiness, for these *Jâtaka* scenes are scenes of everyday life displayed in the spirit of ancient Buddhism, untouched by medieval iconography, except in the single case of the person of the Buddha. With regard to the Ajanta Buddhas and Bodhisattvas the iconographical tradition must be confessed. These piled-up head-dresses and jewelled necklaces never existed outside the tradition. For this reason jewellery has not been discussed in this paper.

With regard to the date of the frescoes, it is now generally agreed that the medieval caves were excavated at the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth century A.D. Lady Herringham has stressed the large number of styles of painting visible at Ajanta, but she exaggerates. Actually four or, at the most, five sequent styles can be discerned, apart from minor variations suggestive of individual artists. None of them are later than the frescoes in the Kailâsa and the Jain caves at Ellora. By comparison with remains of frescoes at Bâdâmi and Kânheri there is reason to believe that the bulk of the work closely followed the cutting of the caves. The work is mostly of the sixth century, perhaps partly of the seventh century, not later.

With regard to the range of this culture, the dynastic geography of the period provides an indication. Ajanta owes its medieval revival to the existence of the Vâkâṭaka dynasty, who were allies of, and intermarried with, the Guptas. The Hun invasion at the end of the fifth century must have greatly disorganized the economy of these two large and prosperous kingdoms. This disorganization of the north continued until the rise of Harṣa of Kanauj in the beginning of the seventh century. Meanwhile the centre of political activity in India shifted southwards and the main events of the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries were the resultant of the repeated conflicts of the Châlukyas of the Deccan and the Pallavas of the south. Harṣa himself was forced to admit the power of the Châlukyas south of the Narbadâ under Pulikeśin II, whom he had the temerity to attack. The rise of the Râṣṭrakûṭas in the Western Deccan seems to have continued Châlukyan-Pallava contacts; at any rate the long series of caves at Ellora, which date from *circa* 500 A.D. to the ninth century, clearly show direct southern influence. No cave at Ajanta is later than the first half of the sixth century. The Ajanta ghâṭ is the gateway of the north. Ajanta stands to the northward of the frontier of the Deccan. While the rich and more or less stable political combinations of the south endowed Ellora with temples that clearly show southern influence, Ajanta received no further endowments.

* *Proceedings of the 17th International Congress of Orientalists*, Oxford, 1928.

Throughout Indian history it is noticeable that architecture and the arts inevitably follow the moving centre of political power. The ensuing years produced no great dynasties in the north, but only local powers, whose influence and patrimony were severely restricted. It is probable that the ancient northward line of communication, upon which Ajanta lies, fell into comparative disuse in the sixth century. As we have seen, Ellora flourished actively till well on into the eighth century, and Ellora lies upon the next northward route to the immediate west of the Ajanta ghâṭ. This route continues from the easy Ellora ghâṭ to the Tâptî valley *via* the Gaotalâ ghât, and upon it lie Daulatâbâd and also Paṭnâ, which, we know, was a flourishing city under the Yâdavas.

In the following paragraphs I shall deal with the culture illustrated by the Ajanta frescoes under different headings, viz., (A) Costume and Embroidery, (B) Textiles, (C) Ships and Boats, (D) Horse-furniture, (E) Arms, (F) Pottery and (G) Metal work. Illustrations under the first six headings will be found on the plate facing this page, to which reference is invited.

A. COSTUME AND EMBROIDERY—

It is usually said that cut and sewn garments were unknown in ancient India, and this is true as far as the testimony of the early sculpture at Bharhut and Sanchi goes. It is not true of Ajanta. The indoor costume of the women consisted of a waist-cloth of varying length and texture, usually supported by a beaded or jewelled belt. Occasionally a breast cloth is seen, or a muslin scarf. On other occasions a knee length garment was worn, which seems to have been slipped over the head, for it fits tightly on the shoulders and is opened up on either side. This had short sleeves or none, and with it was worn, either on top or underneath, a long-sleeved waist-length bodice. Nothing like the *oṛhnî* or *sârî* is to be found, nor does the *ghâgrâ* (gathered skirt) appear. The latter in modern India appears to belong chiefly to Gujarât and Western India, where also the *sârî*, when worn, is not so full and is never passed between the legs after the Marâthâ fashion. The latter mode of wearing fine muslin waist-cloths is followed by certain court ladies at Ajanta, but the occasion is a coronation and they are accompanied by music, and therefore may be dancers.[1] The Ajanta bodices also differ both from the modern *cholî*, which ties in front, and from the *kanchlî*, which is open-backed and ties behind. It also differs from the Southern Indian bodice, which laps over and ties in front. All these styles, it may be pointed out, are more or less dependent upon local fashion.

The waist-cloth was also the chief costume of the men, although the small loin-cloth is worn by hunters and other forest people. A long-sleeved tunic down to the knee was the soldiers' and horsemen's dress, and the young Gautama is fittingly shown so clad in the school scene in Cave XVI.[2] Another type of jacket ended above the waist and had short sleeves. These were embroidered at the wrist, upper arm and neck, and sometimes down the front. There are grounds for suggesting that some kind of uniform was worn, for in the *Siṁhala Avadâna* in Cave XVII and also in the fresco depicting the Descent from the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods in the same cave, the various groups of warriors and attendants are all uniform in their dress.[3] In the case of these horsemen and attendants the costume is completed by a short waist-cloth, but princes and other heroes wear what can be nothing else but *paijamas*, or rather somewhat tightly fitting "Jodhpurs." With them the prince in the *Mâtṛipoṣaka Jâtaka* in Cave XVII wears scarlet slippers, obviously of leather, while the king in the *Śyâma Jâtaka* on the other side of the cell door wears "Jodhpurs," striped and checked in black and white.[4]

[1] The references in this paper are to vol. I of Griffith's *Ajanta Paintings*, the additional I. S. number being the number of the original copies on view at the India Museum, South Kensington. Plate 75, I. S. 19, 1892.

[2] Plate 45, I. S. 50, 1885.

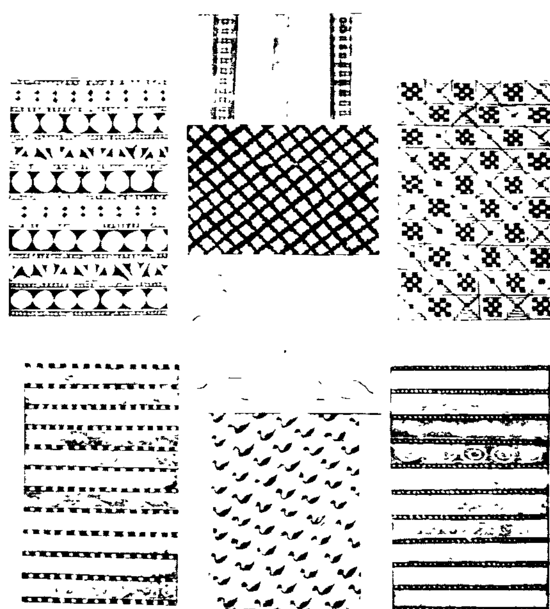
[3] Plate 73, I. S. 19, 1892, and plate 54, I. S. 58, 1885.

[4] I. S. 33, 1885. See also plate 83.

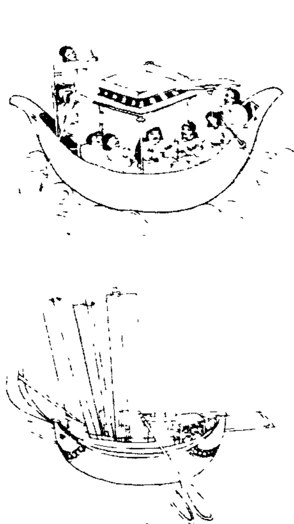
A. COSTUME.

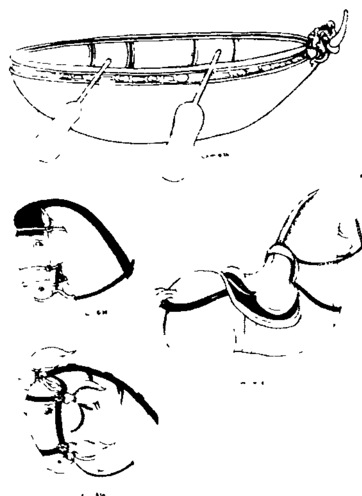


B. TEXTILES.



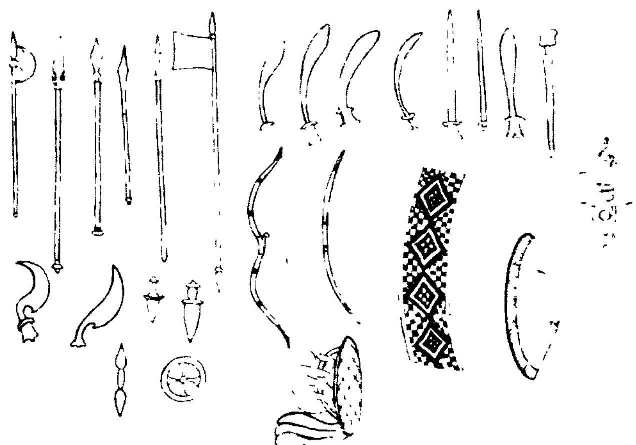
C. SHIPS AND BOATS.



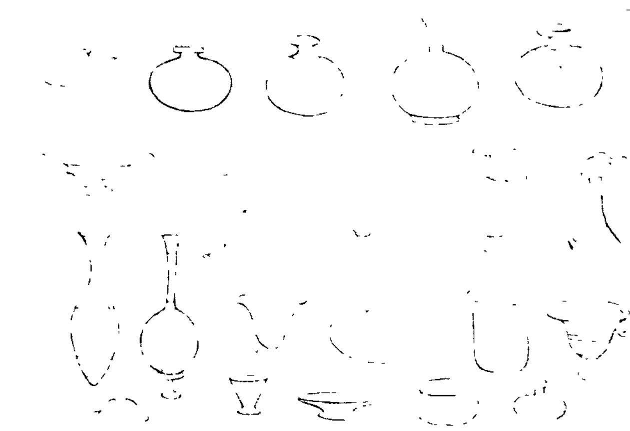


D. HORSE-FURNITURE.

E. ARMS.



F. POTTERY AND METAL WORK.



Mention must here be made of certain "foreigners" that appear repeatedly. They are usually bearded and wear pointed "Scythian" caps, as indeed do the "foreign" worshippers in the later sites at Taxila. This head-gear can hardly be said to be foreign to India, being common throughout the Himâlaya region: it also has close parallels in the head-dresses of certain *fakîrs* and in the children's caps and hoods of Kacch and Gujarât. However, both at Ajanta and Taxila, the difference of the personalities seems to be stressed deliberately. They wear long-sleeved, tight tunics and in the Cave I fresco, that was for so long called the Persian Embassy, one figure is plainly wearing tight trousers and boots.[5] Boots are also worn by a person who seems to be the court minister in the *Haṁsa Jâtaka* in Cave XVII.[6] They are of course orthodox in images of Sûrya and also appear in the Mât sculpture of Kanishka.

In the *Jâtakas* mention is often made of "Benares cloth." and one also reads of bright yellow robes of "Gandhâra make." Cotton is, of course, the special textile material of India, but it is certain that silk was in use at least in the medieval period. There are, however, indications that it was not in common use. Supplies of raw silk in modern India have been derived from Bengal and from China by sea *via* Bombay or Surat,[7] but mainly from Yarkand and Bokhara *via* Kabul. This trade was in the hands of Lohânî merchants, and Vigne says that Multân alone took 700 maunds. Furthermore, in the oldest examples of the Panjâb *phulkârî* embroideries in yellow, white and green on a coarse madder brown cotton material, silk is used only for the yellow, the white and green being cotton. In Hissar *phulkârîs* are also worked in wool. Furthermore, all "primitive" Indian embroidery is done with cotton or vegetable fibre of some kind or other. That of the Todas, with its narrow bands of geometrical motifs and looped towel-like finish, is more or less unique, but some of the motifs are comparable with the work of certain criminal tribes of south Bombay presidency. Their work, again, is directly comparable with the commonest motives of Indian cotton textiles, especially of the *cholî* cloths of the Deccan and Southern India. So close is the likeness that one would be inclined to suspect a substitution of embroidery for loom work, were it not that the result is again closely paralleled by both Assamese and Singhalese work. As with the bulk of Indian woven cotton fabrics, checks and stripes form the main decoration together with chevron ("fish-bone") and lozenged ("eyed") bands, enlivened with processions of sacred geese and occasionally lions. Both geese and lion bands are found at Ajanta.

Indian embroidery, apart from the minor types mentioned above, which are closely linked by their motives with loom work, has been quick to accept innovations. There are four main modern types. Firstly, there is the geometrical diaper *phulkârî* done by Jât women from Hazara to Rohtak and Delhi.[8] The only stitch used in it is the darn-stitch, and there are three kinds of design, viz. (1) *chobe* or border work with a plain centre, (2) *bâgh* or 'garden,' in which the diapering is so close that the repeat is merely outlined by the red brown of the cloth, and (3) the true *phulkârî*, which is an open diaper. The silk used is a golden yellow, loose floss silk. In later examples white silk appears, and tourist- and cantonment-pieces sport magenta, red and purple. Decadence introduces floral patterns and figures of elephants, women, etc.

The second centre of embroidery is Gujarât. Among the upper classes, the silk used is well twisted and the stitch a chain stitch, both of which facts would suggest foreign influence, probably Chinese; buttonholing does not appear in the best and oldest examples. Here the basic patterns are quatrefoils and cinquefoils, geometrically treated in lozenges, bands and scrolls. Both *phulkârî* and Gujarât work make great use of inset fragments of looking-glass (*shîshadâr*). The practice cannot, however, be of very long standing. Figures of women, elephants and birds, especially peacocks, are prominent in Gujarât work.[9]

5 Plate 5, I. S. 51, 1885. 6 Plate 64, I. S. 93, 1887.

7 It is significant that many silk-weavers in Bengal and Madras claim Gujarat as their place of origin.

8 Mrs. A. F. Steel, *Jour. Ind. Art*, vol. II.

9 Watts, *Ind. Art at Delhi*, p. 383; *Jour. Ind. Art*, p. 15.

Thirdly, in Sindh and Balûchistân, work is done in floss silk, usually deep red, which makes great use of herring-boning and of radially darn-stitched florettes confined by buttonholing. Lastly, there is the Muhammadan work of such cities as Delhi and Multân. Floss silks are usually used, dyed in pastel shades, the designs being of more or less Europeanized Mughal kind. It is noticeable throughout the range of modern Indian textiles that the influence of the floral diaper and sprigged patterns of the chintz printer is dominant.[10] It is an interesting fact that wood blocks are often used primed with paste to outline designs for embroideries.

B. TEXTILES—

Birdwood was of the opinion that the art of weaving gold brocades is indigenous in India. *Kamkhâbs* were made until recently in many places, of which Benares, Surat, Aurangâbâd and Ahmadâbâd were perhaps the most important. The patterns are divided into three classes: (1) *beldâr* or scrolled, (2) *bûtîdâr* or sprigged, and (3) *shikârgâh* or hunting pattern, the last showing strong Persian influence, as indeed do the sprigged pieces.[11] In the above-mentioned classes of *kamkhâb* the pattern is in silver or gold and the ground in silks. Another kind exists where this is reversed. In these, which chiefly come from Burhânpur, the designs are formalized by the technique: stiff scrolls and floral motives are freely used and also very commonly the sacred goose, not only in bands, but on a large scale in the field.

It is very difficult to identify work of this kind, but in two places in the frescoes work very like *kamkhâb* is to be seen. In Cave XVI there is depicted a series of incidents from the life of the Buddha and here Sujatâ is shown with her bowl of food.[12] She wears a white short-sleeved vest, coming down well below the waist and divided at the sides in the usual way, and under it a waist-cloth of stiff black material scrolled all over, seemingly in gold or silver. Again in Cave XVII *Haṁsa Jâtaka* fresco, already quoted, the king is shown seated apart in deep converse with the Bodhisattva, screened by a series of hangings, one of which, of a deep red colour, has the same scrolling. However the identification is somewhat doubtful, although both of these pieces have obviously been rendered with some care.

An essentially India art exists in the weaving of patterned textiles that are dyed separately in the warp and the woof, although it is an art that has spread far and wide, Sumatra being famed for it. It is found distributed across Central India and in the Southern Shan States in Burma. This art requires the preliminary setting out of the warp and the woof and the application to them of knotted resists of either fibre or bark, the process being repeated according to the colour-scheme and pattern. Only on weaving is the design realized. Here again the patterns are perforce largely geometrical, and here again among purely geometrical devices one finds elephant, lion and *haṁsa* motives, both in the Patoli marriage *sârîs* of Gujarât and in the *ikat* woven fabrics of Sumatra. The Burmese examples of the art correspond closely with the Ajanta waist-cloths, and there is little doubt as to their technical origin. It is probable that the better type of waist-cloth was of this kind, while the cheaper sorts, usually worn in narrower widths, were of ordinary checked and tartan cotton stuffs. It is interesting to note that floral motives and human figures again accompany decadence in the silk *patolis*, which were until recently woven in large quantities in Baroda.[13]

*(To be continued.)*

[10] Textile-printing is certainly not an indigenous art in India. It has been stated that the calico-printers of so famous a centre of the craft as Jaipur get certain of their blocks from Shia Muhammadans from Multân, who are of Persian descent. Hendley, *Jour. Ind. Art*, vol. III, p. 6.

[11] The term *bûtîdâr* also seems to indicate a Persian origin. Cf. Pers. بوته which, among other meanings, is applied to such patterns painted on cloth.—JT. EDITOR.

[12] Plate 50, I. S. 79. 1887.

[13] *Jour. Ind. Art*, vol. I, p. 120 and plate.

# CHITOR AND ITS SIEGES.

BY R. R. HALDER.

THIS ancient fortress, built on an isolated mass of rock about $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles long and $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide in the centre, was in bygone times one of the most famous strongholds in India. From the beginning of the eighth century A.D. up to the end of the seventeenth century it has played an important part in the history of Râjpûtânâ. It remained the capital of the most ancient ruling dynasty of the world, namely, the Guhila kings of Mewâṛ, during the greater part of this period. Its conquest was one of the chief desires of the monarchs of India; for their seat on the throne of Delhi was considered insecure until they obtained possession of it, while the final conquest of the fortress gave them confidence and afforded a *point d'appui* from which to extend their arms still further afield. Every inch of its ground is soaked with the blood of the brave Râjpûts, who sacrificed their lives in thousands in its defence, while hundreds of Râjpût women flung themselves along with their children into the flames of *jauhar*,[1] and thus perished to escape dishonour at the hands of their enemies and to uphold the prestige of the Hindu race. To a visitor, every stone in the battlements seems to call forth memories of the heroic deeds once done and the glory attained by the Râjpûts in the past.

This hill fort is said to have been originally built by king Chitrâṅgada of Maurya stock, who, according to the tradition, held Morwân and the adjacent tract in appanage and ultimately founded Chitor.[2] It came into the possession of the Guhila kings of Mewâṛ in the first quarter of the eighth century A.D., through the agency of Bâpâ, one of the early Guhila rulers of Mewâṛ, who is said to have conquered it from Mâna, the last king of the Maurya family then reigning in Râjpûtânâ.[3] A tank in the vicinity of the fortress, which bore an inscription[4] dated Saṁvat 770 (713 A.D.), of the time of Mâna and is still known as *Mâna-sarovara*[5] (the lake of Mâna), lends support to this view.

Before Bâpâ, the princes of the Mewâṛ family seem to have ruled at Nâgadraha (Nâgdâ, near Ekliṅgaji, 13 miles north of Udaipur in Mewâr), which is supposed to have been established by Guhila himself, the founde of the Gubila family of Mewâṛ. Chitor was ruled over by Bâpâ and his successors till another capital called Âhâḍa, at a short distance from Udaipur, was founded later, probably by Bhartṛipaṭṭa II (S. 999—1000 = 942—943 A.D.)

The fortress remained in the hands of the Guhilots up to the time of Śaktikumâra, the twentieth ruler from Guhila, during whose reign it is known that the Paramâra king Muñja (Vâkpatirâja II) of Mâlwâ (S. 1031—50=974—93 A.D.[6]) attacked Mewâṛ and annexed it to his dominion. This attack of Muñja is apparent from the Bijâpur inscription,[7] dated Saṁvat 1053 (997 A.D.), of the time of the Râṣṭrakûṭa king Dhavala, which records that Dhavala had rendered assistance to the Mewâṛ army when Âghâṭa (Âhâḍa, the old capital of Mewâṛ) was destroyed by Muñja. After Muñja, his nephew Bhoja (S. 1076—99=1019—42 A.D.[8]) held Chitor and lived there for sometime—a fact proved by the following authorities:—

(1) The inscription[9] dated S. 1378 (1321 A.D.) in the Delwâṛâ temple of Vimalavasatî on Mount Âbu says that Dhandhu (Dhandhuka), lord of Chandrâvatî went over to Bhoja (king of Dhâra) when Bhîmadeva (king of Gujarât) became angry with him.

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[1] For *jauhar*, al. *johar*, see Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, edited by W. Crooke, vol. I, p. 310, n. 4, and *Muntakhâbu't-tawârîkh* (English translation by George S. A. Ranking), vol. I, p. 397, n. 1.

[2] Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. III, p. 1647.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 266-268. *Râjpûtânâ Museum Report*, 1917-18, p. 3.

[4] Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. II, p. 919, No. III.

[5] Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XXIII, p. 112.

[6] The first inscription of Muñja is dated in S. 1030 (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 51 f.); while he is said to have ruled up to S. 1050. (*The Parmâras of Dhâr and Mâlwâ* by Luard and Lele, p. 6.)

[7] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. X, p. 20, *śloka* 10.

[8] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XI, p. 182 f., and vol. I, pp. 232 f.

[9] चंद्रावतीपुरीशः समजनि वीराग्रणीर्धंधुः ॥ ५ ॥
श्रीभीमदेवस्य नृपस्य सेवाममन्यमानः किल धंधुराजः ।
नरेशरोषाच्च ततो मनस्वी धाराधिपं भोजनृपं प्रपेदे ॥ ६ ॥
(From the impression.)
See also Ojha's *History of Rajputana*, xol. I, p. 435.

(2) The Jain Âchârya Jinaprabhasûri also says that when the Gurjara king (Bhîmadeva) took umbrage at Dhandhuka, he (Vimalaśâh) having brought him back from Chitor and pacified the Gurjara king, built the temple of Vimalavasatî in the Saṁvat year 1088 (1031 A.D.[10])

These two authorities show that some time during the reign of Bhîmadeva, Dhandhuka went to Bhoja, who then lived at Chitor. That Bhojadeva lived at Chitor is also clear from verse 31 of the Chirwâ inscription[11] of S. 1330 (1273 A.D.). As a sequel of the attack of Muñja, Chitor passed into the hands of the Paramâras of Mâlwâ. Since then it changed hands as follows :—The Paramâras (Muñja and his successors) held sway over Chitor till the time of Naravarmâ and Yaśovarmâ (Saṁvat 1191—92=1134—35 A.D.[12]) during whose reign, the Châlukya king Siddharâja Jayasiṁha of Gujarât (S. 1150—99= 1093—1143 A.D.[13]) established his supremacy over Mâlwâ after warfare that lasted continuously for twelve years. The Solaṅkî rulers of Gujarât held Chitor till the reign of Ajayapâla (Saṁvat 1230—33=1173—76 A.D.[14]), who was attacked and defeated by Râwal Sâmantasiṁha of Mewâṛ (S. 1228—36=1171—79 A.D.[15]), who thus recovered possession of Chitor from the Solaṅkîs. Sâmantasiṁha, however, was soon attacked and driven out of Chitor by Kîrtipâla, the Chauhâna ruler of Jâlor (in Mârwâṛ). But his brother Kumârasiṁha ousted Kîrtipâla from Mewâṛ with the help of the Gujarât king, and recovered possession of his ancestral dominion.[16]

The fortress henceforth remained in the hands of the Guhila family for about a century and a quarter until the reign of Râwal Ratnasiṁha (S. 1360=1303 A.D.). In this year it became a victim to one of its great sieges, *viz.*, the attack of 'Alâu'd-dîn Khaljî in 1303 A.D.[17] It was conquered by 'Alâu'd-dîn and kept under the control of the Sulṭâns of Delhi till the year 1325 A.D., after which it was overrun by Hammîra, the ruler of Sesodâ, and restored to the possession of the Guhila family. Henceforth the fortress continued to enjoy the happy rule of the Guhilots for about two centuries till the time of Vikramâditya (Vikramâjit, S. 1588—93=1531—36 A.D.[18]), during whose reign it was again subjected to two attacks by Sulṭan Bahâdur Shâh of Gujarât. It was conquered by the Sulṭân, but the Râjpûts very soon drove out his garrison and retook it. It remained in the hands of the Guhilas for about forty years, after which it was again vigorously attacked[19] and conquered by the Emperor Akbar in 1567 A.D. It remained in the possession of the Mughals until the reign of Jahângîr, who shortly after his accession to the throne, restored it to Mahârâṇâ Amarasiṁha. It was again occupied by the Mughals in the year 1680 during the reign of Mahârâṇâ Râjasiṁha, when the emperor Aurangzeb visited it and placed a garrison in it.[20] But in the following year peace was made by the emperor with Mahârâṇâ Jayasiṁha, and Chitor was restored to him. Since this time, the fortress has remained in the hands of the Guhila family of Mewâṛ up to the present day.

I shall now enumerate as far as possible the attacks that were made upon Chitor from time to time and describe briefly the events connected with each.

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10 राजानकश्रीधांधूके क्रुद्धं श्रीगुर्जरेश्वरं ।
प्रसाद्य भक्त्या तं चित्रकूटादानीय तद्गिरा ॥ ३९ ॥
वैक्रमे वसुवस्वाशा १०८८ मितेऽब्दे भूरिरैव्ययात् ।
सत्प्रासादं स विमलवसत्याह्वं व्यधापयत् ॥

*Tîrthakalpa (Arbudakalpa).*

11 *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. 21, p. 143. See also *Râjpûtânâ Museum Report*, 1920-21, p. 4. According to these authorities Bhojadeva also erected at Chitor a temple of Śiva, which was then called 'Tribhuvananârâyaṇa' and 'Bhojasvâmîjagati.' It is now called Mokalji's temple.

12 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIX, pp. 353 and 349.

13 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 213. See also *The Parmâras of Dhâr and Mâlwâ*, pp. 32-33.

14 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 213.

15 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 53, p. 100.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 101.

17 Duff's *Chronology*, p. 211. Also *ante*, vol. 55, p. 11.

18 Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, p. 360.

19 V. A. Smith's *Akbar*, p. 86.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 92.

According to the *Chach-nâmâ*,[21] an attack on Mahrat, Râṇâ of Chitor, seems to have been made by Chacha very shortly before his accession to the throne of Sindh in 631 A.D.[22] Râṇâ Mahrat of Chitor appears to be the Maurya king, Mâheśvara of Chitor, who was one of the predecessors of Mâna.

An attack on the Mauryas of Chitor is also mentioned in the *Bombay Gazetteer* [23] as having been made by Junaid, the Governor of Sind, sometime during the reign of Khalîfa Hâshim (724—43 A.D.). This is unlikely; for Chitor was then in all probability under the Guhila ruler Bâpâ. It is, however, possible that the attack referred to was not on the Mauryas of Chitor, but on those of Khândesh, which was nearer to Sind than Chitor.

As has already been noticed, Chitor was taken [24] from the Mori king Mâna by Bâpâ sometime after S. 770 (713 A.D.). Before taking Chitor, he is said to have ruled at Nâgdâ, the old capital of Mewâṛ. He ruled at Chitor till S. 810 (753 A.D.), in which year he is said to have abdicated [25] in favour of his son Khummân I. It is somewhat difficult to identify Bâpâ and assign a place to him in the genealogy of the Mewâṛ princes. The name Bâpâ does not appear to be a personal name, but a title. According to the *Râjapraśastimahâkâvya*,[26] Muhṇot Naiṇsî's *Khyâta* [27] and other authorities, Khummân was the son of Bâpâ; while, according to the Âṭapur [28] inscription, Khummân was the son of Kâlabhoja. From these it appears that Bâpâ and Kâlabhoja were identical. Thus Bâpâ may have been another name of Kâlabhôja and the eighth [29] ruler from Guhadatta (Guhila, Guhâditya, Grahâditya, etc.), the founder of the Guhila dynasty of Mewâṛ. In the inscription [30] dated Saṁvat 1028 (971 A.D.), of the time of the king Naravâhana of Mewâṛ, Bappaka (Bâpâ) is said to be the moon among the kings of the Guhila family and a jewel of the surface of this earth. It was this Bâpâ through whose bravery, according to Col. Tod,[31] the first attack on Chitor, then under the Mori prince Mâna, by Yazîd or Muḥammad bin Qâsim, was defeated.

The next irruption of the Muslim invaders against Chitor took place during the reign of Khummân II, and was made by the Khalîfa Al-Mâmûn of Baghdâd. Col. Tod gives an exaggerated account [32] of the invasion and mentions the names of many towns and kingdoms which had not been founded by then. For instance, the principal towns of Ajmer, Jaisalmer, Sirohi, etc., mentioned by Tod, were not founded earlier than the twelfth century A.D.

The next assault on Chitor was made by the Chauhâna ruler Kîrtipâla of Jâlor during the reign of Râwal Sâmantasiṁha of Mewâṛ, as stated above. The result was that Sâmantasiṁha had to abandon Chitor and go to Vâgaḍa (the territory now occupied by the present Bâṅswârâ and Duṅgarpur States), where he established an independent kingdom for himself, and thereby became the founder of the present ruling family of the Duṅgarpur State. [33]

21 Elliot, *History of India*, vol. I, pp. 426-27.

22 Duff's *Chronology*, p. 50. Also Elliot, *History of India*, vol. I, pp. 406—7.

23 *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 109.

24 *Râjpûtânâ Museum Report*, 1917-18, p. 3.

25 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 39, p. 190.

26 तां रावलाख्यां पदवीं दधानो वापाभिधानः स रराज राजा ॥ ..............

तनः खुमाणाभिधरावलोस्मात्..................

Canto III.

27 Muhṇot Naiṇsî's *Khyâta*, sheet 2, p. 1.

28 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 39, p. 191.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 188.

30 आस्मिन्नभूद्गुहिल [गो]त्रनरेन्द्रचंद्रः

श्रीवप्पकः क्षितिपतिः क्षितिपीठरत्नम् ।

*Ante*, vol. 39, p. 189.

31 Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, pp. 287-90.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 291.

33 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 53, p. 101. Before this an attack on Âhâḍa by king Munjarâja has already been referred to.

Chitor was next assailed by Sultân Nâṣiru'd-dîn Maḥmûd of Delhi in the reign of Râwal Jaitrasiṁha of Mewâṛ (S. 1270—1309 = 1213—1253 A.D.). In the Hijrî year 646 (1247 A.D.), the Sultân called his brother Jalâlu'd-dîn from his government of Kanauj to Delhi, but the latter, being afraid of a plot against his life, fled to Chitor with his men. He was unsuccessfully pursued for about eight months by the Sultân, who then returned to Delhi.[34]

An invasion [35] of Mewâṛ by Sultân Shamsu'd-dîn Altamsh of Delhi is also recorded during the reign of Râwal Jaitrasiṁha ; but Chitor was not affected by that attack.

Chitor seems to have been next attacked during the reign of Tejasiṁha, (S. 1317—24 = 1260—67 A.D.), the son and successor of Râwal Jaitrasiṁha of Mewâṛ. This appears from an inscription[36] dated S. 1317 (1260 A.D.) of the time of Vîsaladeva, the Baghela râṇâ of Dholkâ, which records that he (Vîsaladeva) was, as it were, a hatchet in cutting the roots of the government of Mewâṛ. From verse 26 of the Chirwâ inscription,[37] dated S. 1330 (1273 A.D.), of the time of Râwal Samarasiṁha (S. 1330—58 = 1273—1302 A.D.) of Mewâṛ, it also appears that the battle between Tejasiṁha and Vîsaladeva was fought at the foot (*talhaṭi*) of the fortress of Chitor.

After these minor attacks, Chitor was subjected to one of its greatest sieges made by one of the most vigorous and warlike sovereigns that occupied the throne of Delhi. This was 'Alâu'd-dîn Khaljî, the Sultân of Delhi, who after a siege of six months,[38] during which his army suffered great loss, captured the fort on Monday, the 11th day of Muḥarram 703 A.H. (26th August 1303 A.D.) and, having ordered a massacre of 30,000 Hindus, bestowed the government of Chitor on his son Khiẓr Khân, after whom it was called Khiẓrâbâd.[39] Khiẓr Khân held Chitor for about ten years, but when the Muhammadan rule in Chitor became well-nigh impossible, and the Râjpûts began to assert their independence by throwing the Muhammadans over the walls of the fortress, the Sulṭân ordered Khiẓr Khân to evacuate the place and hand it over to the Songarâ Chauhâna Mâladeva,[40] who acknowledged the supremacy of the Sultân. Thus the fortress remained under the direct or indirect control of the Sulṭâns of Delhi till about 1325 A.D., after which it was conquered by Râṇâ Hammîra of Sisodâ.[41]

After the accession of Hammîra, an attack on Chitor is said to have been made by Muḥammad Tughlaq of Delhi, whom Tod misnames the 'Khilji king.' The Muhammadans were defeated in this attack, as appears from the inscription, dated S. 1495 (1438 A.D.), of the time of Mahârâṇâ Kumbhâ of Mewâṛ.[42]

This assault on Chitor has given rise to many interesting accounts written by different authors.

Let us quote what Col. Tod writes on the subject :—

" Lakhamsi succeeded his father in S. 1331 (1275 A.D.), a memorable era in the annals, when Chitor, the repository of all that was precious yet untouched of the arts of India, was stormed, sacked, and treated with remorseless barbarity by the Pathan emperor 'Alau'd-din. Twice it was attacked by this subjugator of India. In the first siege it escaped spoliation, though at the price of its best defenders : that which followed is the first successful assault and capture of which we have any detailed account.

(*To be continued.*)

34 Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 238.

35 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 57, p. 32.

36 *Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 212.

37 See note 11, above.

38 In *Muntakhâbu't-tawârikh* (English translation by G. S. A. Ranking), vol. I, p. 257, the author speaks of the conquest of Chitor within a few days.

39 Elliot, *History of India*, vol. III, pp. 76-77.

40 He was the brother of Kânhaḍadeva, the last Chauhâna ruler of Jâlor. After the fall of Jâlor in about 1311 A.D., the garrison was put to the sword by 'Alâu'd-din's general. Mâladeva, however, escaped the fate of the garrison, and succeeded later on in winning favour of the Sulṭân 'Alâu'd-dîn Khaljî who appointed him governor of Chitor in about 1313 A.D.

41 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 55, p. 11.

42 *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

# BOOK-NOTICES.

MAHÂBHÂRATA : Edition of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Fascicules 1, 2 and 3.

We are glad to see that the edition of the *Mahâbhârata* undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, has begun to issue, and we have with us three fascicules of this monumental work. The plan of the work, as originally arranged, was to collate all the available and authoritative versions, which are indeed very many and require very careful and elaborate collation. A full introduction, giving a comprehensive account of the manuscript material and discussing the principles of textual criticism adopted, is intended to be issued at the end of the first section of the work, the *Âdiparvam*. The first fascicule is preceded, however, by a few general observations on the growth of the texts, giving a comparatively brief conspectus of the manuscript material used for the present edition. The manuscripts used come from all over the country and naturally fall into a number of classes, each class having characteristics of its own. The editor divides these into a Northern and a Southern version. Among the Northern are included the Kâśmîri, of which eight manuscripts have been compared, one Maithili from North Bihâr; four from Bengal and one from Indore. One from Mysore, about twenty from Tanjore, about six from Poona, four in Malayâlam and four from Mysore constitute the Southern, and all these have been compared so far. These are in a variety of scripts—Devanâgari, with its numerous varieties, Telugu, Grantha, and Malayâlam. In a general classification of these, the archi type is the Kasmiri version, to which other Devânagiri versions get collated. From this as a basis the elaboration into the various other versions is discussed, and the character of these inflations is said to be more or less due to the tendency to elaborate the account already given, and the portions that can thus be marked out can safely be omitted as spurious, or later additions, where there is not much manuscript support; otherwise the discovery of a principle on which these can be rejected is recognised to be a matter of difficulty.

One other important point is that there is a considerable amount of agreement between the Kasmîri versions and the Southern, so that the inference seems possible that they were originally based on same texts. In some respects the Bengali versions show the smallest addition, and they may perhaps be regarded as having suffered the least from interpolations.

The principle adopted in the choice of the texts is not a question of the arithmetical majority, nor is it on any other easier principle of the basis of mere dating of the manuscripts. A fair mixture of conservatism and eclecticism is what is actually adopted, no good reading of good manuscripts being rejected "Interpretation has throughout been given precedence over emendation." In the matter of corrections of solecisms, those for which manuscript authority was found have been allowed to stand in the text. "As a general rule, preference is given to a reading which best suggests how other readings might have arisen. When such a reading was not available, the choice fell upon one which is common to (what *primâ facie* appeared to be) more or less independent versions and which is supported by intrinsic probability; the presumption of originality in such cases is frequently confirmed by a lack of definite agreement between the discordant versions." This edition of the *Mahâbhârata*, if it does not achieve at once the perfection of an authoritative text, takes us, at any rate, a long way towards it.

The printing and the get-up are very good, as was to be expected of the Nirṇaya Sâgara press. It redounds to the credit of the editorial staff that few errors are discoverable. The edition is provided with a few illustrations, due both to the ability and the labour of the enlightened Chief of Aundh; and very creditable they are, both in regard to choice and achievement. We congratulate the organization upon their success. It is already beginning to earn very good opinions from scholars, and it is to be hoped that it will receive adequate public support to enable the organization to carry on the work to completion.

S. K. AIYANGAR.

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THE MARATHA RAJAS OF TANJORE, by K. R. SUBRAMANIAN. M.A., Lecturer in History, Maharaja's College, Vizianagram, with a foreword by Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, Reader in History. Madras University. Published by the author Price Re. 1.

No history of India would be complete if it were not based on full and satisfactory local histories. A study of the political map of India shows different states, each active in some epoch or other, and consequently enriching the political and cultural history of the land. An attempt has not yet been made to study the local history of innumerable small states, which have contributed to the sum total of Indian History. In the history of South India, no kingdom has been more prominent than the small state of Tanjore, which was ruled at different times by different dynasties. The Chôḷas, the Nâyaks, the Marâṭhâs have been its rulers. In this monograph Mr.

Subramanian has endeavoured to furnish us with a connected history of the Marâṭhâ activities at Tanjore.

The story of the Marâṭhas at Tanjore extends over nearly two centuries. Its founder was Venkâji, 1676 A.D. It had an unbroken succession of rulers—Shâhjî, Sarabhojî, Pratâpsingh, Tuljajî, Amarsingh and Sarabhojî II. The author has utilized the material available, whether published or in manuscript, in depicting the careers of these rulers at Tanjore. He has taken pains to point out the rich memorials of the Marâthâ Rajâs in the shape of temples, forts, choultries and other charitable institutions, now almost in a state of decay, owing to continued neglect. It should be the duty of our patriotic citizens to preserve these ancient monuments, as the relics of rulers who contributed not a little to enriching the culture of South India. Mr. Subramanian has described these and more in the last three chapters of the book, which are indeed interesting reading.

Studies like the one under review supply a long felt need, and we hope the author will pursue his subject in a more intensive manner, and give us a complete history of the kingdom of Tanjore from the earliest times. The value of the present survey would have been considerably enhanced by the addition of selected illustrations of the ancient remains. We cannot better conclude than with the words of Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar : "This book has been written so as to enable the intelligent teacher of history to lay well and truly the foundations of historical studies in the Tanjore district."

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

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BEGINNINGS OF VIJAYANAGARA HISTORY, by the REV. H. HERAS, S.J., M.A. 7½×5½ in.; pp. viii + 144. Bombay, Indian Historical Research Institute 1929.

The author has critically examined the various legendary and traditional stories, as well as the accounts recorded by Nuniz and Firishta, regarding the foundation of the city of Vijayanagara. He rejects the legends, and comes to the conclusion that the story of Vidyâraṇya's connexion with the foundation of the city and of the empire of Vijayanagara was fabricated with a definite object by the ascetics of the Śringerî monastery. Following the clues furnished by Nuniz and Firishta, and utilizing a number of epigraphical records, of which, *more suo*, he has made an exhaustive study, he comes to the conclusion that the "Deorao" of Nuniz and the "Bilal Dew Raja" of Firishta was no other than Vîra Ballâla (Deva Râya) of the Hoysala dynasty, the "sun in the sky of the Yâdava race" of the inscriptions, who was captured and sent to Delhi by Malik Kafûr after his conquest of Dvârasamudra, but was later released and sent back to his kingdom. He considers that the convening of his kinsmen by Vîra Ballâla, referred to by Firishta, most likely occurred at Tiruvaṇṇâmalai in 1328, and that it was in pursuance of the defensive measures against the Muhammadan invaders from the north devised at this conference that steps were taken to fortify and perhaps enlarge Anegondi. He suggests, further, that by the "foundation of Vijayanagara" Nuniz and Firishta refer to this work at the northern site, and that Bukka I was the real founder of Vijayanagara south of the Tungabhadrâ, this being the reason why in so many of his inscriptions Vijayanagara is called Hosapaṭṭana, the new city, as distinguished from the old town of Anegondi.

As regards the origin of the Saṅgama dynasty, it has generally been thought hitherto that Harihara and Bukka came from the Telugu country. Fr. Heras quotes V. A. Smith as writing that "good authority exists for regarding the brothers as fugitives from the eastern Telinga or Telugu kingdom of Warangal"; but it should be noted that in the very next sentence he aded : "Equally good, or perhaps better, authority views them as chieftains under the Kanarese dynasty of the Hoysala or Ballâla kings of the Mysore country." This latter opinion accords with the view expressed by Fr. Heras, who significantly draws attention to the rebellions in the Telugu country against the early Vijayanagara kings, as being inconsistent with the theory that Saṅgama's family came from those parts. A close study of the Mysore inscriptions leads our author to the conclusion that Saṅgama's family, who had settled in Karnaṭaka, were probably descended from the family of Keśirâja, which occupied high offices under several Hoysala kings, to whom, moreover, he gives reasons for thinking they were related by kinship. This would go a long way to explain the appointment of Harihara as *mahâmandaleśvara* over the newly fortified city on the northern frontier, the apparently immediate and general acquiescence in Harihara's assumption of power on the death of Ballâla IV and the abundant evidence of loyalty to the memory of the Hoysalas in the inscriptions, and in the acts of the Vijayanagara kings.

The above are but a few of the important conclusions and suggestions made towards clearing away the obscurities that have long surrounded the initial history of the Vijayanagara kings and their famous capital, and we hope the author will be encouraged to extend his researches into the early history of this no longer "forgotten" empire, the later history of which he has already done so much to elucidate.

C. E. A. W. O.

# THE CULTURE OF MEDIEVAL INDIA AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE AJANTA FRESCOES.

BY K. DE B. CODRINGTON.

(*Continued from page 162.*)

With warp-and-woof dyeing, *bandhana* or tie-and-dye work, must be classed as a radically Indian art.[14] In this process the material is pinched up between forefinger and thumb according to the desired pattern, and securely tied with thread. The material is then dyed and the process repeated according to the number of colours in the pattern, which is realized in small dots or rings. The art in modern India belongs almost entirely to Râjpûtânâ and goes under the name of *chunari*, Baran in Kotah State being famed for it. The patterns used are called *ekdalî*, *chaubandî*, *sâtbandî*, according to the number of knots in the repeat. Here again *beldâr* scroll designs are used, as well as *jâldâr* diagonal work. At Ajanta single dots or simple groups of dots only appear, but in modern examples the ubiquitous imported *shikâr-gâh* patterns have intruded into this craft as well as others.

Lastly, the list of Ajanta textiles must be completed by the mention of fine muslins. Spotted muslins occur occasionally and are used chiefly for scarfs.

A survey of modern Indian textiles leaves the impression that Mughal influence has been paramount. Yet underneath and apart from this influence, with its resulting floral diapers and sprigged patterns, there can be traced a certain run of designs that recur not only in loom work, but in embroidery and in warp-and-woof dyeing. Checks and tartans predominating, the result is always formal and usually strictly geometrical, certain well-defined motives, such as the sacred goose, being excepted. It is significant that these designs should appear in fabrics of such varying material and technique. From this point of view and from the point of view of the Ajanta cane-shields the fine reed mats of Southern India from places as far separated as Pâlghât in Malabar, Pattamadai in Tinnevelly, and Ganjam and Vizagapatam are most interesting.[15] In these and in the cotton *darîs* and *shatranjîs* that were recently woven all over India this older school of design is perhaps most clearly visible.

C. SHIPS AND BOATS—

Four types of ships are to be seen at Ajanta. The simplest of these appears in Cave XVII.[16] It is canoe-like and has two masts, one topped by a trident emblem. It is, however, clearly not a dug-out. Again, in the same cave the army of the victorious *Siṁhala* is shown in process of transportation against the *Râkṣasas*, horses in one boat, elephants in two others. These boats are wide in the beam and ride low in the water ; their grotesque *makara* figure-heads are the most notable things about them. The boat in the so-called *Mahâjanaka Jâtaka* in Cave I is altogether a larger affair. It is symmetrically built with high-pitched, finely-cut bow and stern, on both of which oculi are painted. Its fore-and-aft planking is plainly shown. The passengers sit at their ease under a square awning, while the motive power seems to be confined to the efforts of a single sailor in the bows and of his mate, who works a long paddle on the starboard side from a most precarious perch on a ladder set vertically in the stern sheets. The merchant ship in distress of the *Pûrṇa Avadâna* in Cave II has a full set of sails, aided by two paddles fitted with rowlocks amidship.[17] The cargo of jars is stored under an awning aft, the three masts with their rather unconvincing square sails being well forward.[18] In addition a jib is fitted in a peculiarly complicated manner and flies a small triangular sail without visible means of support.

The problems of Indian shipping are manifold. It has been suggested that the lateen sail was imported from the east into the west. The Roman *suppara* is said to have been a triangular top-sail of some kind, and it is certain that the Arab word for lattine literally means "top-sail." In Indian waters as a whole, the lateen is certainly *the* sail in spite of these

[14] *Jour. Ind. Art*, vol. II, p. 63, and vol. III, plates 17 and 18.

[15] Havell, *Jour. Ind. Art*, vol. III, No. 27.

[16] Plate 72, I. S., 19, 1892.

[17] Plate 34, I. S., 42, 1885.

[18] These seem to be of matting : the usual Tamil word for sail means ' mat.'

frescoes, which are perhaps the result of a landsman's faulty observation. It is interesting to note that the ship of the *Pûrṇa Avadâna* fresco is, according to the story, a Sopâra merchantman. At Kânheri the latest of the caves is a little earlier than any of the medieval caves at Ajanta, and there are fragmentary remains of fresco-painting in the Ajanta manner. From the top of the hill at Kânheri the coastal shipping is clearly visible on a fine day, and what is more, the place itself is within sight of the main road from Sopâra to the Nânâ ghâṭ and so to Junnar, Paithan, Ajanta and the north. During this period Sopâra, it is true, was declining before Thâna and Kalyâṇ, ports which directly served the whole series of passes from the Thal ghâṭ for Nâsik and Manmâd, the Mâlsej and Nânâ ghâts for Paiṭhan, and the Kusur and Bhor ghâṭs for the south. Sopâra must have relied mainly on the Thal ghâṭ, a mere tributary of the great Narbadâ valley trade-route from Broach. A possible connection may be suggested between the fresco-painters of inland Ajanta and Kânheri.

D. Horse Furniture—

Horse-furniture is well illustrated at Ajanta. According to Sir John Marshall, stirrups are to be seen in the Sanchi bas reliefs, a reference which is quoted by Dr. Coomaraswamy with regard to a railing-pillar medallion in the Boston Museum, in which, he claims, stirrups are also depicted.[19] However that may be contested, for in the Boston sculpture the foot seems simply to be thrust through a surcingle which is worn over the usual flat blanket-like early saddle. At Ajanta stirrups are not to be found. The saddle, however, complete with girth, crupper and breast-band, is a very modern, comfortable affair. Two variations of bridle appear: both have brow-band and throat-lash, but one, used with a long-armed bit, has a double nose-band, while the other has a single nose-band and is more difficult to understand. No bit is visible and the reins seem to be fastened in some way to the bridle, in which case the little ornamental cheek-rosettes were probably armed on the inside. The reins were held undivided and vertically up and down after the Spanish-American fashion. Adornment was provided by head-bells, plumes and tassels.

E. Arms—

Arms at Ajanta do not vary very much. Spears are short with triangular blades and ferrules. The daggers are all of one type, with a triangular blade and shaped grip. The recurved blades of the modern *peshqabz* and *bichwâ* do not occur, nor is the Râjpût *kaṭâr*, with its transverse grip and side-guards, to be found. In the *Siṁhala* fresco there is a double-bladed *vajra*-like dagger and *chakras* are seen flying through the air. Three types of shield occur: (1) a small parrying shield, presumably of metal, (2) a round shield presumably of hide, and (3) a curved oblong shield with tasselled fringes at the side, which seems to have been made of black and white bamboo basket-work. The patterns of these long shields are most interesting and vary greatly. Round hide shields are common in modern India, elephant and rhinoceros hide being chiefly used. The little parrying shield to be seen at Ajanta is iconographical and appears in many Southern Indian sculptures. As a rule, the hill tribes do not use shields or armour, although quilted garments are said to have been worn and suits of armadillo-scale armour from Central India exist, exactly as represented in the early frescoes in Cave IX. From Chittagong and Tippera keystone-shaped shields of leather stretched on cross battens, with a central iron boss, are said to come, but there is no trace in modern India of the Ajanta bamboo basket-work shield.

Both composite and long bows are found at Ajanta. The modern Bhil longbow is usually fitted with a split bamboo string lashed with sinew or leather, and a quiver is carried with it. The Khonds, however, and many other of the hill tribes do not use a quiver when hunting, and hold their meagre supply of reserve arrows, together with the bow, in the left hand, exactly as does the hunter in the *Chhadanta Jâtaka* in Cave XVII.[20]

[19] Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 138, n. 3. Coomaraswamy, *Boston Museum Bulletin*, xxiv, 59. The relief referred to is M. F. A., 25. 461, a railing medallion in red Mathurâ sand-tone (Kushân).

[20] Plate 63, I. S., 20, 1892.

The swords are limited to three types: Firstly, and most commonly, there is a type directly comparable with the modern *kukṛî*, incurved with the cutting edge on the inner side. Secondly, there is the typical Indian long sword (*kirich*) with straight, pointed blade, and thirdly, the leaf-bladed *paṭṭiśa*.[21] The curved *talwâr* blade is not found, nor are the Mughal knuckle-guard and shaped quillons. In the case of arms it is easy to divide Mughal types from older kinds of weapons. All the Ajanta types of blade have survived to-day, while *kirich* and *paṭṭiśa* blades have been found in the Tinnevelly urn-burials. With all these types there appears only one type of hilt, with an angular V-shaped guard and disc-like pommel, the blade usually being strengthened by long processes running up it either in the middle or along the reverse. This is necessitated by the peculiar properties of Indian steel, which, although tough and of fine quality, lacks flexibility. The modern flexible blades mounted in Indian style are one and all *firingîs*. Modern Singhalese knives have the same reinforcement. The oldest existing Indian swords, very few of which, however, are as early as the seventeenth century, have hammered iron hilts, or occasionally hilt and blade are forged in one piece, in which case the hilt is usually chiselled. Damascening is not used, nor brass nor *Bîdarî* ware on the hilt, although inset jewels and jade sometimes are so found, as at Ajanta. Many of these modern swords are fitted with the spiked pommel which does not occur at Ajanta, but seems to be thoroughly Indian. The *kukṛî* small sword, mounted like a knife, is of course particularly connected with Nepal.

Egerton in his handbook of Indian arms uses a pseudo-ethnological classification, which includes *talwâr—shamsher—bichwâ—peshqabz* types of curved and recurved blades, here treated of as Mughal or Muhammadan, with obviously more primitive types. He distinguishes four main groups: firstly, the Nepalese; secondly, the Coorg, Nair and Moplah group, in which *kukṛî*-like hatchets and flamboyant swords with Indian V-shaped guards predominate; thirdly, a Central Indian group comprising the arms of the various hill tribes [which unfortunately he does not analyse]; and fourthly, the Assamese-Burmese group, in which the *dhâ* or *dâo* guardless type of weapon predominates. Actually the latter two groups tend to merge on the east coast, where a suggestion of the *dhâ*-shape is found in certain Khond and Koi weapons. In the early Ajanta frescoes some very Coorg-like choppers (*adhya-kathi*) occur.

The modern arms of Southern India are chiefly conspicuous for their chiselled steel decoration, work associated with Tanjore and Śivagaṅga. Nothing of the kind is indicated at Ajanta. The close parallels between the Southern Indian technique and Japanese technique are noteworthy.

At Sanchi the Ajanta types of sword and dagger are also found, and the same composite and one-piece bows, both of them of very moderate length. The infantry shield is long and narrow with a rounded top, while the cavalry shield, which corresponds closely with the Ajanta Cave IX shields, is bell-shaped and somewhat rounded at the bottom. At Amarâvatî the long basket-work shield is found and the long sword, but not the *kukṛî*. There, as at Ajanta, no war chariots are to be seen.

F. POTTERY—

One of the commonest types of pot at Ajanta is the spouted water-jar, a form which is found repeatedly on the Sanchi and Bharhut bas-reliefs. Besides this there are two main types of pots. The first is round-bottomed with a substantial rolled rim and a neck of varying length. Squat pots of this kind, with wide mouths were made in diminishing sizes to stack one upon the other. They were often also, as nowadays, enclosed in a rope net for hanging up. The second type has a rimmed foot and a long neck flaring outwards at the mouth. The ordinary drinking vessel seems to have been a shapely little cup, with a flat narrowly-necked foot. In the fresco in the verandah of Cave XVII each of the holy men at the feast is provided with two or three of these cups set out on a flat platter-like dish.[22] These tray-like dishes often appear at Ajanta. They were of all sizes, and some seem to have had slip-decoration in stripes.

21 This term is used by Egerton in his Handbook to Indian Arms, but strictly it means a pronged instrument. [A kind of spear.—JT. EDITOR.]

22 Plate 59, I. S., 41, 1885.

In a drinking scene on one of the roof panels of Cave I a bearded person in pointed cap, long-sleeved tunic and jewelled belt, seated on a round cushion, is drinking from a shallow saucer, while a kneeling attendant holds a flat dish filled with fruit and flowers. Two female attendants in long-sleeved robes stand by with flagons. These have long necks and sharply pointed bottoms and belong to a fairly well represented class of vessel, some of which are gadrooned and fluted. The form is thoroughly unceramic and strangely un-Indian too from modern standards, suggestive rather of certain Afghan and Yarkand forms. They have obvious Sassanian parallels. The same problem of material attaches to certain cups which differ in nothing from the ordinary drinking cups, except in size and in the fact that the rim is pierced to take a ring, which could be possible only in metal. On the whole the copper-smith has followed the potter closely in the matter of form in India. The little standing cups are not found in modern India, but the form has been preserved in metal and occurs occasionally in brass and *Bîdarî* ware. The form is by no means specifically Indian, although its development in Indian ceramics can be traced from an early date, for it appears in early Persian pottery at Rhages and Sultânâbâd.

With regard to the use these little cups were put to, and to certain Bacchanalian scenes at Ajanta, which are paralleled in Kushan sculpture, it will be remembered that the importation of wine into India is recorded in Roman sources. Vines, moreover, are still cultivated in the Nâsik district, and the toddy-palm (Palmyra) and the Mahuâ tree are indigenous. Also the opportunity is acknowledged in the *Vessantara Jâtaka* (Cowell, No. 547) where it is written: "Food to the hungry give, strong drink to those who drink require." The frankness of the acknowledgment is mitigated by the scholiast, who writes that the bountiful prince knew "that the gift of spirits brings no fruit with it, but gave it nevertheless that tipplers might have the noble gift and might not be able to say that they could not get what they wanted."

G. METAL WORK—

Very little can be said of the metal-work at Ajanta. There are lamps on turned stands like candlesticks, and in the coronation scene in Cave I the gadrooned pots, from which water is being poured over the young prince, are very metal-like and somewhat reminiscent of the modern Tanjore *swâmî* work. The only other metal articles recognizable are mirrors. These are circular and have a central knob behind, pierced to take a ring or cord. This form is, perhaps, especially associated with China, tanged or handled mirrors being common all over the east, in bronze, brass and steel in Muhammadan times, and notably in bronze in Java at a period closely succeeding that of Ajanta. However, mirrors of any kind are rare as archæological finds in India. Only three seem to be recorded, under the misleading title of "plaques." These come from Tinnevelly urn-burials; two are tanged to take wooden, or perhaps ivory, handles, and one has the knob at the back. They are of bronze, the face being slightly convex. In spite of the archæological rareness of mirrors in India, modern Newârî-made copper and brass mirrors for Tibetan ritual use are common.

The distribution and material of these mirrors raises the important question of the occurrence of various metals in India. After iron, copper is undoubtedly *the* metal of India. Tin is reported among Indian imports, but tin-bronze is almost entirely wanting in India, except in the related Tinnevelly and Nilgiri urn- and cairn-burials and certain bronze icons, probably of the Chola period. Once across the Brahmaputra, one returns to an area of bronze; the *cire-perdue* castings of Burma, Siam, Java and Cambodia are almost wholly in bronze. Tibet is on the half-way line. The emigrant Newârî metal workers from Nepal have taken with them into Tibet the Indian copperworking tradition, while certain bronze-castings exist which show strong Chinese influence. Brass as a whole is a late medium in India, and also in Central Asia it appears, for Henderson makes the astonishing statement that in 1870 brass was mistaken for gold in Yarkand, copper being in general use. Just as copper is *the* casting medium of India, *cire-perdue* is on the whole *the* method employed. The amusing Kondh marriage toys and the beer-syphons used by certain Assamese tribes are cast by this method nowadays in brass.

## ŚAṀKARA ON THE CONDITIONS OF KNOWLEDGE.

BY SATINDRA KUMAR MUKHERJEE, M.A.

THE epistemological conditions of knowledge, according to Śaṁkara, may be said to be two in number, *viz.*, Permanence of the Subject, and Self-consciousness of the Subject. We shall treat them separately.

### A. Permanence of the Subject.

The world of our knowledge is a system in which every stray piece of knowledge takes its rightful place. Each piece of knowledge is connected with a number of its kind either by similarity or by contrast, and the fact that assimilation is necessary for the development of knowledge points to the same direction. Memory (*smṛti*) and recognition (*pratyabhijñā*) based on it, show us in our practical life how much the elements of our knowledge are connected among themselves. When on seeing the face of a boy similar to that of my dead brother, I remember, with a mingling of pleasure and sorrow, the face of my dear brother who is no more, nay even every childish prattling and naughty trick of his, it shows that the elements of our knowledge are intimately connected. So, again, when we find a child, who has seen a snake for the second time, recognizes it to be snake similar to the one he had previously seen and with a terror-stricken face runs away from it, we can assert that the elements of his knowledge are interrelated. But how is such a complex net of interrelated elements of knowledge possible ?—Our memory, and recognition, which depends upon memory, show that the relation which the different elements have with one another is always through one single focussing point. 'I who saw that before remember that now,' 'I who saw that before recognize one similar to that now'—such are the forms of our remembrance and recognition. The elements of our knowledge are, indeed, in a process of continual change—A follows B, B follows C, and C in its turn is succeeded by D. and so on. But when we remember A or recognize B, our memory is always in the form 'I who saw A before remember A now,' or 'I who saw B before recognize B now.' We remember and recognize things of long past, and between our perception and remembrance or recognition a long time has elapsed, every moment of which had its own quota of knowledge. But still how is it that we remember or recognize ? We can answer by saying that this is possible because they are the experiences of a permanent individual, who is present throughout the confoundingly numerous stray experiences. The experiences are of this permanent individual and through him they get their interconnection. It is easy to say, as Vasubandhu has done in his *Abhidharmakoṣa* in reply to a question of Vatsiputriya as to how memory is possible without a permanent soul, that "In the current of phenomena which is designated by the name Caitra, a recollection appears. We notice the fact, and express it. It is no more."[1] If asked to account for this appearance of a recollection, Vasubandhu will reply, as any modern sensationalist does, by appealing to the law of association. "There is a certain affinity (between ideas)," says he, "there are ideas somehow similar to others and having a power of evoking them."[2] Accepting that memory (and recognition also depending on memory) is due to association of ideas, the question remains as to how the permanent element of 'I' as found in memory is to be explained—'I remember this' means, as already said, 'I saw that previously and I remember now.' Had there been no permanent (*sthâyî*), 'I,' of whom all these are experiences, how can we explain the persistence of the 'I ?' Had there been no permanent 'I,' who is different from all the experiences, the form of remembrance and recognition would have been—'Another person saw this previously and I remember (or recognize) this now.' Śaṁkara states in his *Sûtra-bhâṣya*, "Remembrance is possible only in the case that the perceiving and remembering agents are the same, for we find that the observations of one man are not remembered by another. How could there be an experience of the form 'I saw that thing and remember it now,' unless the seeing and remembering

[1] *Abhidharmakoṣa*, Eng. Trans. by Prof. Stcherbatsky, ch. VII, § 13.     [2] *Ibid.*, § 15.

persons are both the same. If there were two cognitive agents, the form would have been 'Another person saw this and I remember this now,' but no such form of remembrance is found."[3] We find the same thing in another place also. "For unless there exists one entity equally connected with the past, present and future, or an unchangeable subject which knows everything, we are unable to explain remembrance, recognition and such other things."[4] If remembrance and recognition cease to refer to one individual, then there will be no remembrance and recognition at all, and hence the whole system of past experience, which depends upon these two, ceases to exist.

We have said above that the system of our experience is not possible without a permanent subject. But it may be doubted whether this personal identity, which is said to be the basis of the system of ideas, is itself a fact or a fiction. Are we bound to admit that the 'I' which persists throughout our life is a really permanent entity ? or is it only a "conventional name given to a flux of elements," as Vasubandhu says ?[5] "As milk and water," Vasubandhu further states, "are but conventional names for some colour, touch and taste taken together, so also is the designation 'individual' but a common name for the different elements which it is composed of."[6] He adds that the feeling of identity is due to "wrong personalism." Hume also says, in exactly the same strain, that "the soul or mind is in reality nothing more than the sum of our inner states, a collection of ideas which flow in a continuous and regular stream"; and he adds "that which leads to the assumption of personal identity is only the frequent repetition of similar trains of ideas, and the gradual succession of our ideas, which is easily confused with constancy."[7] We can ask both Vasubandhu and Hume as to who 'gives them a common name,' or who observes them 'passing in a continuous and regular stream ?' The ideas cannot know that there are similarities among them. To find out similarities among ideas, there must be an entity apart from the ideas. Unless there be an entity who observes the different elements or inner states, why should there be such personal identity as to cover past, present and even future ? We find ourselves as different from the inner states, and at the same time find that we are always present, however much these inner states change. Indeed, because there is a permanent entity apart from the changes, and which we feel so surely every moment, that we can talk of such things as a 'flux' or a 'stream.' Bradley criticises this personal identity and concludes, as Dr. Haldar puts it : "Altogether personal identity, based on memory, is a very uncertain thing, and is largely a matter of degree."[8] Bradley has committed a mistake analogous to those of Vasubandhu and Hume. Does personal identity depend on memory or does memory depend on personal identity ? If there is no entity which endures throughout, and of which we are every moment aware of as 'I,' how can we say that "I who saw that remember it now ?" To say that personal identity depends upon memory is really to make the presupposition an effect of those which presuppose them. Śaṁkara, therefore, says in his *Sûtra-bhâṣya* : "In the statement, 'I know the present, I know the proximate and remote past, and I shall know the future,' the objects of knowledge change as they are present, past or future, but the knowing agent does not change."[9] Personal identity is a presupposition and not an effect ; or, in other words, the permanence of the subject must be assumed as a condition if the system of our experience is to be explained.

### B. Self-Consciousness of the Subject.

We have discussed above the permanence of the subject as a condition of empirical knowledge. Let us now take up the self-consciousness (*Ahaṁkâra*) of the subject as a condition. It has been said above—and everybody feels it—that all our experiences are referred

[3] *Brahmasûtra-bhâṣya*, 2. 2. 25.
[4] *Ibid.*, 2. 2. 31.
[5] *Abhidharmakoṣa*, § 1.
[6] *Ibid.*, § 1.
[7] Falkenberg, *History of Modern Philosophy*, (Eng. Trans.). p. 226.
[8] Dr. Hiralal Haldar, *Neo-Hegelianism*, p. 223.
[9] *Brahmasûtra-bhâṣya*, 2. 3. 7.

to the 'I,' the self-conscious subject. Whether in perception, as 'I see a tree'; or in inference, as 'I infer fire from smoke'; or in memory, as 'I remember this'; or in recognition, as 'I recognize this'; or in willing, as 'I wish to have this'; or in feeling, as 'I feel such and such'—everywhere the 'I' is present. Try however you may, you can never get rid of the 'I.' If we try to do away with the 'I,' or, in other words, if our experience ceases to refer to the 'I'—the form of knowledge would not be 'I see a tree,' or 'I feel pain,' which, in other words, means that 'I shall have no knowledge.' Śaṁkara, therefore, says in his *Gîtâ-bhâṣya*: "Unless one knows himself as 'I,' he cannot make any attempt to know anything."[10] The same thing has been put by Fichte in his *Science of Knowledge.* "The truth is," says he, "that you cannot think anything at all without adding in your thought the Ego as self-conscious."[11]

Śaṁkara, in his introduction to the *Sûtra-bhâṣya,* gives us a deeper reason when he says that "the popular use of 'I' and 'Mine' (*i.e.*, self-consciousness) is due to a mixing up of the real (*Âtman*) and the unreal (*Anâtman*=body, mind, etc."),[12] and also that "One cannot have the qualities of the subject unless one has the wrong notion that the body, senses, etc., are identical with or belong to the self of the knowing person."[13] What Śaṁkara means is that self-consciousness depends upon the union of the *Âtman* and the body, senses, etc.; and also that without self-consciousness no knowledge is possible. Vâcaspati comments on the second statement thus: "To be subject means to possess knowledge." This requires that the subject must have independence (*svâtantrya*). Independence means that the subject uses the means of right knowledge though it cannot be compelled to do so. But pure consciousness, which is free from activity, cannot be said to use the means of right knowledge. So the subject, in order that it can use the means of right knowledge, must be due to a mixing up of the *Âtman* and the body, mind, etc."[14] The matter is of much importance and requires explanation.

The origin of self-consciousness, as we found above, has been attributed by Śaṁkara to the identification of the *Âtman* with our body, mind, etc. 'I eat sweets,' and 'I am wounded'—such statements we always use. It cannot be said that the *Âtman* in such cases actually eats or is wounded, for we perceive that our tongue and skin are in direct touch with the dish and the knife. How then can we say that '*I* am wounded' or '*I* eat sweets?' Does the 'I' eat or get wounded? The reply, that sensations are carried to the *Âtman*, as a psychologist might say, only pushes the question further to the brain centres, but does not solve it, for the brain centres are not identical with *Âtman*. The pineal gland of Descartes may be a clever device, but the fundamental difficulty remains the same. The fact is that the *Âtman* identifies himself with the tongue and the body; and had it been otherwise—had not the *Âtman* identified himself with these two—he would not have said 'I eat sweets' or 'I am wounded.' Our statement becomes clear if we see that if by detachment we separate the *Âtman* from these, then neither of the statements is possible. The physical facts of eating or being wounded can belong to us only if we identify ourselves with the body, etc., and, if not, the physical fact remains confined to the physical world. The fact that people commit suicide, shows that they greatly detach themselves from the body, etc., and try to fly away from what they think to be an 'iron cage.' But these very people, before they can so detach themselves from their body, would have shuddered at anybody's attempt to kill them, and would have said 'I won't be killed.' Let us take another example—'I am well,' 'I am ill.' What is the matter here? The illness or well-being belongs to the body, but we say '*I* am well' or '*I* am ill.' This is due to the identification of our *Âtman* with the gross body, so that the well-being or illness of the body becomes a property of the *Âtman* as well. The

[10] *Gîtâ-bhâṣya*, 2. 18.

[11] Fichte, *Science of Knowledge*, Chapter on Fundamental Principles of Knowledge, § 1.

[12] Introduction to *Brahmasûtra-bhâṣya.* [13] *Ibid.*

[14] Bhamati, Commentary to Śaṁkara's Introduction to *Brahmasûtra-bhâṣya.*

'I' is, thus, due to the identification of the *Âtman* with its body, etc. Śaṁkara, therefore, says: "Before the rise of discriminative knowledge, the nature of the *Jîva*, which is pure light, is non-discriminated from its limiting adjuncts, as body, senses, etc., and appears as possessing energies of seeing, etc."[15]

We are now in a position to understand the significance of the statement of Śaṁkara and Vâcaspati quoted before, *viz.*, that coupling of the *Âtman* and the body and organs, etc., are necessary for knowledge. The questions whether this mixing up is due to *avidyâ* or not, whether the pure consciousness can possess activity or not, are metaphysical, and we need not spend time over them here, but the fact remains, as Vâcaspati says, that "the subject must use the means of knowledge." 'I see a tree' means that the subject uses the organ of eye and thereby sees the tree; for if the subject ceases to have any connection with the eye, the eye, of itself, could not have seen the tree, as is found in the case of a man in a swoon, when self-consciousness goes down to the lowest limit. A man in sound sleep does not hear sounds, because the subject is in a very low degree of self-consciousness, and has no connection with the auditory organ. But the man coming to consciousness after rising from sleep or swoon, hears and sees—'I hear sound,' 'I see a tree.' This shows that the subject must use his means of knowledge in order to gain knowledge. Similarly, in the case of inference, we need an effort to arrange the data and to draw a conclusion.

Now, how is it possible for the *Jîva* to use his organs, etc., unless he is self-conscious? We see that when we wish, *e.g.*, to touch a distant thing we stretch our hand towards it, and when the hand has touched the thing we feel the thing hard or soft. We should mark two important facts here—(1) when we stretch the hand we always think 'I stretch my hand,' or something like this, in which the 'I' is never absent; (2) secondly, it is only after we have touched the thing that hardness or softness is perceived, so that our self-consciousness—the 'I'—must precede the perception of touch, for before we can have the perception of touch, the self-consciousness is already there as we find in 'I stretch my hand.' There will perhaps be no objection to the first, for in all our activities we find that self-consciousness is necessarily found. It is not once or twice that we say 'I taste,' 'I touch,' and so on. Even in cases of using our eyes and ears, where our activity seems to be least, the 'I' is present. When we use our tongue or hand we are palpably active, for the tongue and the hand have to be stretched: but in the case of eyes, ears and nose, the activity seems to vanish, for apparently we do not use them in the sense we use hand or tongue. But even there the activity is present, as is seen when we strain our eye, ears or nose to see a distant thing, to hear a low voice or to smell a mild smell, and we say 'my eye, ear and nose are strained,' meaning that I used them. We do not feel ourselves as active in seeing, hearing or smelling in the ordinary course, only because we have not to stretch them. Even in the case of tongue or hand, if anybody put sugar on our tongue or ice on our hand, we feel sweetness and cold, but not the activity of stretching the tongue or hand. We can, therefore, say that in the use of our organs of sense there is necessarily an activity, which may be felt or not, and the agent of activity is the 'I,' or, in other words, self-consciousness is necessary in the use of our organs.

Now let us come to the second point. Knowledge comes to us only when we use the organs, as we have seen a little before, and we have seen now that to use our organs self-consciousness is necessary. Our second statement that self-consciousness must precede knowledge follows from a combination of these two conclusions. If using the organs of sense precedes knowledge, self-consciousness, which is a condition of using the organs, must precede knowledge. The statements of Śaṁkara and Vâcaspati, that knowledge is not possible without a coupling of the *Âtman* and *Anâtman*, thus amount to saying that without such coupling self-consciousness is not possible; without self-consciousness the use of the instruments of knowledge is not possible: and lastly, without using the instruments of knowledge,

15 *Brahmasûtra-bhâṣya*, I. 3. 19.

knowledge is not possible. The coupling of *Âtman* and *Anâtman* is only a far off metaphysical condition of knowledge, while self-consciousness is an epistemological one.

We have said above that self-consciousness must precede knowledge, but this is one side of the problem. As we have said at the very beginning, if our knowledge ceases to refer to the 'I,' the form of our knowledge would not have been 'I see' or 'I hear,' or, in other words, we would have no knowledge. Self-consciousness is a condition from two standpoints :—It is the condition of using the instruments of knowledge ; and it is also the 'proprietor' of knowledge. The 'I' uses the instruments of knowledge, and thereby it precedes knowledge ; the 'I' also possesses knowledge, and is thereby involved in knowledge. The full significance of the statement 'I see the sun' is : 'I use my eyes and I have the knowledge of the sun.' The 'I,' when we look to it as the employer of instruments of knowledge, precedes knowledge ; but when we look to it as the possessor of knowledge, it is involved in knowledge. If the 'I' simply uses the instruments of knowledge and ceases to possess knowledge, no good comes out of such using the instruments. It is only in abstraction that we can make such distinction as using the instruments and possessing knowledge. But, in fact, if the 'I' uses its organs, it cannot help possessing knowledge. He who sows must reap. The 'I' can choose to use the instruments or not, but if it uses them, knowledge must belong to it. We thus see that self-consciousness both precedes knowledge, and is also involved in it.

It may, however, be doubted whether we have been interpreting Śaṁkara correctly, for from what we have said as to the permanence and self-consciousness of the subject—whom we have always referred to as 'I'—one may suspect that we have been tending towards pluralism of *Âtmans*, as held by the Nyâya. There are millions and millions of individuals, everyone of whom feels himself as 'I,' and now, as we have seen, if the 'I' is permanent and self-conscious, then certainly there are innumerable *Âtmans* belonging to innumerable individuals, for, according to both Nyâya and Vedânta, the *Âtman* is the real subject of knowledge. Śaṁkara identifies the individual *Âtman* with Brahman, who is one and indivisible, and in whom no activity of any sort is possible, and hence no possibility of empirical knowledge. We are, therefore, either to deny all possibility of knowledge, which, however, is absurd, since we actually possess knowledge ; or to accept the conclusion of the Nyâya that there are as many souls as there are individuals. The Nyâya argument in favour of the plurality of souls has been summarised by Prof. Radhakrishnan thus : "The soul is unique in each individual. There is an infinite number of souls ; if not, then everybody would be conscious of the thoughts and feelings of everybody else."[16] Since it is absurd to deny knowledge owing to want of activity in the One universal *Âtman* of Śaṁkara, we must admit that there is the possibility of knowledge. But if there is only one universal *Âtman* in everybody, then, of course, there will be utter chaos, for every individual will know and feel the experience of every other individual. But what experience teaches us is that every individual has a monopoly over his own experiences, which none other can ever share with him. It seems, therefore, that to explain this 'monopoly of experience,' we should accept, with the Nyâya, a plurality of *Âtmans*. But the difficulty will disappear if we carefully note the importance of self-consciousness in Śaṁkara's system, and we have already hinted at this.

The problem can be solved by applying our conclusion regarding the origin of self-consciousness. The question is how Śaṁkara can, accepting the existence of an universal *Âtman* in all bodies, explain the difference of experience in different individuals, how he can explain what we have called above 'the monopoly of knowledge.' If, as Śaṁkara says, there is only one universal *Âtman*, how is it that the experiences of one man is not experienced by another ? This is the problem. Let us discuss. What are A and B ? A feels himself as 'I' and says 'I see a tree' ; B feels himself equally as 'I,' and says 'I see a cow.' As found in the above discussion, the 'I' of A = *Âtman*, plus body, mind, etc. ; and the 'I' of B = *Âtman*,

[16] Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, vol. II, p. 148.

plus body, mind, etc. Though the *Âtman* is common in the 'I's' of both A and B, yet the body, mind, etc., are different; so that the one universal *Âtman*, as identified with different bodies, etc., does no longer remain *Âtman*, but turns into *Âtman*¹, *Âtman*², *Âtman*³, and so on, or, in other words, so many individuals or *Jîvas*. Though the *Jîva* is at bottom one with the universal *Âtman*, yet, as Śaṁkara says, 'owing to limiting adjuncts, the *Âtman* is treated as if it were two, just as we make a distinction between the *ghaṭâkâśa* and the *mahâkâśa*."[17] The *Jîvas* though they are one at bottom in so far as they are one with the universal *Âtman*, yet so far as they are *Jîvas*, they are different, or, as Śaṁkara says, "the self is indeed found to be many, but (in reality) it is one only."[18] The experiences of an individual are controlled by his body, mind, etc., and if the body, mind, etc., are different, the experiences of different *Jîvas* also must be different. So, Śaṁkara by declaring the oneness of the *Âtman* in every individual does not expose his theory to such absurdities as the simultaneous experience by all individuals of the experience of one of them. The principle of individuation is found in the 'I' ness, or self-consciousness or *ahaṁkâra*. The experiences of each individual are different, because of the self-consciousness, the *ahaṁkâra*, because they feel themselves as 'I.'

## TAMIL *ARIŚI* (RICE) AND GREEK *ORUZON*.

BY L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.

THE remarkable correspondence in form and meaning between the Tamil word *ariśi* (husked rice) and the Greek word *oruzon* led Caldwell to state that "it cannot be doubted that we have here (in the Greek form) the Tamil word *ariśi*, rice deprived of the husk, this being the condition in which rice was then, as now, brought [*sic*] up in India for exportation to Europe."[1]

Doubts were expressed about Caldwell's view by a few subsequent scholars, who, not being students of linguistics, could not pursue the question in all its scientific aspects. A few years ago Prof. Jules Bloch, the celebrated French philologer, took up the problem and discussed it with his characteristic thoroughness and erudition in a paper[2] contributed by him to the volume of *Études Asiatiques* published on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the *École Française d'Extrême-Orient*. In this paper which, we may observe, is characterized by a great depth and sweep of linguistic observation and comparison, Prof. Bloch seeks to demolish what appears as the dogmatic asseveration of Caldwell referred to above, and to show that the Greek word had no connection with Dravidian and that it was derived presumably from an Iranian form on which Sanskrit *vrîhi* (rice) is based. In this connection he has also discussed cursorily the various Dravidian forms for *rice*, *paddy*, etc., and sought to show on the basis of external and internal evidence that there could be no connection between the Greek and Sanskrit words on the one hand and the Dravidian forms on the other.

The same topic had been handled by Mr. Edwin H. Tuttle of the U.S.A., from a different standpoint, in a paper contributed to vol. 47 of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Mr. Tuttle's view is that the Sanskrit and the Greek forms, as well as a few analogical forms occurring in Iranian and Shina, were derived from what he considers to be the Dravidian proto-form *wrîghia*. Mr. Tuttle's view is thus not only directly opposed to Prof. Bloch's opinion, but Mr. Tuttle proceeds right ahead and explains a number of forms occurring in widely different languages as being derived from Dravidian. Mr. Tuttle's arguments, so far as his construction of the Dravidian proto-form is concerned, are weakened fundamentally by his indifference to the bearing of the semantic contents of Dravidian roots on the development of Dravidian forms and by his strong conviction that the character and speed of linguistic evolution are alike in all languages.

The question for determination in this paper of mine is purely whether the main Dravidian forms are related to one another, and if so what relationship they in their turn may

17 *Brahmasûtra-bhâsya*, I. 2. 21.     18 *Ibid.*, I. 4. 23.

1 Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, 3rd edn., p. 89

2 I published a brief summary of Prof. Bloch's paper in the *Educational Review* of Madras in 1924.

bear to the Greek form. This aspect, as we have mentioned above, has been cursorily adverted to by Prof. Bloch, as the main object of his paper was to establish the derivation of Greek *oruzon* from an old Iranian form. Prof. Bloch admits that the Dravidian forms are native but observes that neither Greek *oruzon* nor Sanskrit *vrîhi* could have had any connection with the Dravidian forms. It is my purpose to show in this paper that, viewed from the standpoint of Dravidian, the relationship of the Dravidian forms to the Greek word cannot be dismissed so easily.

The known Dravidian forms are the following :—

Tamil: *ariśi*, *ari*,[3] *vari*, 'paddy.'
Telugu: *vari*, 'paddy.'
Kannaḍa: *akki*, 'rice.'
Tuḷu: *ari*, 'rice,' *akki*, *bâru*.
Malayâḷam: *ari*, 'rice'; *vari*, 'paddy.'
Kûi: *uṟgî*. (Another Kûi word *kûḍi* or *kûḷi*, 'rice,' 'paddy,' is different and probably allied to Tamil *kûḻu*.)
Tôḍa: *ask*, 'rice.'
Gôṇḍî: *vanji*, 'paddy,' also 'rice'; *pari*, 'rice.'

Kurukh does not evidently show allied forms: both *khess*, 'paddy,' and *tikhil*, 'rice,' are different. Kurukh *arkhâ* (culled shoots) contains the Dr. base *ar*, but the meaning is not restricted.

To begin with, we have to consider if we can isolate the forms with initial *v-* from those with initial vowels. Prof. Bloch seems to suggest that they are different.[4] I venture to suggest that the two sets of forms are closely connected, and that those with initial vowels should be regarded as primary, inasmuch as they represent the Dravidian radical *ar* or *aṟ*, to 'cut.'

(*a*) *ari* in Dravidian, as a verb, means to 'remove,' and is derived from *aṟ* or *ar*, to 'cut off,' or 'separate.' (Cf. the alternative forms *arikkîrai* and *aṟaikkîrai*, 'potherb,' for the interchange of *r* and *ṟ*); *ar* or *aṟ* has given us a number of forms like *aruvâḷ*, *aṟakku*, *aṟa*, etc. The most ancient of the forms for rice (husked and not husked) is *ari*, found in Tamil meaning 'paddy' or any 'handful of grain.' This meaning apparently contains the idea of *something cut off*. The word was subsequently applied to paddy and rice alike.

Malayâḷam fixed the meaning of 'rice' for *ari*, while late old Tamil and Kannaḍa used derivative forms with the suffix *k*.

It is clear, therefore, that the forms with an initial *a* are primary, and that Tamil *ari*, 'paddy,' represents the most ancient form directly derived from the root.

(*b*) *-ki* is a derivative ending very common to Dravidian,[5] and is employed, with its variants *-ke*, *-ge*, *-ku*, *-gu*, etc., to form derivative nouns from verb roots; though Kannaḍa mostly employs *-ke* or *-ge*, and Tam. *-kkai* or *-gai*, the central Dravidian dialects show *-ki* (*e.g.*, Kûi *gippki*, etc.)

Kannaḍa *akki* and Tamil *ariśi* were such derivative nouns, formed with this affix: in Kannaḍa *ariki* gave *akki*, just as *iriki* gave rise to *ikki*, 'house.' Tamil *ś* was the palatalized resultant of the original *-k-*, as in *êḻśi* (< *êḻ*).

[3] *ari* in Tamil has the ollowing meanings: 'paddy,' 'ear of paddy,' 'rice.' The semantic developments offer no difficulty. The primary meaning, 'paddy,' is retained in *ari*, *vari*; the derivative meanings are exclusive for *akki*, *ariśi* and *ask*.

[4] Prof. Bloch has noted the close resemblance in form and meaning between the group: Tel. *vari*, Tulu *bâri*, and Gôṇḍi *vañji*, on the one hand, and Malay *vari*, *bari* and Javanese *padi*, on the other. While Prof. Bloch refrains from making any comment on the relationship of the Dravidian and Austric forms, Mr. Tuttle in his article suggests that "probably Tamil *vari* and Tel. *vari*, having the sense of Malay *padi*, were derived from Austric."

It will be seen from the following discussion that the Dravidian forms with initial *v-* could be explained as *native Dravidian*, derivable as they are from the forms without the initial *v-*.

[5] See my paper on *Dravidian -k* in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, September 1928.

(*c*) One of the characteristic features of Dravidian is that prothetic glides are introduced before initial vowels of words. Though the present usage in Tamil shows, as pointed out by the Tamil grammarians, Caldwell, Vinson and others, that the palatal glide *y̆* is favoured before palatal initial vowels and the dorsal glide *v̆* before dorsal initial vowels, in old Tamil this rule was not strictly followed.[6] Present usage in Tamil shows that the prothetic glide before initial *a*, as in *yâr*, 'who,' *yânai*, etc., is *y̆* and not *v̆*, as we should expect. Whether this was due to a slightly palatal pronunciation of *a* in late old Tamil, or whether the rule about the use of palatal and dorsal glides was not strictly followed, the fact that a dorsal glide *v̆* could have appeared before initial *a* is beyond doubt. It will be seen that the prothetic glide, which has now developed into the full consonant *v* or *b*, in Gôṇḍi, Kannada and Tulu is the dorsal one, and not the palatal one. As this, then, indicates an original state of affairs in Dravidian, it is easy to see how the *v*- forms for rice could have arisen. The initial *v*- of Tamil *vari*, Tuḷu *bâr*, Telugu *vari* and Gôṇḍi *vañji* will, therefore, have to be considered to be a labial or labiodental fricative development from the original glide. The glide does not seem to have been incorporated in the shape of fully developed consonants largely in Tamil. Kannada, Tuḷu and Gôṇḍî regularly develop *v́* as a glide before all initial dorsal vowels, and in some instances *v́* has developed into the full bilabial and become incorporated, e.g., *vaṇasu* (dinner); from *uṇasu*, *varaṭṭu* (to annoy) from *alaṭṭu* or *araṭṭu*, etc. Nevertheless, Tamil does show, though only more rarely than other dialects, an initial *v* in a number of ancient forms like *vaṇaṅgu* (*aṇaṅgu*) ; *viḷ*- (*uḷ*) ; *val*- (*ol*) ; *var-ai* (to write), *orai* (to rub, scratch) ; *vaḷ* (*oḷ*), etc. The explanation usually offered for the relationship of the forms with initial *v*- and the corresponding forms without *v*-, is that the latter may have been secondary, the initial *v*- having been dropped off. Though this explanation may apply to a few colloquial forms of to-day (as, for instance, in Kannaḍa or Tamil), it is entirely invalid in the case of a number of *ancient* forms where, it will be noted, those having vowels initially are certainly *original*, in view of the fact that they (and not the forms with initial *v*-) represent the primitive radicals from which they themselves and *other* independent forms have equally arisen.

Tamil ; *vaḷ* (to flow) and *oḷ* (to slide, flow), *valayal* and *aleyal* ('wandering,' 'sorrow,' etc., -√*al*) ; Mal. *vâl* (to drip) and *ôl* (to flow), *vir-i* (to be separated) and *ur-i* (to be stripped), *vitaṟu* (to scatter) and *utaṟu*, etc.

Cf. Tamil *aḍu* (to 'cook') and Tel. *vaṇḍu* . Tam. *aga* ('sorrow') and Tel. *vaga* ; cf. Gôṇḍî *vareng*- (to slumber) with Tam.-Mal. *uṟaṅg*- (to sleep), *vâṭ* (to wave) with southern *aṭṭu*, *varrol* (alone) with southern *or* (one), etc., also Gôṇḍi *bâṭ* (to 'touch') with Tam. *oṭṭu* ; *vaḍḍa* with Tam. *aṭṭ* ; *valî* (to 'wander') with Tam. *alay* ; *van* (to 'speak') with Tam. *in* ; *vôḷ* ('break') with *oḍai*, etc , etc. The presence of *v*- before initial front vowels[7] may either be due to the dorsal tonality of these vowels, or to the fact that the glides *y̆* and *v̆* were less rigidly used in old Dravidian than to-day.

It is more or less clear, therefore, that the forms with initial *v* may have arisen from *ari*.

(*d*) Gôṇḍi *vañji* is a normal development from an older *vari* ( > *vandri* > *vañji*); cf. the *j* in Tuḷu *oñji*, 'one,' *âji*, 'six,' and Kûi *pandji*, 'pig'), etc.

The initial vowel of Kûi *urgî* is developed from the glide *v̆* ; stress-displacement led to the dropping of intermediate -*a*- and -*i*-, and to the lengthening of the final *i*. For the development of *u* from *v̆*, compare Kannaḍa initial *va*- which, in the colloquial, is given the value of *o* or *u* : *vaṅki*, *oṅki*, *uṅki*, etc.

6 See Vinson's *Grammar*, page 30.

7 A few instances show that the dorsal glide was prominent even before what appear now as palatal initial vowels. There is nothing surprising in this, because as the function of the glide is to induce ease in pronunciation, either *y̆* or *v̆* could freely find place in prothetic positions before vowels of the 'mixed' or 'middle' variety, which are neither extremely dorsal nor extremely palatal.

If, as we have shown above, the Dravidian forms (with and without the initial labio-dental fricative) are native, could we not connect the Greek word *oruza* directly with an old Dravidian form *v̆arisi* or *v̆arizi* which we can reasonably presume to have existed ? The change of initial *v̆a-* into Greek *o* and the representation of Greek *u* for Dravidian *i* are quite normal. Initial *v̆a-* in Dravidian, we may observe here, even to-day in dialects like Tuḷu and Kannaḍa, has sometimes nearly the same value as [ɔ].

Thus we come back again to Caldwell's opinion, which, though summarily stated by him, appears to have justification on closer analysis. It is true that Caldwell himself did not work out this relationship and that he contented himself with pointing out the superficial resemblance ; but, closer inspection, in the light of what we have stated above,[8] reveals that his view of the origin of Greek *oruza* cannot now be dismissed by us as lacking any justification whatsoever.

So far as Sanskrit *vrîhi* is concerned, the root suggested by Sanskrit grammarians is *vrî*, 'to choose,' but the semantic derivation of the meaning 'rice' from the meaning of this radical appears difficult. Could it not be that the Sanskrit word was adapted in a slightly modified form from Dravidian with the meaning it had in Dravidian, and then a Sanskritic derivation was attributed to it by Sanskrit grammarians ? This is a view which deserves to be taken up by students of Sanskrit philology. The question of the relationship of Dravidian *vari*, etc., and Sanskrit *vrîhi* is a little complicated by the fact that certain forms cognate with Skt. *vrîhi* occur in Iranian and Central Asian Âryan dialects ; but there is nothing inherently impossible in the view that seeks to trace the Indo-Âryan forms to Dravidian. For one thing, the nature, chronology and extent of the influence of Dravidian on Indo-Âryan (in pre-Vedic as well as in post-Vedic times), when carefully investigated, should offer valuable assistance in this direction. Again, if we consider that the Dravidian forms with *v-* are native,—as we may have to, in view of the above discussion,—and if, further, a relationship between the Dravidian and the Indo-Âryan forms is envisaged, then the possibility is all on the side that Dravidian may have been the lender and Indo-Âryan the borrower.

Another interesting fact in this connection is that, while the Indian Austric dialects (like Santâli, Muṇḍârî, etc.) show only a few forms for 'rice' or 'paddy,' which are allied to Dravidian, distant Austric dialects like Malay and Javanese show *vari*, *pari*, *broi*, *beras*, *padi*, etc., with the meanings 'paddy' and 'rice.' Is the resemblance accidental ? Or was the close contact between Dravidian and Austric in pre-historic times (a view which is gaining great popularity among scholars to-day) responsible for the presumable borrowing of the word by Austric from Dravidian ?

Beset as these questions are with considerable difficulties, and much as we have still to investigate before definitive conclusions could be laid down in regard to these inter-relationships, we yet have to say that Caldwell's view about the origin of Greek *oruza* as having been borrowed from Dravidian cannot be dismissed, especially in view of what has emerged from the above discussion, viz., that a hypothetical *variji* or *varizi* could be postulated for Dravidian, from which the Greeks could, with characteristic modifications, have borrowed their word.

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[8] The conditions under which a full bilabial *v* has become incorporated in prothetic positions require to be sifted and classified in the different dialects ; but, for the purpose of our discussion, it would be enough if we keep in view what is a well-recognised phenomenon of Dravidian, viz., that *v̆* appears before initial dorsal vowels as a glide fully evaluated in pronunciation in Kannaḍa, Tulu and Gôṇḍi.

## THE PORTUGUESE FORT OF BARCELOR.

BY THE REV. H. HERAS, S J.

WHEN reading old Portuguese books referring to India or when searching for original documents in the archives of the Portuguese Government at Pangim, the student of history often comes across the name of this fort, sometimes spelt as Barcalor, Barselor or Bracalor, but more commonly Barcelor. It is not our purpose to write the history of this fort ; this will be done elsewhere.[1] Our aim is the identification of its situation.

Modern authors and editors of old books invariably state that Barcelor is the modern Basrur on the river of Kundapur, in the Kundapur Taluka of the South Kanara District. This seems quite plausible, and agrees with the topographical conditions of the old fort of Barcelor, as one may gather from the study of the old documents.

But an old engraving of the seventeenth century, published by Faria y Sousa in the second volume of his *Asia Portuguesa*, opens a new problem of identification in connection with the fort of Barcelor. This engraving, which we reproduce herewith, shows a fort on a river, which *seems* to run from west to south-east, whereas the actual river at Kundapur runs from east to west. However, ignoring this impression, the important point is that it shows the fort of Barcelor in the foreground ; and some distance back, on the same side of the river, there is a walled enclosure representing a town, and bearing the legend *Barcalor de sima*, or 'Upper Barcalor.'

This led me at once to search not only for the Barcelor fort, but also for *Upper* Barcelor.

The best maps of South Kanara mark the town of Kundapur on the south bank of the river, close to the mouth, and then about three miles towards the east and on the same bank, the town of Basrur—and after that nothing else.[2] This information gave me little help, and I decided that only a visit to Basrur and the neighbourhood would serve to clear matters up.

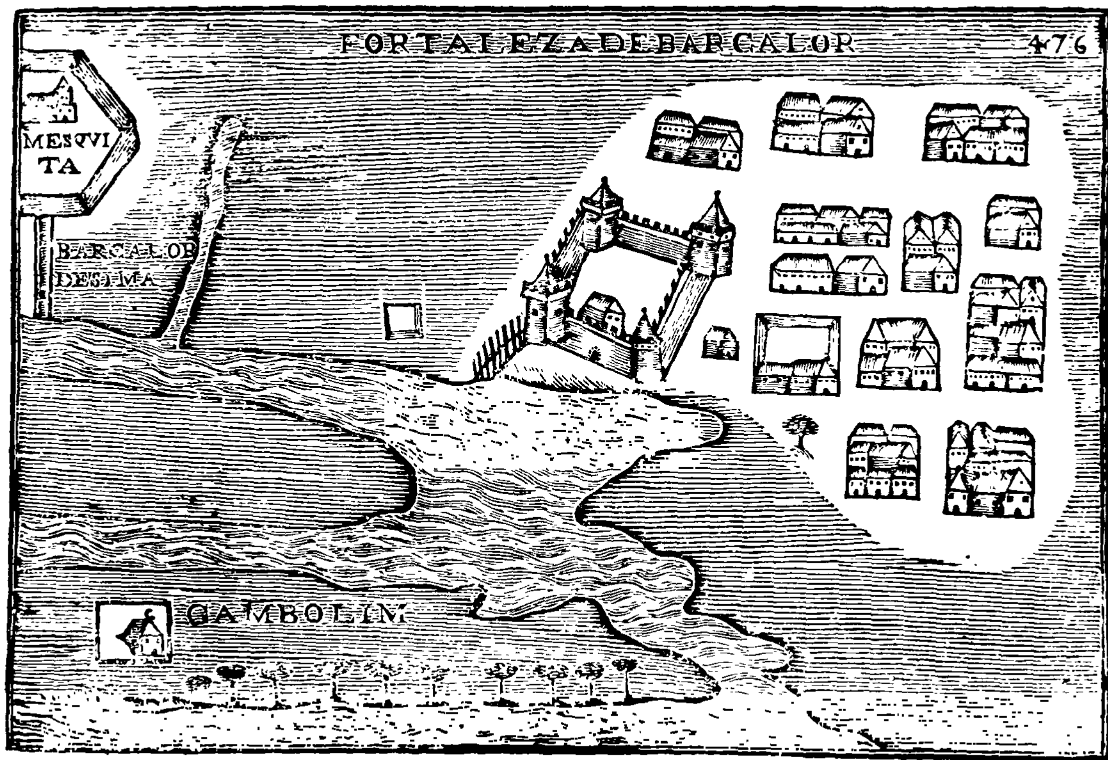
Hence during the summer vacation of the year 1928, finding myself in South Kanara, I planned to stay two days at Kundapur in order to visit Basrur, the supposed old fort of Barcelor, and its neighbourhood.[3] But luck awaited me at Kundapur itself. On the day of my arrival I questioned my host, the Rev. Fr. Peter R. D'Souza, the Roman Catholic Priest of Kundapur, about the foundation of the Roman Catholic Church there. He told me whatever he knew, and placed in my hands the register books of the Parish Church, in which baptisms, marriages and deaths of the Catholics of that parish are faithfully recorded. The existing books are not very old, the earlier ones having been destroyed by insects. The oldest entries belonged to the beginning of the nineteenth century. There I found the following entry in Portuguese : "1829. Pe Justo Const°. de Misquita Vigario de Vara de Barsalor," which means " Fr. Justo Const°. de Misquita, Vicar Forane of Barsalor." This priest is recorded to have blessed the wedding of a couple "do Bairo Cundapur," i.e., of the hamlet Cundapur. Similar entries are found in the same book, down to the year 1842, when the church commenced to be called the Church of Cundapur.

It is necessary to mention that the Roman Catholics of South Kanara were under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa till the year 1842. Therefore the priests of Kundapur down to this date were priests sent by the Portuguese. In 1842 a new jurisdictional division was introduced by the Holy See, and the Christians of South Kanara were allotted to the Bishop of Verapoly in Malabar. These facts were of great importance for my inquiry. They proved

[1] The main vicissitudes of this Portuguese fort will be narrated in the second volume of my history of *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara.*

[2] Stuart, *South Kanara Manual*, p. 242, while speaking of Kundapur only says :—" In the sixteenth century, the Portuguese settled here and built a fort which still exists a little inland from the village." The author does not identify this fort with that of Barcelor.

[3] I was accompanied on this interesting excursion by Mr. Aloysius Rebello, B.A., a student of St. Xavier's College, Bombay.




THE FORT OF BARCALOR.

From Faria y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa* (1674), vol. II.

that down to the above date the Portuguese and Goan priests coming from Goa had faithfully kept the traditional name of the place from the time when the Portuguese had their fort there. On the other hand, the new priests coming from Verapoly, not conversant with the old history of the locality, accepted the common name of Kundapur, which was the name of an old hamlet that finally became the headquarters of the Taluka.[4] Consequently the old Portuguese fort of Barcelor was not to be identified with Basrur, but with Kundapur. The town of Basrur was therefore the Upper Barcalor, the *Barcalor de sima* of the old Portuguese map.

These conclusions being arrived at, one naturally had to investigate whether there were in Kundapur remains of the old Portuguese Fort. On making inquiries, I was told that there certainly was a fort, commonly known as *Kotte-baghil*. Its remains were to be seen very near the river that runs on its north side. It is almost square (130 ft. × 100 ft.). The north and east side of the fort is much more elevated, about 40 ft. high, while the west side will be about 20 ft. and the south side only 10 or, at the most, 15 ft. The property, with a bungalow in the centre, belongs to one Mr. A. P. Luis at present.

The site of the old Portuguese Fort of Barcelor was therefore found before visiting Basrur. On reaching that town, I found clear evidence that the Portuguese had never been in effective possession of it; and the evidence lay in the number and condition of its Hindu temples. The main temple seems to be the Mahâliṅgeśvara temple. The Mukteśvar of this temple has a copper *śâsana*. In the *prakara* of the temple, when entering to the right, there are eighteen inscriptions in Haḷe-Kannaḍa, one of them used as a slab to pave the floor. All have the linga on top. Several are worn out. On the road south of the temple, about 150 ft. away, there is another Śaiva inscription in Haḷe-Kannaḍa. About 100 ft. away from this inscription there is a big tank, called Samrakere, and a small tank, in the neighbourhood of which to the south there are two other inscriptions in Haḷe-Kannaḍa. Both are Śaiva. One of them seems to be very long, but is partly buried in the ground. It is nevertheless in a very good state of preservation, excepting the upper left corner. Going southwards about 50 ft. there is another large tank called Devukere.

On the south side of it there are three other Śaiva inscriptions in Haḷe-Kannaḍa. Two of them are partly buried. On the north-eastern corner of the same tank, there are two more inscriptions in Haḷe-Kannaḍa. Both are Śaiva, one of them is very long; the other is inscribed on both sides. To the north in a palm grove is another small inscription. A little further west, in the compound of a house, there is another long inscription. The slab was lying on the ground and the inscribed face was turned downwards.

About two furlongs away from Basrur, on the top of a hill south-east of the town, there is a ruined temple surrounded by a grove. The temple is called Guppi Saddânanda, and is a small one. A verandah supported by pillars runs round it. These pillars are of stone beautifully carved. Some wooden pillars have been added in modern times. Inside the temple there is a recess containing a linga. In the premises of this temple there is another Śaiva inscription in Haḷe-Kannaḍa and a very big *satikal*, half buried. This *satikal* represents a woman with her right hand pointing as usual to heaven. A popular local story refers to this woman. In old days there was a *ṛishi* in this temple, named Saddânanda, who demanded milk from a woman. This woman, instead of giving him milk, gave him poison. She was then cursed by the *ṛishi* and eventually converted into that stone. After this the *ṛishi* committed suicide by throwing himself into a well.[5] In front of the steps leading to the temple there are the figures of three women, carved on one of the slabs paving the *prakara*, in an attitude of worship. It is said

[4] Kundapur had never belonged to the Portuguese. The Hindu temples existing there and three inscriptions, one of the thirteenth and two of the fourteenth century, found in its neighbourhood are sufficient proof of this. Cf. Rangacharya, *Topographical List*, I, p. 851.

[5] This story was narrated to us by a boy 16 years old, named Surap Shetty, who had heard it from his teachers. It seems that there are different versions of the story, for the *ṛishi* who is living in the temple at present related the same story with some slight differences.

that these three women—not only one—gave poison to the *ṛishi* of old. Round this temple there are several tombs of the past *ṛishis*, in a state of great decay. At the foot of the hill south-eastwards there is an inscription in Haḷe-Kannaḍa. On top of the inscription there is a man worshipping the *śaṅkha*. This seems to be the only Vaishnava inscription at Basrur.

There is still another temple in the town, called Veṅkaṭa Ramaṇa temple. At its entrance there is an inscription on a slab paving the way to the shrine, but it is absolutely worn out. To the right there is a Śaiva inscription, half-buried. To the left is another Śaiva inscription, also half-buried, inscribed on both sides. On the slabs before the shrine are carved the figures of three men in an attitude of worship.

Near the river one may still see two gateways in the old walls of Basrur, about one hundred yards apart. One is known as *Kotte-baghil*, and the other as *Nandi-baghil*, so called on account of a *ṛishi* named Nandi, who used to live in its neighbourhood.

This detailed survey of the antiquities of Basrur will clearly show that the Portuguese had never been in possession of this town ; otherwise all these relics of antiquity and Hinduism would have perished at their hands.

Basrur was the real " Barcelor " marked in the above map as " Upper Barcalor " and often spoken of by travellers and even by the same Portuguese Viceroys in their correspondence with their sovereigns. Hence it remains now an obvious fact that the Portuguese Fort of Barcelor is to be located in the centre of the modern town of Kundapur.

## SCRAPS OF TIBETO-BURMAN FOLKLORE.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

### Prefatory Remarks.

THE general argument of this paper is that if the ethnologist is right in predicating the existence of a Tibeto-Burman race, there must be a corresponding identity in the folklore of the Tibetans and the Burmese. The bases of the paper are Dr. McGovern's *To Lhasa in Disguise*, which is an account of his remarkable secret expedition in 1922-3 through what he calls " mysterious " Tibet, and my own article " Burma " in the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, some other studies of the Burmans, and a few analogies in Indian folklore. I was much struck with the likeness to the mental habits of the Burmese in much of what Dr. McGovern observed during his journey and have thought it sufficient for my present purpose to compare his observations with the papers above-mentioned.

Dr. McGovern undertook his journey under appalling difficulties, travelling from Darjeeling to Lhasa in the winter months, disguised as the meanest Tibetan servant of his own Tibetan Secretary. But his knowledge of the people, their language, their manners and customs was complete enough to enable him to pass through that spy-ridden country without discovery, for he was not found out, but disclosed himself at Lhasa itself when it suited him to do so. It was an extraordinary achievement and his qualifications as a linguist make his observations of peculiar value. Previous travellers have had to depend on interpreters, whereas he could talk directly with the people of all classes, and therefore could ascertain their ideas with an accuracy not possible to the others. It was for this reason that I extracted from his book some 80 odd instances, where he describes the ideas, the manners and the customs of the Tibetans he met. In these extracts we ought to get the folklore they contain beyond dispute as to accuracy.

Dr. McGovern's book is lightly written, and unfortunately he throughout shows himself to be a human being unable to get away from his upbringing. He is the superior Oxford Ph.D. always, and this attitude to some extent mars his observation of the Tibetan mentality. He cannot get away from himself and his European education and throw himself into the mind of the utterly different people among whom he travelled. This is a common failing, and I have observed it in the accounts of educated Hindu travellers when recording observations on " wild tribes " in India. This failing should not, however, seriously affect McGovern's statements as to the actual facts of the folklore he records.

One cannot help admiring his wonderful performance, especially when one considers his physical handicap, for the portrait of him in the work discloses features hopelessly unlike those of the ordinary Tibetan. One has only to compare them with those of the Tibetans portrayed beside him, to wonder how after all he could have managed so complete a disguise. The whole performance shows an extraordinary amount of determination and endurance, and a certain capacity for riding roughshod over all opposition. This last shows itself in his dealings with the officials along the British frontier and in his callous deception of them. He deceived them deliberately, and nowhere shows any feeling for the plight in which his double dealing placed them. He was determined somehow to get to Lhasa, whatever stood in his way or who might suffer. The success of his private project was the one thing that mattered, and not till the last pages of his book do we find any hint that he ever thought of any one but himself and his scheme. "On the 16th April [1923] we arrived in Kalimpong and I was back in British India at last. That same day I went on to Peshok to be the guest of Major Bailey, the Political Officer in Sikkim. We had a number of things to talk over, as I was sorry to find that my little escapade had quite unintentionally caused the Indian Government a good deal of trouble." It is not every official who would make a guest of a traveller who had treated him so badly as Dr. McGovern treated Major Bailey. However, all's well that ends well, and we have many valuable folklore items to study as one result of the "escapade."

I should like here to raise a protest against the epithet, "mysterious" as applied to Tibet. Dr. McGovern calls his journey "a secret expedition through mysterious Tibet." Surely the time has now arrived when we may consider the "mystery" of Tibet to have been dispelled. The Tibetans are in fact very like their congeners in the world, and there is nothing mysterious in the history of the country. The long story of internal struggle and foreign incursion is much that has been the fate of other Oriental peoples, while the story of the present conditions obtaining in the country is comparatively modern—Buddhism having arrived about the same period as Islam arrived elsewhere, while the story of the first Dalai Lâma dates back only to the days of Queen Elizabeth, and the fifth Dalai Lâma became monarch of all Tibet only in 1645, in the days of Charles I.

However, the Buddhism that entered Tibet was of a debased Mahâyâna type, filled with the Sâktism and Tântrism of the Hindus of Northern India, and the religion of the country has since degenerated back into the Animism which anciently dominated it, for Dr. McGovern, no doubt rightly, talks of the worship of gods and goddesses of the animistic kind. The arrival of the high priest to the throne meant in reality the Government of the country by a priestly caste, which has steadily kept it to themselves with all the determination that distinguishes ecclesiastics endowed with political power. For their purposes they have for some two centuries or more kept strangers out so far as they could, and that is the sole cause of the 'mystery,' which, in modern times, has surrounded the country. Otherwise the people are no more mysterious than the inhabitants of other lands. Indeed they are filled with the ordinary humanity of us all.

The Buddhism of modern Burma is altogether different from that of Tibet. It must have found its way into the country, both North and South, in the days of the Asokan missionaries of the third century B.C., and it suffered in the course of many centuries afterwards all the debasement that occurred in India, until a series of reformations took place from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries A.D., introducing a puritan form of the Buddhist faith from Ceylon, which finally spread itself over the whole country to the exclusion nowadays of the very memory of Mahâyânism among the educated. Among the people and the peasantry the old Mahâyânism and the indigenous Chinese form of Animism has naturally largely survived, so that we find in Burma generally a strong animistic faith overcast by a Hinayânist form of the Buddhist religion. The religion of the people therefore is a

duplicate form—an educated religion plus an uneducated superstition—a phenomenon quite common in the entire world, whatever the profession of the educated faith. Burmese folklore is necessarily largely filled with uneducated superstition.

I propose to divide the scraps of folklore I have picked out of McGovern's book into eight general heads as follows, comparing the Tibetan with Burmese ideas as occasion offers.

I. *Religious Beliefs.*—1. Religiosity. 2. Lucky Days. 3. Oracles. 4. Sacerdotal Blessings. 5. Rebirth. 6. Incarnations. 7. Supernatural Powers. 8. Miracles. 9. Magical Powers: (*a*) Lâmas, (*b*) The Dalai Lâmas. 10. Cures. 11. Callousness.

II. *Deities.*—1. Maitreya. 2. Pedem Llamo (goddess). 3. Temple Guardians. 4. Mountain Spirits. 5. Kinchenjanga. 6. Demon Haunts. 7. Images.

III. *Religious Customs.*—1. Rosaries. 2. Scapegoat. 3. Circumambulation Sunwise. 4. Pilgrimage. 5. Offerings. 6. Incense. 7. Ceremonial Dancing. 8. Flags. 9. Ragbushes. 10. Cairns 11. Prayer Wheels. 12. Prayer Walls.

IV. *Superstitions.*—1. General. 2. Boys in Processions. 3. Head-room. 4. Left hand Whorls. 5. Merit in possessing Books. 6. Books. 7. Learning. 8. Snowmen.

V. *Medicine.*—1. Theory. 2. Medicine. 3. Anatomy. 4. Cures.

VI. *Social Customs.*—1. Position of Women. 2. Female Hospitality. 3. Polyandry. 4. Curfew. 5. Saluting. 6. Winds. 7. Cleanliness and Washing. 8. Natural Hot Baths. 9. Story of an Abbot. 10. Preaching. 11. Removal of Residence.

VII. *Food and Tabus.*—1. Chickens. 2. Milk. 3. Butter. 4. Butter for Lamps. 5. Butter for Decoration. 6. Tea. 7. Buttered Tea. 8. Cooking.

VIII. *Measurement.*—1. Reckoning. 2. Currency. 3. Prices. 4. Distance. 5. Time. 6. The Calendar.

A word as to spelling. Both in Tibetan and in Burmese spelling is as much divorced from sound as it is in English or French. It is not possible therefore to reproduce for the ordinary English reader either Tibetan or Burmese words as they are spelt in their respective scripts. In this paper the recognised methods of representation in Roman characters is adopted.

## I. RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

### 1. Religiosity.

In describing the "palace chapel" of the Tsarong Shape[1] at Lhasa, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and senior Secretary of State, McGovern remarks (p. 276): "In Tibet it is always wise to show one's religiosity to visitors. The whole of one side of the room was occupied by huge gilded images with burning butter lamps and offering bowls in front of them." There is nothing of this kind in Burma, because there the Government was in secular hands.

### 2. Lucky Days.

"The Tibetans (p. 24) are grossly superstitious and arrange all their affairs with reference to lucky and unlucky days. They are calculated both with reference to the days of the month and also the days of the week. Thus, for example, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays are bad days on which to start a new undertaking, and Mondays, Wednesdays and Sundays are considered fortunate. The 9th, 13th and 19th days of the month are considered particularly good omens, and Toby[2] pleaded that we postpone our departure until the 19th, and also a Sunday, doubly favourable. He seemed very much surprised that I refused to sacrifice two weeks in order to start things properly. At last he consented to come on the 6th, a Wednesday, provided that we started at nine o'clock, which the calendar declared to be an opportune hour."

[1] These are titles, not the names, of an official, see p. 277.

[2] McGovern's Secretary. His real name was Umdzela: *umdze* means dean of a temple in Sikkim.

" In case (p. 25) urgent business makes it necessary for a Tibetan to start a journey on an unlucky day, he will on some preceding lucky day have a hat or other article of clothing sent on ahead a mile or two on the road, because it is thought that in this way the gods[3] can be beguiled into believing that the man himself started on the correct occasion."[4]

" I was told (p. 25) a good tale of a Tibetan, who took a long journey with his wife. He so arranged matters that he arrived at and left each place *en route* on a lucky day. While still on the journey the poor fellow's wife died, and the delay caused by this event upset the whole schedule, so that the man was held up for several weeks at a little village waiting for the next series of auspicious dates to come round again."

In this matter of Lucky Days there are constant analogies in Burmese folklore. Thus in my article " Burma " in the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. III (to be quoted hereafter as E.R.E., III), we read : " The Burman is so fettered by his horoscope and the lucky and unlucky days for him recorded therein, which are taught him in rhymes from childhood, that the character has been given him by strangers of alternate idleness and energy. But both are enforced by numerous days on which he may not work without disaster to himself. Unlucky days cause him so much fear that he will resort to all sorts of excuses to avoid business on them. Similarly on lucky days he will work beyond his strength, because he is assured of success. These facts are worthy of careful attention, as it is so easy for European observers to mistake Asiatics, *e.g.*, the character of idleness given to the Nicobarese [ultimately from the Chinese western borderlands] is greatly due to their habit of holding very frequent feasts and necromantic ceremonies all through the night. . . . Lucky and unlucky days are fixed according to the Shân [another race of the Chinese western borderlands] and not the Burman calendar, and as they do not correspond, the Burman cannot calculate them for himself, and is thus forced to go to the astrologer. There is a long list of lucky days for building operations, picked, in eclectic fashion, out of the names of the imported Buddhist and indigenous animals and *nats* [spirits] : the unlucky days depending upon the final syllables of the names. Lastly, a long series of days are individually unlucky for a great variety of enterprises, practically for all the business of native life. The lucky days in the month are in a considerable minority." In Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, ch. XXXIX, there is a long account of these lucky and unlucky days.

### 3. Oracle.

" We came (p. 43) to the great Chumbi Monastery, where the famous oracle or prophet is housed. . . . I observed (p. 44) the Chumbi oracle very closely and found that his methods corresponded in general to those used by mediums in the West. He goes into an ecstatic trance, frequently accompanied by epileptic symptoms, and while thus obsessed delivers semi-coherent words, which foretell what is to happen. Generally, like the Delphic oracle of old, his prophecies are delightfully vague, and can be made to fit the event, however it may turn out. But it is remarkable that half way through the great world war he foretold the exact year and month in which hostilities would cease."

### 4. Sacerdotal Blessing.

" On the 6th [Sept. 1922] a special service (p. 25) was held in Toby's monastery at day-break [of the day on which McGovern started on his journey], and at his earnest invitation I attended this ceremony in order to receive the special blessing of the abbot."

*(To be continued.)*

[3] McGovern throughout treats the supernatural beings of the Mahâyânist Buddhism of the Tibetan as 'gods' and 'goddesses.'

[4] The Tibetan seems here to betray his Chinese origin, for cheating the deities is a common trick among the Chinese generally, *e.g.*, throwing scraps of worthless paper money or objects into the sea on a voyage to induce the supernatural rulers of the waters to grant fair weather and winds.

## BOOK-NOTICES.

THE PANDYAN KINGDOM by K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI. London, Luzac & Co.

This neat, handy volume attempts to cover the history of the Pândyas from their early beginnings down to the end of the sixteenth century, and stops where the viceroyalty of Madura under Vijayanagar begins. This is a period of history and the account of a dynasty which had long remained to be worked up, and for which the available material has just become accessible to the public outside the Department of Epigraphy. Mr. Nilakanta Sastri delivered a course of lectures at the University on this subject, and the book is the outcome of this course.

This part of the history of the Pâṇḍyan kingdom naturally falls into a certain number of divisions, and the following may be enumerated as being covered in the work under review :—(1) the Beginnings of History in the Śangam Age : (2) the Kalabhra interregnum : (3) the first Pâṇḍyan empire, as it is called, and the duel with the Pallavas ; (4) the Chôla ascendency and the eclipse of the Pâṇḍyas ; (5) the duel with the Hoysalas and the Pâṇḍyan revival ; (7) the gradual decay and decline of the Pâṇḍyan kingdom with the rise of Vijayanagar. This is a long period and a wide subject to be dealt with in a course of lectures and in a book of the size that is before us ; and, having regard to the nature of the subject, must necessarily be incapable of equal treatment all over. The book exhibits this defect, inherent in the subject, and perhaps also due to the pressure of much other hard work which the author had to do at the time. The first two of these divisions the author passes over comparatively lightly, though more thorough work and exploitation of the sources, such as they are, would, we are sure, have yielded better results. His real work, however, begins with the period following, for which there is a mass of inscriptional material available. But then for the remaining period, there is the other drawback that the sources available are comparatively large where the period happens to be the period of the prosperity of the Pâṇḍyas. The information becomes most scanty when the kingdom ceases to be prosperous for one reason or another. That naturally produces another element of inequality in the treatment of the subject. Notwithstanding this inherent defect, Mr. Sastri's treatment of this period is fuller and more continuous and interesting. He has made a pretty thorough study and analysis of the inscriptional material, and has brought together all the *disjecta membra* of the inscriptions in a form which provides interesting reading. There are defects, of course, here and there in points of detail, but all that unfortunately cannot be altogether avoided in a work of this character.

Mr. Nilakanta Sastri takes the first empire to begin with the achievement of Kaḍungôn after the Kaḷabhra interregnum, and takes it on to the conquest of the Pâṇḍyas by the Chôlas under Parântaka I in the first quarter of the tenth century A.D. This happens to coincide with the period of prosperity of the Pallavas of Kâñchî, and is almost exactly coeval with the period of the Great Pallavas, whose rule perhaps began a few decades earlier, and came to an end similarly a few decades earlier when the decisive battle of Tiruppurambiyam was fought. The treatment of the subject is fairly full and critical throughout. Mr. Sastri's account would have been better had he paid as much attention to the inscriptions of the Pallavas as he has to those of the Pâṇḍyas. The period following is one of decay and the disappearance of Pâṇḍya rule brought about by the Chola conquest. During the period of the Chola ascendency in South India, which lasted for three or four centuries, the Pâṇḍyas had not gone out of existence altogether, but remained to a great extent eclipsed by the glorious empire of the Cholas. As the Choḷa empire began to decay, we can see the first beginnings of a revival of the Pâṇḍyas. The decay of the Chola empire brought about the intervention of the Hoysalas, who soon proved the arbiters of the destinies of South India in the disputes between the Pâṇḍyas and the Cholas. The Pâṇḍyas had to get out of this position by a serious effort, and the tale of this is told in the second section of Mr. Nilakanta Sastri's book. Then followed the period of the Pâṇḍya empire before the Muhammadan invasions supervened. The Muhammadan invaders came and went, and the Pâṇḍyas recovered some little of their power ; but the more thorough conquest under Muhammad bin Tughlaq put an end to the Pâṇḍya kingdom at Madura, although the members of the Pâṇḍya dynasty held their position in the farther outskirts of their kingdom, chiefly in the Tinnevelly district. Then another chapter follows of Pâṇḍyan history, which extends right down to the eve of Talikota, by which time Vijayanagar had established a viceroyalty in Madura, efficient to hold the Pâṇḍyas of Tinnevelly in check. The history of that viceroyalty Mr. Nilakanta Sastri does not take up, as he is concerned only with the history of the Pâṇḍya kingdom.

Throughout this work Mr. Sastri exhibits a full knowledge of the material and critical ability and discernment in choosing the right kind of details, and he has succeeded in compiling a reasonably correct account of the Pâṇḍyan kingdom. The book is, however, not free from defects of detail ; a certain number of them deserve attention, but we do not wish to take up space to point these out, as we have done it elsewhere. We congratulate Mr. Sastri on the production of a work that is alike creditable to his ability and industry.

S. K. AIYANGAR.

Tamil Lexicon. Published under the authority of the University of Madras. Vol. II, Parts III and IV; and Vol. III, Parts I, II, III and IV. Pages 953 to 1752. Madras, printed partly at the Diocesan Press, Vepery, and partly at the Madras Law Journal Press, Mylapore

We have had occasion to review the previous parts of the *Tamil Lexicon* in this Journal for July 1928. The general plan adopted was explained in a small pamphlet wherein it was stated that a strictly alphabetical arrangement was being followed; and in the case of each word, the etymology, the transliteration of the word into English (giving the equivalent pronunciation of the words as written), the part of speech, the derivation, cognate words found in the Dravidian family of languages and the English meanings of the words are given. The explicit object of this *Lexicon* is stated to be that it should help foreign scholars in their study of Tamil; and the meaning in English is regarded as the first requisite. At first it was only in unavoidable cases that Tamil equivalents were given; but because of the desire expressed by many students of Tamil, it was subsequently arranged to supplement the detailed English renderings with brief Tamil equivalents, which have come to be as detailed as the former. The apparatus of reference as given with Part II of Volume I and containing a list of authorities cited has naturally got to be supplemented by *addenda* relating to words which happen to be taken from other sources not cited. The tables of transliteration into English, signs (குறியீடுகள்) conjugated verbs and explanatory notes have had, for the sake of convenience, to be issued along with each volume, so that reference may be rendered easy.

The parts under review take us on from *ku* to *tham*. The latter two parts of the second volume, complete the words beginning with the consonants *k* and *ṅ*, and the four parts of the third volume deal with the letters *c*, *ṭ* and *t* (the last only in part). The scheme of work is that the editor and the assistant editor should revise the cards prepared and revised by the *paṇḍits*, and should correlate the Tamil and English portions of the cards. The work has gone on fairly rapidly under the present committee, which has been availing itself of help secured from competent scholars, who have been nominated as honorary referees of the Lexicon Committee. Part III of Volume II was published about the middle of 1927; and Part IV of Volume III appeared in March 1928; and the present rate of progress can be judged from these dates. The words explained show, as has been already pointed out, a great advance, both in point of number and of detailed etymological and other explanation, upon Winslow's *A Comprehensive Tamil and English Dictionary of High and Low Tamil*, whose object was to enable missionaries, officials and others of European origin to become efficient in their knowledge and expression of the Tamil tongue. Therein derivative words are included under their primitives, while the verbs are given as principals in large type. The definition of the word is supplemented by the verbal noun and by a reference to the *Sadur*; while adjectives, adverbs and some particles are given as primaries. A clear distinction is maintained between them and particularly the two former and the nouns themselves, while grammatical rules are occasionally given for the change, omission or reduplication of letters. Winslow had to rely largely upon Beschi, Rottler, and Ellis and the *Sadur-Agaradi*, besides Wilson's *Sanskrit Dictionary*. He distinguished between the provincial usage (having a general, but not an exclusive reference to Jaffna usage) and local usage (having reference to Madras) of Tamil words, and between poetic (*i.e.*, classical) and the common and vulgar usages of words. In the present *Lexicon* these old distinctions have not all been kept up; and in their place, we find a rich use of quotations from classical authorities, given in abbreviated form, and of illustrative proverbs, which support the general use of the word and in cases the particular meanings of the word. One feature that shows either an inability to improve upon Winslow or the latter's perfection, is that the usage of words as used in particular parts of the land has been based upon his authority, cited as W. Thus we have on p. 1209, சக்கட்டை (*cakkaṭṭai*) n. < Sakata. (W.); and Winslow himself gives the meaning as இளப்பம். The *Lexicon* has added another equivalent, சாடைக்கிரமல்லை, to the substantive. So also is the case with the word சண்டு in the sense of 'fury' (அட்சம்). The meaning of சருக்குவேந்தன் is not well brought out. The meanings of such compound words as சேகவாசாங்கியன் are not as full and detailed as one might wish them to be. In most cases, however, the explanations of the different meanings of words are full. The word *dafadár* (டபேதார்) is said to be derived from Urdu; but both Wilson in his *Glossary* (p. 117) and Whitworth in his *Anglo-Indian Dictionary* (p. 74) would give it an ultimate Persian derivation. A little more care and detailed derivation would, in such cases, add greatly to the usefulness of the book. The succeeding parts, we hope, will be free from the charges of undue brevity of definition and explanation, which may apply to some words. Such a work as this, comprehensively planned, laboriously executed and admirably printed, should include not only words of foreign origin undergoing the process of absorption into our language, and words and terms used in the study of Indian Philosophy and Metaphysics, Logic, Rhetoric and Astrology, Botany, Medicine, etc., but also rescue from obscurity and oblivion a large number of words not found in any previous dictionary, but used

in our literature whether printed or manuscript. In respect of the former desideratum, this *Lexicon* is a certain improvement upon its predecessors; with regard to the latter, a perusal of the work, when completed, will give an idea of the extent of the progress achieved. The difficulty in this matter is chiefly that of obtaining access to the manuscripts now lying hidden in corners and crumbling away. Co-ordination between the Lexicon Office and the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library and other institutions like the Madura Sangam would also be very useful and result in the finding out of buried and forgotten words. We await the speedy publication of the remaining parts of the *Lexicon*, in the belief of Dr. Johnson that the chief glory of a nation arises from its authors, who are best understood and interpreted through the medium of a sound and valuable dictionary.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.

ANCIENT JAFFNA TO THE PORTUGUESE PERIOD, by MUDALIYAR C. RAMANAYAGAM, Ceylon Civil Service, with foreword by Dr. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, Madras: Everymans Publishers, Ltd. 1926.

It has always been rather difficult to obtain information, *experto crede*, about Jaffna, and though the book cannot be said to be the final word on the subject, we are grateful to the author for its compilation. He has taken enormous trouble, and, what is of more importance to the student, he has produced an immense number of vernacular quotations, which will be of value.

He commences his story with the practically mystical history of the Nâgas and Kaliṅgas, deals with foreign trade and intercourse from all time, and gives us one invaluable chapter on Sources and Synchronisms, thus making his work of much use.

He is not, however, always able to gauge the authority of the many books he quotes, and his local patriotism sometimes outruns his discretion, so the reader must be careful of accepting all he says without further enquiry.

R. C. TEMPLE.

AT AJANTA, by KANAIYALAL VAKIL, B.A., LL.B. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ in; pp. xxii+82, with 38 illustrations. D B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co., Bombay 1929.

This little book has been written, the author tells us, with a specific aim, namely, to bring the artistic treasures at Ajanta nearer to the popular mind and imagination, and to afford practical assistance to visitors. Part I furnishes very useful general information as to routes, accommodation, charges, etc., the situation and classification of the caves and the principal points of interest to be noticed. Part II treats of the paintings of outstanding merit in six of the caves, and the subjects represented; while Part III is devoted to a very appreciative survey of the sculptures in certain *vihâras* and *caityas*. The work does not claim to be a complete guide to Ajanta and its remains; it is a short survey by a lover of art of the chief features of the caves, with their remarkable architectural and sculptural details and their wonderful frescoes, written by one who himself revels in their beauties and wishes to inspire others with similar feelings. The book would be improved by the addition of a ground plan, showing the position of the various caves referred to, and if the index to the plates gave the cave number in each case. At present, where reference is made to a particular cave in the text, the reader has to look at all the plates if he wishes to ascertain whether it has been illustrated. The spelling of names needs revision in several places, and one or two mistakes, such as that of calling Mayâ "Queen of Suddodhana, *Sakya* King of Magadha" call for correction.

C. E. A. W. O.

MEDIEVAL INDIA, by UPENDRA NATH BALL, M.A. The Classic Press, Calcutta.

This little book, in the words of the writer, is an attempt to give a brief and connected account of the life and thoughts of the people of India in the middle ages. Owing to his admitted ignorance of both Arabic and Persian, the writer has relied almost entirely on works published in English, from which he makes frequent quotations. There is thus very little that is new in nearly six hundred pages covering the period which commenced with the Arab invasion of Sind and ended with the break-up of the Mughal Empire. The writer would have been well advised to submit his proof sheets to some one familiar with the English language. It is curious to read of a Hindu ruler who punishes offences "to cut off his tongue," and of "cow (*sic*) being very useful in domestic service." It is hardly an adequate method of dealing with the origin of the Râjpûts (p. 41) to announce that "the orthodox view is that they are descended from the sun and moon. Some believe they had their origin in fire."—The whole question of caste at the time of the Musalman invasion is dealt with very superficially, and would have been better omitted, if it could not be treated in the light of modern knowledge. On p. 280, dealing with Vijayanagar, the writer states that the cavalry was inefficient as horses of good breeding could not be had in the South. But a flourishing trade from Arabia in horses required by this kingdom was conducted for many years through Portuguese territory; and the inefficiency of the Hindu troops cannot fairly be traced to this source.

The reader of this book will find little that is not presented with greater authority by writers of recognized standing elsewhere. Many sweeping generalizations are made with the object of proving the well-being of the masses under Mughal domination; but the work will not add to our knowledge of India in pre-British days, and it abounds in misprints which could have been avoided by a little careful proof-reading.

R. E. E.

## THE SITE OF THE ṚIGVEDIC BATTLE BETWEEN DIVODÂSA AND ŚAMBARA.

BY DR. S. N. PRADHAN, M.SC., PH.D., BRIHASPATI.

IN my *Chronology of Ancient India* I have determined 1500 B.C. as the approximate period when the Ṛgvedic king Divodâsa fought and killed the great Dâsa leader Śambara. I have also shown that in this great battle the famous Daśaratha Aikṣvâka, the father of Râma, together with some of the kings of the Pâñcâla dynasty were the allies of Divodâsa. I am now in a position to suggest the exact place where this great Ṛgvedic battle took place. There are reasons for believing that it was one of the greatest battles which the Ṛgvedic Âryans fought against the non-Âryans of India, and that kings of several Âryan dynasties co-operated with Divodâsa against Śambara, who also had allies, and that the campaign occupied several months.

Bharadvâja Vâjineya, the Purohita of Divodâsa says : [1] "Oh Indra ! who art the subduer of enemies, thou hast achieved a glorious deed ; for, oh hero ! thou hast rent asunder hundreds and thousands (of the soldiers of Śambara), hast killed Śambara (when issuing) from the hill, and hast protected Divodâsa with marvellous protections."

Gṛtsamada, the son of Śunahotra Bharadvâja says : [2] "He who discovered in the fortieth autumn Śambara dwelling in the hills ; who slew Ahi that put forth his vigour, Danu's son as he lay ; he, oh men ! is Indra."

Gṛtsamada says [3] again : "Oh Adharyus ! present the Soma libations to him who demolished the hundred old citadels of Śambara and cast down the hundred thousand followers of Varcin."

Vâmadeva, the priest of Somaka Sâhadevya, says : [4] "Indra has overturned a hundred stone-built cities for Divodâsa, the donor of oblations."

Vâmadeva says [5] again : "Oh Indra ! thou hast slain the Dâsa Śambara, the son of Kulitara, hurling him from off the huge rock."

Prince Parucchepa, the son of Divodâsa, says : [6] "Terrible Indra hurled Śambara from the hill for Atithigva Divodâsa."

It is clear from the above statements that Śambara had in his possession several hill *purs*, or citadels or castles, and that one of his allies was Varcin, and that the *purs* or citadels were stormed by Divodâsa, who was a worshipper of Indra, and that Śambara was hurled down from a huge rock and was killed. The Ṛṣis usually ascribe these heroic deeds to Indra and even to other deities, meaning that they were performed by the deities on behalf of their worshippers (*vide* my *Chronology of Ancient India*, p. 12, f.). The battle with Śambara took place in a country which Bharadvâja calls [7] by the name 'Udabraja,' which literally means 'sea-girt' [*uda*='water' as in *udapâna* or *udadhi*, and *braja*='girdle,' as in *Giribraja*].

Gṛtsamada Śaunahotra who, as we have seen, refers to the destruction of the hill-forts of Śambara, says : [8] "Oh (Indra), doer of many (heroic) deeds ! you who carried Sahavasu, the son

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[1] त्वं तदुक्थमिंद्र बर्हणा कः प्र यच्छता सहस्रा शूर दर्षि ।
अव गिरेर्दासं शंबरं हन्प्रावो दिवोदासं चित्राभिरूती ॥ RV., VI, 26, 5.

[2] RV., II, 12, 11.

[3] अध्वर्यवो यः शतं शंबरस्य पुरो बिभेदाश्मनेव पूर्वीः ।
यो वर्चिनः शतमिंद्र. सहस्रमपावपद्भरता सोममस्मै ॥ RV., II, 14, 6.

[4] शतमश्मन्मयीनां पुरामिंद्रो व्यास्यत् । दिवोदासाय दाशुषे ॥ RV., IV, 30, 20.

[5] उत दासं कौलितरं बृहतः पर्वतादधि ।
अवाहन्निंद्र शंबरं ॥ RV., IV, 30, 14.

[6] RV., I, 130, 7.

[7] RV., VI, 47, 21.

[8] यो नार्मरं सहवसुं निहंतवे पृक्षाय च दासवेशाय चावहः ।
ऊर्जयंत्या अपरिविष्टमास्यमुतैवाद्य पुरुकृत सास्युक्थ्यः ॥ RV., II, 13, 8.

of Nṛmara, to the unbesieged gate of Ûrjayantî for Pṛksa and Dâsaveśa, are worthy to be praised." Sâyana is mistaken about the meaning of the words Pṛkṣa and Dâsaveśa. These represent the names of two persons who killed Sahavasu, the son of Nṛmara. Here we must state that we had suspected them to be proper names long before we consulted the *Vedische Studien*, where we find, to our agreeable surprise, that Dr. Pischel, too, has similarly suspected this to be so. Thus our independent findings, strengthening each other, go towards proving that the Vedic poet mentions here a historical fact. Sâyana is, secondly, mistaken about the word Ûrjayantî. He makes *ûrjayantyâḥ* mean 'of the edge of the thunderbolt struck with force' [*valavatyâ bajradhârâyâ*]. He is, thirdly, perplexed about the meaning of the term *aparivistam*, which he renders by *malâdibhiravyâptam*, meaning thereby 'free from rust, dirt, etc.' But this is a clear mistake committed on account of the former confusion about the meaning of 'Ûrjayantî.' The term *aparivistam* really means 'uncircumvented,' 'unbesieged,' 'not surrounded,' say by enemies; Sâyana himself interprets *parivistam* (in Ṛgveda, I. 116. 20) as 'besieged by enemies' [*śatrubhiḥ parivṛtam*]. His mistake about the word Ûrjayantî, of which the possessive singular form is Ûrjayantâḥ, is evidently due to his want of knowledge of the ancient geography of India.

We know that Ûrjayantî is the same as the Prakṛit Ujjayanta, where the diminutive suffix is eliminated. Ujjayanta is mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata* [9] as a sacred hill, a *tîrtha*, lying in the south in Surâṣṭra (=modern Kâṭhiâvâḍ), where a certain Nârada in ancient times related the *Purâṇa* or ancient history, probably in the form of *anuvaṃśyâ gâthâs*, as was the custom in those days. The other *tîrthas* or holy places contiguous to Ujjayanta are, according to the *Mahâbhârata*, Prabhâsa (just by the side of modern Somnâth), Dvâravatî (=modern Dvârakâ), Piṇḍâraka (near Golagar, 16 miles to the east of Dvârakâ), etc. The sacred hill Ujjayanta is, according to Merutuṅga, the same as the hill Raivataka.[10] But according to the *Bombay Gazetteer* (vol. VIII), Revatâcala is the name of the hill immediately over the Revata Kuṇḍa or Dâmodara Kuṇḍa. It was so named after the Sâtvata king Revata, who removed himself from Dvârakâ to this place on behalf of Kṛṣṇa and Valabhadra (*vide* the table in my *Chronology of Ancient India*). About two miles from the foot of Revatâcala is the celebrated rock with the inscriptions of Aśoka, Rudradâman, and Skandagupta. In Rudradâman's inscription, as also in that of Skandagupta, the Sanskrit base *Ûrjayant* (according to the Kalâpa and other schools) (=Pkr. Ujjayanta) is used as the name of the hill Girnâr. The fort on mount Girnâr (=Ujjayanta=Ûrjayantî) is a rich mine of antiquities. It was almost impregnable on account of its inaccessibility [remember *Ûrjayantyâḥ aparivistam âsyam*] and was on many occasions the refuge of the local Râja of Junâgaḍ who used to flee to this fort when the fort below of Junâgaḍ was besieged and taken by invading armies.

Girnâr has six peaks or Tuks (i.e., *ṭoks*), viz.:—(1) Neminâtha Tuk, (2) Gomatî Gaṅgâ Tuk, (3) Kâlikâ Devî Tuk, a resort of Aghorîs, (4) Ambâ Mâtâ Tuk, (5) Gorakṣanâtha Tuk, 3666 ft., (6) Dattâtreya Pâdukâ Tuk. A great rock named 'Bhairava Jap' forms a most picturesque object, from which ascetics were wont to hurl themselves. [Recollect here the statement of Vâmadeva that Śambara was hurled from off a huge rock.] Under the Girnâr and the Datar hills is the modern town Junâgaḍ (lit. 'ancient fort'). Lassen, in his *Indische Alterthumskunde*, gives the ancient name of Junâgaḍ as Yavanagaḍh. This is clearly a mistake, for *junâ* is evidently the softened Prâkṛit form from the Ṛgvedic term *jârṇa* (RV., II, 14, 3) which means 'old,' the stages being *junna, junâ*. Mîrzâ Muḥammad Sâdiq Isfahânî is correct in stating in his *Taḥqîq al 'arab* that Junâgaḍh signifies an 'ancient castle.' In medieval writings, it appears as Jirandurg or Jirangaḍh, but here *jiran* indicates that in medieval times the Prâkṛit *junâ* was Sanskṛitized into *jîrṇa*, which, in accordance with a very common change, became *jiran*. The names Purâtanapur, Pûrvanagar, Junâgaḍ,

[9] *Gd. MBh.*, III, 88, 21-23 : *Kumb. MBh.*, III, 86, 21-23.

[10] *Prabandhacintâmaṇi*, Tawney's translation, p. 96.

Jirandurg, etc., indicate that 'ancient fort' is the real signification of the name. The modern town Junâgaḍ, as we have said, is under the Girnâr and Datar hills and was built by Ṣulṭân Muḥammad Begada of Gujarât and was named Mustafâbâd.

The Uparkoṭ or fort of Junâgaḍ was the ancient Junâgaḍ, where the lieutenants of the great Aśoka, and still later of the Gupta kings, lived. It has been besieged and taken many times, on which occasions the Râjas used to flee to the inaccessible fort on the hill Girnâr (=Ujjayanta). The Uparkoṭ contains most interesting rock-cut apartments and caves, and the whole of the ditch and the neighbourhood is honeycombed with caves and other remains. I suspect these rock-cut apartments date from pre-Âryan times. They were used by the Buddhist monks and ascetics in later times. The town Junâgaḍ is mentioned in the Girnâr inscription of Rudradâman, as well as in the *Prabandhacintâmaṇi*, where it is called Girinagara. The hill Ujjayanta itself is nowadays called Girnâr (=Girinagara), but this name has been transferred to the hill Ujjayanta in later times.[11] The former name of the hill was Ujjayanta, as stated in the *Mahâbhârata*, or to be more Sanskritic, Ûrjayant, as in the inscriptions of Rudradâman and Skandagupta. The hill Ujjayanta or Girnâr, however, is only one of the hills known by the name of Junâgaḍ, and is at a distance of about four miles to the east of the modern town of Junâgaḍ. Yuan Chwang calls it Yü-shan-to (=Ujjayanta).

Now turn to the *Râmâyaṇa*,[12] which says that Daśaratha Aikṣvâka together with other Râjarṣis [mark the appellation *râjarṣi* which the *Vâyu*, *Matsya*, *Harivaṃśa*, *Brahma* and other *purâṇas* have unanimously given to Divodâsa] marched to the South [*dakṣiṇâm diśam*] evidently from Ayodhyâ, the capital of Daśaratha, as well as from Kâśi, the capital of Divodâsa, to a *pura* named Vaijayanta, and that the country where they went lay adjacent to the Daṇḍaka country [*Daṇḍakâm prati*], and that they all fought against Śambara, whose ensign was the whale [*timidhvaja*] and who was in possession of a hundred *mâyâs* [*śatamâya*]. It is now at once easy to catch the equation :—

Ûrjayantî=Ujjayanta=Vaijayanta. The appellation *timidhvaja* ['one whose ensign is the whale'] used in the Râmâyaṇa for Śambara, and the description of his country in the same work as having been adjacent to the Daṇḍaka country, receive an extremely interesting support from the *Bṛhatsaṃhitâ* (XIV, 16) of Varâhamihira, which mentions a country named Timiṅgilâśana [*i.e.*, 'the country of whale-eaters'] contiguous to the Daṇḍakâvana country on one hand and Kaccha and Bhadra on the other. The appellation *śatamâya* also of the *Râmâyaṇa* is a faint echo of the oft reiterated statement of the Ṛgvedic Ṛṣis that Śambara had a hundred citadels, *mâyâ* meaning a citadel where one could conceal oneself while fighting. It appears from all this that Śambara had Varcin, Sahavasu, etc., as his allies, just as Divodâsa had Daśaratha, Pṛkṣa, Dâsaveśa, etc., as his allies, and that this great battle was fought about the hills known as Junâgaḍ (=old forts= the hundred old stone-built forts in RV., II, 14, 6), and particularly about the fort on mount Girnâr or Ujjayanta. How beautifully this is supported by the ancient name Udabraja used by the Ṛgvedic Ṛsi Bharadvâja will be realised when one looks at Kâṭhiâvâḍ on a map and perceives that it is really an *udabraja* country, being surrounded on almost all sides by the gulfs of Cambay and Cutch and the Arabian Sea.

From the Ṛgveda it is clear that quite a number of hill *purs* (=*giri puras*=*giri nagaras*) of Śambara were destroyed by Divodâsa, who reserved the hundredth *pur* for his residence.[13] This *pur* was very probably the inaccessible fort on mount Girnâr. Gṛtsamada informs us that the *pur* Ûrjayanti was impregnable (*apariviṣṭam*). Vâmadeva very explicitly states that

[11] *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, III, 57—N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, s.v.

[12] Nirṇayasâgara Press Edition, II, 9, 11-16.

[13] RV., VII, 19, 5; IV, 26, 3.

Śambara was brought down from the top of a huge rock.[14] and Parucchepa, the son of Divodâsa, agrees with Vâmadeva in informing us that Śambara was hurled from a rock.[15] [Remember here that ascetics were wont to hurl themselves from the huge rock Bhairava Jap.] Gṛtsamada clearly states that Sahavasu, the son of Nṛmara, was killed by Pṛkṣa and Dâsaveśa at the unbesieged, or inaccessible, gate of Ûrjayantî.[16] This fort was thus very probably the citadel on the top of the hill Ûrjayant (=Ujjayanta=Girnâr) and was on account of its inaccessibility practically impregnable (*aparivistam*). This was probably the *pur* that was reserved by Divodâsa for his own residence.

To sum up :

(1) The country named Timiṅgilâśana, *i.e.*, the country of whale-eaters mentioned by Varâhamihira as situated in the south, and roughly contiguous to Kaccha on one side and Daṇḍakâvana on the other, agrees remarkably with the title Timidhvaja (*i.e.*, one whose ensign is the whale) used in the *Râmâyaṇa* for Śambara and with the description in the *Râmâyaṇa* of the town of Śambara as having been situated in the south and adjacent to the Daṇḍaka country.

(2) The name of the country in which the battle took place is given by Bharadvâja as Udabraja, which is the most interesting and appropriate Ṛgvedic name for Kâṭhiâvâḍ, for it is really an Udabraja country, being surrounded on almost all sides by the gulfs of Cambay and Cutch and the Arabian Sea.

(3) The expressions *purvîḥ. puraḥ*, used by the Ṛgvedic Ṛsi Gṛtsamada agree remarkably with the ancient names Purâtanapura, Pûrvanagara, etc., for Junâgaḍ [*junâ* being the Prâkrit form from the Ṛgvedic *jûrna* (RV., II. 14, 3), and *gaḍ=gaḍh*, गड़,=*pura*, a fort.

(4) The expressions *aśmanmayînâṃ purâṃ* of Vâmadeva and 'Giri' of Bharadvâja and Parucchepa, suggest the later name Giripura or Girinagara or Girnâr.

(5) The identity :

Ûrjayanti of the Ṛgveda=Ujjayanta of the *Mahâbhârata* and *Prabandhacintâmaṇi* =Vaijayanta of the *Râmâyaṇa*=Ûrjayant of the inscriptions of Skandagupta and Rudradâman=Girinagara of the *Prabandhacintâmaṇi* and the Rudradâman inscription= Girnar, establishes it that the great Ṛgvedic battle was fought near the ancient castle Uparkot of Junâgad, which was besieged and stormed, and then again about the ancient fort on the hill Girnâr or Ujjayanta where Śambara probably retreated. It was fought in the medieval Ṛgvedic period, about 1500 B.C. (*vide* my *Chronology of Ancient India*).

We hope to show in future that the earliest Ṛgvedic battles were fought about 2000 B.C., which would approximately be the time of the advent of the various Âryan races into India, and that the pre-Vedic culture, superseded and partially adopted by the Âryans, was very probably the culture that is represented by the antiquities which are now being unearthed at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro.

[14] RV., IV, 30, 14. [15] RV., I. 130. 7. [16] RV., II, 13, 8.

# ORIGIN OF THE CASTE SYSTEM IN INDIA.

BY THE LATE S. CHARLES HILL.

(*Continued from page* 84.)

From the earliest times and under all these systems a different kind of effort had been made to fight the ills of Society. This took the form of secret societies or fraternities, in which carefully selected individuals, entering as neophytes, pledged themselves to absolute secrecy and obedience and, under a strict system of training, passed through successive grades of promotion. Under the despotic orders of their superiors and sheltered by secrecy, without claiming any open share in the control of the State, these Secret Societies undertook to remedy all injustice and tyranny. But no course of training, however wise and severe, could, *in the period of a single life*, so mould the character of a man as to fit him for absolute and irresponsible power, and these Societies, after a time, instead of being a protection to the people became objects of terror and were abolished as such, except in a few cases where their aims were under a merely nominal secrecy, limited to purely harmless or philanthropic purposes.

From such enquiries it appeared that all previous political systems had been based upon the idea that stability could be obtained by a union of force and wisdom in the ruler. On the part of the ruled nothing was looked for beyond submission. The difficulty was to keep the force and wisdom permanent in the ruling body, and to do this had proved to be impracticable. It had also been proved that even careful selection combined with careful training was insufficient to form the perfect ruler. To ensure stability it was necessary to find something which, socially, would be more permanent and binding than either force or wisdom and even than force and wisdom combined. Where was this to be looked for ? Was it in some Superman or in Man recreated ? The supposed Supermen of earlier civilizations had all proved to be only men after all. The only avenue of hope lay in the possibility of recreating Man, or, rather, of recreating Mankind.

(XII) *Human beings not originally of one but of four types. Recovery of these types.*—It had, of course, been noticed that, however unstable and perverse men might be, their lives were always, more or less consistently, governed by one of several predominant motives, such as bodily comfort or pleasure, the love of material gain, the love of honour or the benevolent desire to help their fellows ; in other words, there were at least four types of human character. Furthermore, whether the occupation which a man followed were the inspiration or the consequence of his predominant motive, it appeared that certain occupations were usually accompanied more especially by one only of the motives just mentioned ; thus in the peasant and artisan the ruling motive was the love of security and comfort combined with the habit of manual labour, in the trader thrift and the amassing of wealth regardless of personal hardship, in the soldier honour and the love of glory, in the priest benevolence and the love of wisdom and contemplation. Each of these was beneficial to the community and each of these allowed a full exercise of human faculties. Men were unhappy either because this exercise was restricted in some way or other or because, through their own fickleness, they were often uncertain as to what they wanted or ignorant how to obtain it. Further, it had been noticed that, though such qualities as it was hoped would distinguish the ruling class from the ruled could not be permanently retained in that class, still, where marriage had been carefully restricted, these qualities were more steady and persistent than where marriage between the classes was allowed to be promiscuous, and also it had been noticed that, where communities or occupations had kept themselves pure from external contact, particular qualities had developed and persisted. All this suggested the former existence of primeval types of men of different qualities, now only imperfectly represented by the predominant motives just mentioned. If then the discontent and unhappiness of individuals could be rightly ascribed to their being actuated by discordant and conflicting motives, it was evident that

they were traceable to the fact that the individuals themselves were the offspring not ot single but of mixed types.

This conclusion seemed to be borne out by the religious beliefs of the people.[3] The early Aryans, as far as we can make out, believed that, whilst the Body and Mind of Man were changeable and perishable though to a certain extent reproducible in his offspring, his Soul or Spirit was something of a divine nature, immortal and unchangeable, inhabiting a material body for a certain time and for a definite duty or task imposed upon it by the Supreme Being. This material body might be anything, even what we call an inanimate object or one of the lower animals or a human being or even something superhuman, but after the allotted time the Spirit passed into a higher or lower material body, as it had succeeded or failed in the task last assigned to it. In each case the task to be carried out by the Soul in any embodied form was conditioned by the qualities of that kind of form. Evidently the possibility of the Soul carrying out its task successfully would largely depend upon the purity of the body which it occupied—its freedom from any admixture with bodies of different nature or quality.

Believing then that the Soul or Spirit occupied in turn so many material bodies, each with peculiar and characteristic qualities, what reason was there to suppose that that portion of its course which was spent in human bodies, themselves clearly distinguishable into classes, was spent only in bodies suitable to a single stage of their course ? Was it not more likely that its earthly *human* course consisted of a succession of stages, such stages being represented by different types of man ? The Hindu belief claimed, at least, four such stages, *viz.*, the Sudra, the Vaisya, the Kshatriya and the Brahman.

Observation and religious belief, thus leading to the same conclusion, pointed out the path of reform, namely an effort to get back to the primitive types and to preserve them in the future by a rigid restriction of marriage and the apportionment of occupations suitable to the different grades and types of men, in other words, to the establishment of the Caste System.

It could hardly be expected that even by the utmost care the purity of the original types could be absolutely recovered but it was possible that, if such care were willingly adopted and exercised as a religious duty, in the course of generations such an approximation could be reached that, whilst the predominant desires belonging to each class and with them the Will would be strengthened, the lesser desires, which were due to ages of unguarded intercourse and now caused instability and weakness, would, if they were not totally destroyed, at least be rendered innocuous. If this result could be achieved, human beings, so far as the community was concerned, would be born into surroundings absolutely congenial, both as regards family relationships and the occupations of their lives. They would no longer be disturbed by envy of the lot of others or by vain longing for change from a mode of life which was dull or irksome. Their content would be justified by the belief that, whilst quietly performing the duties of their respective spheres, they were facilitating the mysterious task of the indwelling Spirit which animated them. Accordingly in the *Bhagavad Gita* we read :—The duties of Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras have been apportioned to the qualities born of their own [bodily] natures. Tranquillity, self-restraint, austerity, purity, patience, rectitude, spiritual knowledge and faith are the natural duties of a Brahman. Valour, glory, courage, resolution in battle, liberality and lordly bearing are the natural duties of a Kshatriya. Agriculture, tending of cattle and trade, form the natural duties of a Vaisya. The natural duty of a Sudra consisteth in service. *A man being contented with his own particular lot and duty obtaineth perfection.* Hear how that perfection is to be accomplished. The man who maketh an offering of his own work to that Being from whom all beings proceed and by whom the whole universe is pervaded, by that means obtaineth perfection. *Better is one's own work, though faulty, than another's work well performed.*"

3 "In the . . . . *Vishnu Vayu* and *Markandeya Puranas* . . . . castes are described as coeval with creation and as having been naturally distinguished by different *guna*, involving varieties of moral character." Dr. Muir, as quoted in Beauchamp's edition of Dubois' *Hindu Manners*, p. 11 n

(XIII) *Effect of the establishment of the Caste System.*—Once this doctrine was established in the minds of the Hindu people that great source of social unrest which is caused by the desire for social elevation was swept entirely away, for, on the one hand, the Hindu was taught to believe that it was as impossible for a Sudra to become a Vaisya, or a Vaisya a Kshatriya, as it would be for, say, a bird to become a mammal; and, in the second place, had social elevation been possible, it was not desirable, for it would mean not an increase but a decrease of satisfaction as far as his particular bodily and mental desires were concerned. He was taught that happiness in this and subsequent lives was dependent upon submission to his lot, not by teachers who contended with him for material rewards and earthly honours and obtained them at his expense, but who proved themselves divine by their contempt for and renunciation of all which he himself valued. It was, in fact, as the Abbé Dubois has pointed out, this supreme renunciation by the Brahmans that, in spite of the physical weaknesses which they shared with all other human beings, differentiated them from other would-be rulers, and as it were, without the use of force, compelled the peoples of India to accept at once their teachings and their claims and, still at the present moment, in spite of any self-contradiction between their conduct and their teaching, makes even the body of a Brahman holy, as the only possible habitation of the Brahman Spirit.

(XIV) *The Caste System the only Social System ever proposed upon a basis stronger than Force.*—From the above enquiry I think we may conclude that the Hindus are the only people in the world which has successfully put into actual practice a scheme of social life thought out upon purely religious and philosophical grounds, and entirely independent of any form of political government. It is the only social system which, whilst it provides a ruling class, bases the rights of the rulers upon entire material renunciation and the duties of the ruled upon love and respect. It provides every member of the community with a position which, though rigidly fixed, is fixed only by his natural limitations, and so allows him every opportunity of using to their full extent whatever abilities he may possess to the general advantage. The system is permanently stable because of the complete absence of any motive on the part of the ruled for seeking any alteration.

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# THE VELAR ASPIRATE IN DRAVIDIAN.

BY L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.

## General.

JESPERSEN distinguishes three types of the velar aspirate:

(*a*) What he calls the *extra-strong h*, which is brought out with a very strong breath and which produces the impression of an "asthmatic" *h*-. He uses the symbol [*h h*] for this sound. An instance of this sound given by Jespersen is the *h*- in English *Holy Ghost* as pronounced during sermon-time in English churches, when extra force is bestowed upon the production of the sound, possibly (says Jespersen) as a strong reaction against the dropping of *h*'s amongst the unlettered classes. The vocal chords stand very far apart in the production of the sound and assume, according to Jespersen's notation, the position ϵ3.

(*b*) The *normal h* occurring initially in English and German words, where the vocal chords stand a little apart (ϵ 2) at first at the position called *Hauchstellung* by Jespersen, and then come close together before the next vocalic sound is produced.

(*c*) The *intervocal h* as in English *alcohol*, etc. The vocal chords here do not quite reach the position ϵ2, but a momentary weakening of the vibratory movement of the chords alone intervenes, accompanied by a production of an expiratory breath, and the sound, therefore, is more or less voiced. It may be observed here that while the extra-strong *h* can never be voiced, the normal *h* may be voiced or unvoiced according as the vibration of the vocal chords is greater or less.

Extra-strong [*h h*] is heard in the emphatic production of initial *h* in Sanskrit words like ***hasti***, ***hariṇa***, *hemanta*, etc.

Ordinarily, initial and intervocal *h* of Sanskrit is given the value of a more or less voiced *h* where the vocal chords assume the positions: ϵ 1 or ϵ 2: but I have observed that in Malabar, Sanskrit *h* normally is brought out with the pure breathed value, while the *paṇḍits* of the eastern coast give it more or less a half-voiced value.

Sanskrit *visarga* is a full unvoiced *h* occurring at the ends of syllables or words. The completely unvoiced character is of course due to its final position.

The minute [ʰ] occurring in intervocal positions in English words is heard in modern Indian languages occasionally : (*a*) The rapid enunciation of Sanskrit intervocal *h*- in provinces where intervocal *h* has more or less disappeared from native words approximates to this minute [ʰ] [ϵ 1 (2) 1] ; (*b*) the old Tamil sound known as *âydam* (subtle) is also given the value of this minute [ʰ] when old texts are read.

Caldwell, Vinson and other grammarians of Dravidian have pointed out that the velar aspirate[1] was originally foreign to the Dravidian languages and that it exists in some of the languages to-day only through the influence of Sanskrit. Caldwell approvingly quotes Trumpp's suggestion that " the aversion to aspirates in Dravidian seems to point to a Tartar underground current in the mouth of the common people." Caldwell evidently finds in this fact a support for his favourite view that the Dravidian languages were related to the Finnish-Ugrian dialects of East Europe ; but, as the relationship has not been proved. this suggestion is at present worth nothing.

Caldwell confined his observations more or less to the cultivated dialects of the south. and his opinion about the incidence of *h* in Dravidian was based upon his observation of these dialects alone. An examination of the occurrence of *h* in all the known dialects of Dravidian would be essential, before we could confirm or modify Caldwell's opinion in this matter.

The object of this paper is to analyse the occurrence of the velar aspirate in all the dialects of Dravidian, to suggest tentative explanations of their origin, and to arrive at an estimate about the incidence of the sound in modern Dravidian.

## II. Occurrence of the Sound.

1. *Tamil*:—

(A) Native words do not *commonly* show the velar aspirate at all, judged by the spelling handed down to us from of old.

(B) In a very small group of words, we find that after a short initial vowel and before a plosive, a slight velar aspirate[2] described as *âydam* (subtle, minute)[3] is introduced, as in *ahgam* (grain), *aẖdu* (that), *ihdu* (this), etc. Both Caldwell and Vinson were of opinion that the sound (as well as the sign ஃ) was invented by grammarians for the prosodic lengthening of certain syllables and that this sound could not have been a native development of Tamil.

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[1] The relationship between the fricatives and the velar aspirate has to be borne in mind, in considering the incidence of *h* in Mod. Dravidian dialects. Breathed fricatives [ç], [ ʃ ], [s], [θ], [f] involve in their production (*a*) strong breath-force and (*b*) fairly wide separation of the vocal chords (ϵ 3, usually). These latter features inevitably introduce an aspirate element, the strength of which would vary with the intensity of breath-force and the extent of the widening of the vocal chords. It will be found that in certain dialects of Dravidian the fricatives produced from surds in different positions develop into the aspirate : (*a*) Initial *p* of old Kannada and *t* of Tuḷu have thus changed into the aspirate through the corresponding intermediate breathed fricatives ; (*b*) the intervocal back plosive of Tamil has in the colloquial changed into a half-voiced aspirate through the intermediate stage of fricative ; (*c*) the plosives have in certain contexts in Tamil and Gôṇḍî (see below) given rise to the minute *h* ; (*d*) the palatal fricative [ç] involved in the production of prothetic on-glides in Kûi has also given rise to *h* (see below).

[2] *Sûtra* 38 of *Tolkâppiyam* describes the sound. Modern Tamil commentators wrongly regard this sound as being neither a vowel nor a consonant. About its moric value, opinions differ, Tolkâppiyar himself giving it only the value of a half *mâtra*, while later grammarians cite instances where a full *mâtra* is given to the sound.

[3] Vinson suggests that *âydam* may be a *tadbhava* from Sanskrit *âyudham* (instrument), probably with a view to supporting thereby his view that the sound was borrowed from the Sanskrit *visarga*.

The significant fact that the syllable immediately preceding the plosive which produces the *âydam* in Tamil, is usually *short*, suggests the possible influence of some kind of accent-distribution in the production of the aspirate.

The following facts, however, militate against this opinion :—

(*a*) If it had been a borrowing from Sanskrit, it is strange that it should have been borrowed only in the very limited contexts in which it occurs in Tamil.

(*b*) The use of the *visarga* immediately before a plosive generally brings about in certain contexts phonetic changes in Sanskrit, which convert the aspirate into a different sound altogether, e.g., *niḥ+kâma = niṣkâma* : *niḥ+cintâ = niścinta*, etc.

It is not explained why Tamil should have failed to take note of this change.

(*c*) There are a number of contexts in the rude uncultivated dialects of Central India, where the presence of the plosive has given rise to an aspirate immediately before the plosive, as in Gôṇḍî plural ending *-hk* and Gôṇḍî causative ending *-ht*. The phonetic features of the change in Gôṇḍî are, as will be seen below, exactly on a par with the features characterising the production of the Tamil *âydam*.

(*d*) The *âydam* of Tamil is produced also by Tamil *sandhi* rules: The groups *l+t* and *ḷ+t* immediately after short vowels in word-combinations change into *h ṯ* and *h ṭ* in old Tamil, e.g., *kal+tîdu=kahḏîdu* (the stone is a bad thing): *muḷ+tîdu=muhḍîdu* (the thorn is a bad thing), etc. The change here is entirely independent of any Sanskrit influence: the initial plosive surd of the second component, in the process of its assimilative change into the alveolar or the cerebral (as the case may be) passes through the fricative stage which has given rise to the slight aspirate.

(*e*) There are a few derivative old Tamil forms which in contexts similar to the above show the slight aspirate, e.g., *ahal* (mark), *eham* (wheel), etc. These are, unlike *ihdu*, etc., without any alternative forms, and could certainly not have been "invented for prosodic lengthening."

It is quite possible, therefore, that the slight aspirate *h* known as *âydam* in Tamil was not a "borrowing" from Sanskrit. It would probably be more proper to consider it as more or less a native development in Tamil, which was recognized and fixed in the literary dialect, probably by those who were acquainted with the Sanskrit *visarga*.

As the slight aspirate does not occur in similar contexts in any other dialects of Dravidian except Gôṇḍî, we may presume it to have been a secondary development in Tamil.

(C) Intervocal *g* in common speech changes into the fricative and often into the aspirate in Tamil: *pahu* (to divide); *paḍahu* (boat); *vêhu* (to burn); *pôhu* (to go), etc.

This aspirate, however, is stable only in syllables which carry some amount of emphasis with them; in unemphasized syllables, the aspirate disappears, sometimes lengthening the adjoining vowel, if it is short, e.g., *pagalu* (division, etc.) > *pahalu* > *pâlu*.

2. *Malayâḷam* :—

(*a*) The Tamil *âydam* is not found in Malayâḷam.

(*b*) The influence of Sanskrit on Malayâḷam has been so great that the intervocal aspirate shows, both in Sanskrit borrowings and in native developments (from intervocal plosives), greater stability than in Tamil; but the general tendency of Dravidian to eliminate the aspirate is, nevertheless, observable in changes like the following :—*vahiyâ* (not bearable, not permissible) > *vaiyâ* > *vayyâ*.

3. *Telugu* :—

(*a*) Telugu does not show the aspirate in native roots or forms; the Tamil *âydam* is not met with either.

(*b*) Intervocal aspirates are not developed from the intervocal plosives; in intervocalic positions the plosive never even changes into the fricative.

4. *Kannaḍa* :—

(*a*) The remarks made above in regard to Telugu apply to Kannaḍa also.

(*b*) A very interesting secondary change in Kannaḍa is the development in middle and modern Kannaḍa of a velar aspirate from *p*, very commonly in initial positions and less

commonly in intervocal positions, e.g., *hû* (*pû*), 'flower'; *hôgu* (*pôgu*), 'go'; *huli* (*puli*), 'tiger'; *intaha* (*intapa*), 'in this manner'; *ahudu*, 'it becomes,' 'yes,' etc., etc.

This change has been attributed to the influence of Marâṭhî particularly and to Prakrit generally, where such a change is common.

In view of the fact that initial *p* in Kannaḍa involves a greater aspirate breath than in the other Dravidian dialects, I doubt the necessity for postulating foreign influence for the change. The course of change here is $p > f > h$: compare in this connection the change of initial *t* to *h* in Tuḷu (see below).

(*c*) Kannaḍa occasionally shows a prothetic aspirate[4] before initial vowels of words, e.g., *haraṭu*, to prate (cf. Tam. *alaṭṭu*); *harigu*, margin (from root *aru*), etc.

This tendency, as we shall see below, is observable, though not in Tamil or Telugu, in Tuḷu among the southern dialects, and very commonly in Kûi-Kuvi, Kuruk͟h and Brâhûî among the other dialects.

The general influence of Indo-Âryan, which employs initial *h* so commonly may be presumed here; and the influence of Austric dialects like Munḍâri, which has a prothetic *h-* may have been active in Kuruk͟h and Gôṇḍi. The tolerance of the aspirate in the central and northern Dravidian dialects may be said to be due to the general influence of the neighbouring Austric and Indo-Âryan. Nevertheless, the development of the aspirate in several cases in the Dravidian dialects of Central India will, as we shall see later, be found to be the result of independent secondary changes in these dialects themselves.

(*d*) Tuḷu shows a very large number of words with initial *h*. some of these are derived from *p* as in Kannaḍa (through *f*), while others are prothetic :—

(a) *h* from *p*: *hû* (flower); *hagalu* (day time); *hage* (enmity); *hittale* (brass); *huḍu* (hold);

(b) *h* from *t*: *huḍaru* (lamp); *hode* (river); *hû* (to see); *harpu* (to pierce); *hinpi* (to eat); *heḷi* (clear); *helike* (clearness); *hôju* (to appear); *huḍaru* (light);

(c) *h* as a rare prothetic sound: *hambalu* (tipsiness); *haḍpu* (closing); *hamaru* (to sink); *hêru* (to climb), etc.

It will be found that *h* is a derivative sound in all these and similar instances, because the common Dravidian roots have *p*, *t*, or initial vowels, respectively.

The process of change in (a) and (b), as we have already indicated above, is that the plosive turns into a fricative and then produces an aspirate; instances given in (c) should be compared with similar instances of prothetic *h* found in Kurukh (see below).

The change of *p* and *t* to *h* is common in the Prakritic languages of North and Central India. How far this tendency of Prakrit was responsible for inducing a similar change in Kannaḍa, Tuḷu, Kûi-Kuvi, etc., it is not easy to determine: the aspirate enunciation of the fricatives produced by the plosive surds (*p* and *t*) may directly lead to the production of the aspirate. There is nothing in this change which is contrary to the genius of Dravidian, especially as we know that even in Tamil, the fricatives produced from plosives have secondarily given rise to the aspirate. Nevertheless, the influence of Indo-Âryan cannot be completely ruled out.

[4] The occurrence of the prothetic aspirate *h* in the various dialects may here be summarized straightway :—1. Kannaḍa : The instances are so few and rare that in these the influence of analogy of the numerous forms with *h* (derived from original *p*) may be presumed. 2. Tulu : The number of instances is greater. 3. Kûi-Kuvi : The prothetic *h-* in many Kûi-Kuvi words is produced in the process of the incorporation of the characteristic on-glide before initial vowels (see below). 4. Gôndi also occasionally shows a prothetic *h-* dialectally. 5. Kurukh and Brâhûi have a good number of forms with initial *h-*. Is the incorporation of the prothetic *h-* a *native* change, though secondary? In Kûi the aspirate could be traced to a characteristic Dravidian process; but in the other dialects, the influence of Munḍâri and of Austric generally [cf. Munḍârî: *êr*, *hêr* (sow), etc.] may have to be postulated.

In connection with the change of *t* to *h* above, it has been recently postulated that the aspirate is produced from an original Dravidian *s* and that *t* itself is derived from *s*. It is true that Tuḷu shows the change of initial *s* to *t* in certain alternative forms like *sanci*, *tanci*, etc. But it would be sheer topsy-turvydom to consider *s* as the original form in the instances given in (b) above, when the corresponding common roots and forms in all the other Dravidian dialects show clearly the initial *t*. It should also be remembered in this connection that the change of *t* to *h*[5] is peculiar to Tuḷu, and that it does not occur in Kannaḍa.

Really we have in Tuḷu, in many instances, three sets of alternative dialectal forms with initial *t*, *s* and *h*, respectively :

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (to see) | .. | *tû* | *sû* | *hu* |
| (to appear) | .. | *tôju* | *sôju* | *hôju* |
| (river) | .. | *tude* | *sude* | *hude* |
| (clear) | .. | *teḷi* | *seḷi* | *heḷi* |
| (to pierce) | .. | *tarpu* | *sarpu* | *harpu* |

The forms with initial *t* are undoubtedly primitive, since it is these forms that are common to dialects other than Tuḷu : *tû* (to see), *tôju* (to appear) are connected with Tamil *tî* and *tôndru* (to see), etc.; *teḷi* is from the common Dravidian *ter* or *teḷ*; while *tarpu* is from *tir* or *tar* (to open) occurring in Tamil, Telugu, etc.

The initial *s* of the alternative forms mentioned above has to be explained as being derived from *t*. When the contact necessary for the production of *t* became loose, a fricative was produced which probably became *s* in one dialect and *h* in another through intermediate θ. It is not clear whether *t* directly changed into *s* or to a palatal fricative *ś* through the raising of the tongue and the consequent change of the point of articulation. It is possible that in some dialects the dental fricative directly resulted (Telugu, Tuḷu), while in others (like Tamil), the point of articulation was slightly raised and *ś* was produced. The affricate *c* (in *cuḍu*, etc., in Malayâḷam) is presumably a parallel development in certain dialects.

(c) *Kûi-Kuvi*.—The native development of the velar aspirate falls into four groups :

(1) The intervocal *h*, e.g., *veha* (boiled rice) *veg* ; *neha* (great, big), etc. The dorsal fricatives (from plosives *k*, *g*) have, as in Tamil, given rise to this aspirate.

(2) Checked aspirate at the ends of roots, e.g., *meh'* (to see) ; *uh'* (to beat) ; *doh'* (to build) ; *veh'* (to talk) ; *rih'* (to beg) ; *goh'* (to drink) ; *pih'* (to leave) ; *oh'* (to break) ; *neh'* (to fill) ; *reh'* (to turn round), etc.

(3) Initial *h* dialectally : (*a*) in some words developed from *k* or *p*, e.g., *halmu* (to go) ; *hô* (to go) ; *hêd* (to spoil) ; *homme* (money) ; (*b*) in prothetic positions, e.g., *hêlu* (to rise) ; *hêru* (plough); *hî* (give) ; *hiḍ* (not), etc.

(4) Prothetic *h* in a few words, introduced probably for emphasis, e.g., *hille* (not); remote demonstratives *hevasi*, *hedi*, etc. The introduction of an emphatic *h* in these cases may be compared to similar *h*- in Kurukh. Santâli (an Austric dialect) also shows a similar use.

The aspirate in class (1) above is from the intervocal plosive *k* or *g*, as the roots indicate, and as dialectal forms in Kûi themselves show. The change here is exactly parallel to what we have noticed in Tamil colloquial (see above).

The checked aspirate in Kûi-Kuvi also goes back to older consonant groups, which have, as in Tamil *ahgam*, *kahḍîdu*, etc., now been reduced to a slight *h* :

(To see) *meh'* < *midk* < *viḍk* (cf. Tamil *viḷi*, to open eyes); (to beat) *uh* < *uhk* (cf. Tamil *nokku*, to beat, and *ôngu*, to strike). (To build) *doh* < *toḍk* < *toḍ* (cf. Tamil *teḍukk*, to join); (to speak) *veh* < *veyku* (cf. Tamil *pêśu*, Kannaḍa *pêḷ*, Kurukh *bâ*, *vês*, *pes*, etc );

[5] Of all the southern dialects, it is Tuḷu that shows the maximum favour for a secondary *h* in native words. In this respect it shows considerable agreement with the central and northern Dravidian dialects. How far shall we be justified in presuming the influence of Indo-Aryan or Austric on Tuḷu ?

(to beg) *rih* (through aphesis characteristic of Kûi) < *craku* (cf. Tamil *cra.* to beg, etc.); (to drink) *goh* < *kuḍk* (cf. Tamil *kuḍi*, to drink. etc.) : (to leave) *pih* < *piṛku* (cf. common Dravidian *pin*, behind, etc.)

It will be seen that in most of the cases given above the aspirate goes back to a consonant group with *k* as its second component, which absorbs the first component and changes into *h*. We have already seen that *lt* and *ḷt* in Old Tamil become *ht* ; the production of *h* in the above Kûi words arises from a more or less parallel change.

The initial *h* of class (3) may arise from

1. *p*, e.g., *hommu* < *pommu* < *paṉamu* : *hô* < *pô*, etc. This change is rare in Kûi.

2. An ancient *k*, e.g., *hal* (to go) < χ*al* < *kal* (cf. Brâhûi and Kuru<u>kh</u> *ka*. to go. and southern *śel*, etc.)

The forms of this group alternatively appear with an initial *s* also. It has been suggested that the aspirate is derived [6] directly from this *s*, which in its turn may be traced to an original *k*- ; but this seems improbable because the *s*- forms are themselves derivative. The change of *s* to *h* is common in the neighbouring Indo-Âryan dialects, but I find no reason[7] to discard the view that the aspirate may have been directly derived (through the intermediate fricative) from the ancient *k*- :

*kal* > χ *al* > *hal* (to go).
*kal* > χ *al* > *cyæl* > *yal* > *śal* > *sal*.

The prothetic *h* of class (3) (b) and class (4) may be compared to its counterpart in Tuḷu (see above), and seems to have been introduced to denote a certain amount of emphasis.

(*f*) *Gôṇḍî.*—The aspirate in this dialect occurs :

(1) in connection with the formative ending -*k* of verbs, e.g., *kohk* (to pound) (cf. Tamil *koḷai*).

(2) plural endings of words terminating in syllables containing usually a long dorsal vowel, e.g., *talâ* (head), *talahk* : *rón* (house), *rohk* ; *miâr* (daughter) *miahk*, etc.

(3) in connection with the causative ending -*t*-, which often produces an aspirate, especially if the verb form has a terminal long vowel, e.g., *karî* (to learn), *karchta*, *tarî* (to descend), *tarhutta*, etc.

(4) rarely as a prothetic sound, as in *hal* (not).

The aspirate in classes (1) and (2) and (3) may be compared to the production of the *âydam* in Tamil in connection with fricatives arising from plosives, and similar instances in Kûi-Kuvi ; for the principle underlying the changes is in all these cases the same.

In Gôṇḍì causals, we find in some cases an *s* either in the place of *h* or forming a consonant group with adjacent sounds, e.g., *parra* (to gather), *parrista* or *parrihta* (to cause to gather) ; *targa* (to ascend), *targsta*, etc. The sound first produced in these cases is (on the principle explained above) *h*, but in some instances *h* changes into the fricative *s*. Compare the similar

6 The close examination of Kûi forms reveals that this dialect could not have merely *copied* the change of *s* to *h* from Indo-Âryan, or the use of the prothetic *h*- from Austric. Strong as was the influence of Indo-Âryan and Austric, the aspirates in Kûi seem to have been produced in the course of certain characteristically Dravidian processes of change ; the influence of foreign phonology seems to consist only in having given a particular orientation to the development of sounds. Though in the case of Kuru<u>kh</u> and Brâhûi, foreign influence may have been direct in many instances, it appears to me that so far as Tuḷu, Kannaḍa, Kûi and Gôṇḍi are concerned, the influence from outside may have been only indirect in giving a new orientation to changes that were Dravidian.

7 Initial *s* and *h* occur alternatively in another set of forms which in Common Dravidian have initial vowels, e.g., *sid* (not to be), *hiḍ* (<*il*) ; *sêru*, *hêru* (plough)<*ĉr*, etc.

Here, too, it is unnecessary to think that *h* was derived from *s* ; on the other hand, the origin of the new prothetic sounds was the result of the characteristic tendency of Dravidian to incorporate the prothetic glide :

*y̆*, the glide>*y*>*ś*>*s*
*y̆*, the glide>*çy*>*ç*>*h*

changes of *h* to *s* in the tense-forms of Kûi-Kuvi verbs with final *h*, e.g., *meh* (to see), *mespee*, etc. Compare also the change of *h* to *s* in Sanskrit *nih+kâma* (=*niṣkâma*); *nih+cinta* (=*niścinta*), etc., where the sibilant produced is assimilated to the character of the following plosive. In this change of *h* to *s*, the influence of Indo-Âryan was probably direct.

The prothetic aspirate of class (4) may be compared to the similar sounds which we have already noted in Tuḷu, Kannaḍa and Kûi-Kuvi above.

(*g*) *Kurukh*.—The aspirate occurs

(1) in aspirated consonants *kh*, *gh* ;

(2) as the 'emphatic' fricative (*hh*) which is transcribed in grammars as *kh* ;

(3) as the development of an original *k*, as *habkâ*, 'to bite' (cf. Tam. *kavvu*) ; *hâkna*, 'to keep watch' ;

(4) dialectally as a prothetic sound, e.g., *halkâ* (waves), *harâ* (plough), *horma* (all), *hû* (that), etc.

The presence of aspirate consonants and the development of the extra strong fricative point to the existence of strong foreign influence. Among the Dravidian dialects, Kurukh, along with Brâhûî, seems to display the greatest fondness for the aspirate sound.

The extra strong velar fricative occurs in Kuṛukh in native words initially and intervocally. Initially it is developed in some cases from Dravidian *k*, e.g., *khott* (to pound) ; *khoy* (to reap), though in other cases the unaspirated *k* of Dravidian is also preserved, e.g., *kirr* (to return) ; *kiṛ* (to put to bed). The aspirate plosive *kh* seems to be rare initially in native words. The rationale of the development in initial positions of the extra strong fricative from *k* appears, in a few cases, to be emphasis, e.g., cf. *kod* (to beat) and *khott* (to thrash).

Intervocal *kh* [*hh*] is also from original *k* and is usually found as the formative ending of certain verbs, e.g., *mokh* (to eat) ; *arkh* (to dig) ; *mulkh* (to sink), etc. Intervocal position easily favoured the production of the extra strong fricatives.

(*h*) *Brâhûî*.—The aspiration in Brâhûî, as is only to be expected in a dialect surrounded by languages abounding in aspirate sounds, is very high. The aspirate sound occurs :

(1) In the emphatic enunciation of words with initial vowels, e.g., compare the prothetic *h* of Tuḷu, Kannaḍa, etc. (see above). The greater frequency of the sound in Brâhûî is due to foreign influence.

(2) As extra strong fricatives transcribed in grammars as *kh* and *gh* occurring initially as the development of Dravidian *k*, and intervocally as the development of the formatives as in *tugh* (to sleep, cf. Tamil *tūṅgu*) : *khal* (stone) ; *khakhar* (fire, $\sqrt{}$*kāy*) ; *khisum* (red, < $\sqrt{}$ *ke*) ; *khan* (eye), etc.

(3) In connection with final *l* even in native Dravidian words, e.g., *telh* (scorpion), *palh* (milk), etc., where, however, foreign influence has to be postulated.

(4) as a prothetic sound before initial vowels of words, e.g., *harr* (to tear, cf. *aḍar*) : *he* (to rise, cf. *el*) ; *hogh* (to weep).

From the above discussion we can reasonably presume that the velar aspirate was originally absent in primitive Dravidian ; but an examination of the dialects shows that, as a *secondary* development, the aspirate is a common feature in many dialects. In the production of these secondary aspirate sounds, the influence of Indo-Âryan (and probably of Austric) may have been an accessory factor ; in a few instances the foreign features may have been *copied*, while in many others foreign influence was only so far responsible as to give a new orientation to certain germinal Dravidian tendencies.

## THE NINE DVIPAS OF BHARATAVARSA.

By SASHIBHUSHAN CHAUDHURI, M.A.

REGARDING the nine *dvîpas* of Bhâratavarṣa there is a story in the *Skanda Purâṇa* (i. 2. 39. 67 f.) which may be told here. There it is said that one Ṛsabha had a son named Bharata.[1] Bharata had a son named Śataśṛnga,[2] who had eight sons and one daughter. The name of the sons are Indradvîpa. Kaseru. Tâmradvîpa. Gabhastimân. Nâga. Saumya. Gândharva. Vâruna : while the daughter was called Kumârikâ. Then it is said :

*Idaṃ Bhâratakhaṇḍaṃ ca navadhaiva bibhajyasaḥ*
*Dadavaṣṭau svaputrâṇâṃ Kumaryai navamaṃ tathâ* (110).

Thus the eight sons and the daughter divided Bhâratavarṣa among themselves. and the nine *dvîpas* grew up accordingly.[3] The story is further continued (i. 2. 39. 125 f.). and it is said that each of the eight brothers had nine sons. while the sister remained unmarried. On arriving at a mature age the seventy-two cousins approached their aunt to divide the whole of Bhâratavarsa (including her portion too) into seventy-two equal portions. She thus made seventy-two divisions. and the seventy-two districts or countries that are mentioned may. more or less, be located within the boundaries of India proper (excluding Burma and the outlying islands) : but regarding some of the countries we feel sure that we can extend their identification to the islands of the Far East. which suggests that India has been treated in the *Skanda Purâṇa* in a wider sense.

In almost all the *Purâṇas*[4] we are told that Bhâratavarṣa is cut up into nine parts (*khaṇda* or *bheda*[5]), or *dvîpas*[6] as they are called. Râjaśekhara also says : *tatredaṃ Bhâratam varṣam asya ca navabhedâḥ.*[7] Then he enumerates the nine *dvîpas*. As for the nine *dvîpas*, all the *Purâṇas* speak unanimously of Indradvîpa. Kaserumat, Tâmravarṇa,[8] Gabhastimat and Nâga. The sixth and the seventh *dvîpa* are called Saumya and Gândharva by all the *Purâṇas* except the *Garuḍa* and *Vâmana*. which read Kaṭâha and Siṃhala in their place.[9] The eighth *dvîpa* is unanimously called Vâruṇa. Regarding the ninth *dvîpa* there is much confusion. It is necessary. therefore, to give the full texts bearing on the ninth *dvîpa*.

A

*Mârk.* 57, 7. *Ayaṃ tu navamasteṣâṃ dvîpaḥ sâgarasaṃvṛtaḥ*
*Yojanânâṃ sahasrâṃ vai dvîpo'yaṃ dakṣiṇottarât.*

B

8. *Pûrve kirâtâ yasyânte paścime yavanâstathâ*
*Brâhmaṇâḥ kṣatriyâḥ vaiśyâḥ śûdrâscântaḥsthitâ dvîja.*

These *ślokas*. in the same form and in exactly the same setting. are to be found in the *Br.* (27. 16-17). *Kûr.* (46. 25-26), *Vis.* (ii. 3. 7-8). The *Agni* gives (118, 4-6) the first *śloka* in the same form, but the second one has been slightly distorted.

A

*Vâm* 13. 11. *Ayaṃ tu navamasteṣâṃ dvîpaḥ sâgarasaṃvṛtaḥ*
*Kumârâkhyaḥ parikhyâto dvîpo'yaṃ dakṣiṇottaraḥ*

1 Elsewhere it is said that Bharata named India, whence it is called Bhâratavarṣa (*Skanda Purâṇa*, i, 2, 37. 57 ; vii. 1. 172, 2).

2 But in all other *Purâṇas* it is said that Bharata's son was Sumati.

3 *Teṣâṃ nâmâṃkitânyeva tato dvîpâni jajñire* (*Skanda Purâna*, vii, 1, 172, 6).

4

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Vâ.* 45, 78 f. | *Vâm.* 13, 8 f. | *Ag.* 118, 1 f. | *Vis.* ii, 3, 1 f. |
| *Bg.* 49, 10 f. | *Gar* 55, 4 f. | *Mat* 114, 7 f. | *Kûr.* 46, 22 f. |
| *Mârk.* 57, 5 f. | *Var.* 85, 1 f. | *Br.* 27, 14 f. | |

5 *Bhâratasyâsya varsasya navabhedân nibodha me* (*Mârk.*). All the *Purânas* commence the enumeration of the nine parts with this statement.

6 *Etad Bhârataṃ varsaṃ navadvîpaṃ niśâcara* (*Vâm.*). 7 *Kâvyamîmâṃsâ* (*Deśavibhâga*), p. 92.

8 It is variously called Tâmraparṇi (*Mat.*), Tâmraparṇa (*Kûr.*), Tâmravarṇî (*Skanda*).

9 *Nâgadvîpah kaṭâhaśca siṃhalo vâruṇastathâ.* *Vâm* 13 10-11. *Gar.* 55, 5.

B

12. *Pûrve kirâtâ hyasyâste paścime yavanâḥ smṛtâḥ*
*Andhrâ dakṣiṇato vîra turuṣkâstvapi cottare*
*Brâhmaṇâḥ kṣatriyâḥ* ....................

The *Gar.* (55, 4 f.) follows the *Vâm.* in the same form, but it does not contain line B of *śloka* No. 11 of the *Vâmana.*

A

*Vâ.* 45, 80. *Ayaṃ tu navamasteṣâṃ dvîpaḥ sâgarasaṃvṛtaḥ*[10]
*Yojanânâṃ sahasraṃ tu dvîpo'yaṃ dakṣiṇottaram*
81. *Âyato hyâ kumârikyâdâ Gaṅgâ-prabhavâcca vai*
*Tiryaguttaravistîrṇaḥ sahasrâṇi navaiva tu*

B

82. *Dvîpo'hyupaniviṣṭo'yaṃ mlecchairanteṣu nityaśaḥ*
*Pûrve kirâtâ hyasyânte paścime yavanâḥ smṛtâḥ*
*Brâhmaṇâḥ kṣatriyâ* ......................

The *Bd.* repeats (149, 14) the three *ślokas* in the same words. The *Mat.* (114, 9-11) also repeats the three *ślokas* in the same form and in the same setting, except that in place of *śloka* No. 81 of the *Vâ.* it reads :

*Mat.* 114, 10. *Âyatastu Kumârito Gaṅgâyaḥ pravahâvadhi*
*Tiryagârdhvaṃtu vistîrṇaḥ sahasrâṇi daśaiva tu*

That the ninth *dvîpa* was called Kumârikâ has already been made known to us from the story of the *Skanda Purâṇa* cited above.[11] Râjaśekhara also enlightens us in this respect.[12] The text of all the *Purâṇas* quoted above pass it over, simply saying that it was surrounded by the ocean (*sâgarasaṃvṛtaḥ*), whereas the *Vâmana* of all the *Purâṇas* call it Kumâra. Then what is meant by the Kumâra or Kumârikâ *dvîpa* ? It appears from the texts quoted above that by Kumâra India in the proper sense of the term[13] was intended. It may be added that in the enumeration of the other eight *dvîpas* no note or comment whatsoever is added by the other *Purâṇas*. They are enumerated most plainly without any explanatory note. But on coming to the *navama dvîpa*, the *Purâṇas* give emphasis to it as *ayaṃto navamadvîpa*, surrounded by the ocean : and in this all the *Purâṇas* are unanimous. This expression *ayaṃto* suggests that particular attention should be paid to it, as if it were somewhat different from the other *dvîpas*, and so evidently implies that India proper is referred to, for no other meaning can be thought of when an expression like *ayaṃto* which means 'this very,' is used by a person writing in India. Râjaśekhara also puts *ayaṃ* after Kumârî *dvîpa*. It thus follows that the *ślokas* of A group refer to India proper, which is surrounded on three sides by the ocean. It might be argued that as India is not surrounded on all sides by the ocean, so the ninth *dvîpa*, which was surrounded on all sides by the ocean (*sâgarasaṃvṛtaḥ*), cannot refer to India proper. But *dvîpa*, we know, is defined by Pâṇini as meaning *dvai âp*, *i.e.*, having water on two sides ; and so India having the ocean on three sides might reasonably be called a *dvîpa*, and might more plausibly suggest the idea that it was *sâgarasaṃvṛtaḥ*.

Then in the *ślokas* of B group, which are a continuation of the description of the *navama dvîpa*, are described the boundaries of a country, which evidently must refer to the Kumâra or the ninth *dvîpa*. This is specially clear in the series of texts of the *Vâyu*, *Brahmâṇḍa* and *Matsya Purâṇas*. The *śloka* No. 81 of the *Vâyu* and so of the *Brahmâṇḍa*, which is forgotten by the other *Purâṇas*, is of extreme importance in the sense that it supplies the missing link between

[10] Albirûni is, therefore, wrong when he writes *nagarasaṃvṛtta* (Sachau's edition, vol. I, p. 295).

[11] *Skanda Purâṇa*, i, 2, 39, 69.

[12] *Kâvyamîmâṃsâ* (*Deśavibhâga*), p. 92. *Kumârîdvîpaścâyaṃ navamaḥ.*

[13] Bounded on the east by the hills of Lakhimpur (Assam), Manipur, Lushai, Chittagong and Arakan, thus forming a long wall of mountains, separating India from Burma and other countries of the Far East. The three other boundaries are recognized and well known and need not be mentioned.

the *ślokas* of A group and the *ślokas* of B group, and so should be placed immediately before the *ślokas* of B group of the *Mârkaṇḍeya* and *Vâmana*. If it be so placed it will clearly present the boundaries of the Kumâra *dvîpa*, showing it to be the country which stretched from Cape Comorin (Kumârikâ) to the Himâlaya (source of the Ganges—*Vâ.*) and bounded by the Turks on the north[14] (*Vâm.*), by the Ândhras on the south[15] (*Vâm.*), by the Kirâtas on the east[16] and by the Yavanas on the west[17] (*Mârk.*; *Vâm.*). But these boundaries roughly correspond to the boundaries of India proper, and as these boundaries constitute a sort of explanatory note to the *navama dvîpa*, it can be safely argued that the ninth *dvîpa*, *i.e.*, the Kumâra or Kumârikâ, was India proper.[18]

Then again almost all the *Purâṇas* such as the *Brahmâṇḍa*, *Vâyu*, *Mârkaṇḍeya*, *Matsya*, *Vâmana*, *Garuḍa*, etc., after describing the boundaries of the *navama dvîpa* [the *ślokas* of which have been quoted above (pp. 204-05)], go on to give a description of the characteristics of the people of that region, followed by a list of the seven hills known as the *kulaparvatâḥ*,[19] which evidently must refer to the mountain ranges of the Kumâra or the ninth *dvîpa*. This is made more clear by Râjaśekhara in his *Kâvyamîmâṃsâ*,[20] where he also mentions the very same hills and quotes the same *śloka* as the *Purâṇas*, but prefixes the specific words—*atra ca Kumârî dvîpe*. And as all the seven ranges belong to India proper, Kumârî *dvîpa* might reasonably be regarded as identical with it.[21] The *Vâmana* also in another place explicitly refers to this identity. Thus after the enumeration of all the countries or people

14 The Arab geographer Rashîdu'd-dîn refers to this. Thus, while describing the boundaries of India, he says : "On the north lie Kashmîr, the country of the Turks, . . . . ." Elliot, *History of India*, vol. I, p. 45.

15 Obviously the Ândhras cannot form the southern boundary of India proper, unless a limited sense is understood. That it has not been used in that sense is evident from consideration of the other three boundaries that have been set forth. The statement of the *Vâmana* is, therefore, to be taken as an exception ; but at the same time we must keep our mind open to this possible view also, that the *śloka* (*Vâm.* 13, 12) might reflect the political conditions of the time when the Ândhra rule was widespread as in the second century A.D., almost throughout the whole of southern India (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XLVII, 1918, 'Dekkan of the Sâtavâhana period'), and as such formed the southern boundary of India proper. Regarded in that light, the *śloka* might offer an important clue to the date of the *Purâṇa* in question.

16 They may be identified with the Kirrhadia of Ptolemy (Cunningham's *Geography of Ancient India*, ed. S. N. Mazumdar, p. 219) located near the mount Maiandros.

17 The inscriptions of Aśoka mention the Yonas in connection with the Kambojas and Gândhâras. The *Mahâvaṃśa* also refers to the country of the Yonas (Geiger's trans., p. 85). Their capital was Alasanda (=Alexandria, *op. cit.*, p. 194 n.) near Kâbul.

18 It is, of course, a fact that *śloka* No. 81 of the *Vâyu* refers to the nine thousand *yojana* area of a country, which as we have seen was India proper. So the ninth *dvîpa* with which India proper has been identified must be of the same area. But it has been definitely stated in all the *ślokas* that the ninth *dvîpa* was of 'one thousand' area. So it might be argued that the mention of the nine thousand *yojana* (*Vâ.* 81) in connexion with India proper, distinguishes India proper from the Kumâra or *navama dvîpa*, and lends colour to the opposite view, that perhaps these nine *dvîpas* were so many divisions of India proper included within it. But, as opposed to this, it might be said that the *śloka* No. 81 of the *Vâyu* with its line *âyato hyâ* inevitably refers to the previous *śloka* (No. 80), which describes the *navama dvîpa*, and so the boundary of India proper, which is supplied in *śloka* No. 81 (combined with the next *śloka* No. 82) applies to the *navama dvîpa* alone, and as such the two are identical. There is no room for distinguishing one *śloka* from the other. The three *ślokas* of the *Vâyu* are to be taken in a connected way. Moreover, the *Bd.* and the *Mat.* do not follow *Vâ.* in its statement *sahasrâṇinavaivatu*. Thus the *Bd.*, for instance (49, 15), reads *sahasrâṇi traya*, instead of *navama*, and the *Mat.* reads (114, 10) *sahasrâni daśaiva tu*.' So we see that there is no coherency in the statement of the *Vâyu*.

19 In every *Purâna* the *śloka* runs in the same form and in the same language. I may quote the *Vâyu Purâna* (45, 87-88) :

*Sapta ca asmin suparvâṇo viśrûtâḥ kulaparvatâh*
*Mahendra- Malayah-Sahya Śuktimân Rkṣaparvatah*
*Vindhyaśca Pâripâtraśca saptaite kulaparvatâh.*

20 *Kâvyamîmâṃsâ* (*Deśavibhâga*), p. 92.

21 But it must be noted that none of the seven ranges carry us beyond the Vindhyas into northern India. [Some scholars, however, would identify the Pâripâtra mountains with the Aravalli range.—JT. EDITOR.]

belonging to the respective divisions of India proper, the chapter ends with the plain statement that the description of all the countries of Kumâra *dvîpa* is now complete.[22] Besides these, another open statement is to be found in the *Varâha Purâṇa*, which leaves no room for doubt that the Kumâra *dvîpa* was India proper. Thus it is said (85, 1) *Bhâratam navabhedaṃ sṛṇatu......Indraḥ kaseruḥ..........Vâruṇo Bhâratañceti.* Here the ninth *dvîpa*, Kumâra, has been replaced by Bhârata. We can, therefore, undoubtedly assert that the ninth *dvîpa, i.e.*, Kumâra, was identical with India. But the important point to be noted is that Bhârata is here for the first time treated as a *dvîpa*, and what is more striking, is that it has been declared to be one of the nine parts (*bheda*), of which Bhâratavarṣa was constituted. The evident implication here is of a Greater India (*i.e.*, India proper and the islands of the Far East) or Bhâratavarṣa as we may call it, of which India proper (Bhârata or Kumâradvìpa) formed the ninth part. That the *navama dvîpa*, or Kumâra, was identical with India proper we have seen. It naturally follows, therefore, that for the identification of the other eight 'islands' (*dvîpas*) we will have to search in the islands of the Far East and in other outlying islands not far from India proper, all of which, when combined together, formed Bhâratavarṣa or Greater India.[23] Here we are confronted with the question whether the *Purâṇas* knew such a wide boundary of India. With the exception of the *ślokas* quoted above (pp. 204-05) and which we have seen apply to the *navama dvîpa* (India proper) alone, the *Purâṇas* generally record boundaries of Bhâratavarṣa which may be interpreted in a wider sense. Thus the *Vâyu Purâṇa* says[24] that India is surrounded on the south by the ocean and is bounded on the north by the Himâlaya. A second set of passages[25] describe India as being surrounded on three sides by the ocean and bounded on the fourth side by the Himâlaya, which 'stretches along on its north like the string of a bow.' It may be noticed here that the eastern and western boundaries have not been very exactly defined, which allows scope for taking India in a wider sense. We know that the Himâlayan range was anciently regarded as stretching from the Caspian sea on the west to the Far East (Tonquin in Annam ?) intersecting the whole continent of Asia.[26] In such a position,

22 *Vám.* 13, 59. *Ime taboktâ viṣayâḥ suvistarâ*
*Dvîpe kumâre rajanîcareś.*
Cf. also *Eka eva sthitasteṣâṃ kumâryâkhyastu sâmpratam*
*Bindusaraḥ prabhṛtyeva sâgaráddakṣiṇottaram* (*Skanda Purâṇa*, vii, I, 172, 9-10).
Bindusara is a pool in the Himâlaya (N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 38).

23 It may be suggested that as Bhârata (ninth) was the most important of the *dvîpas* the name came to stand as a general designation of all the *dvîpas* when combined together (Cf. Dacca=Dacca district). Thus arose Bhâratavarṣa in a wider sense. Albirûnî (Sachau's edn., vol. I, p. 295) refers to the fact that Bhâratavarsa was used in a wider sense. Thus he says: 'Bhâratavarsa is not India alone.' Al Masûdî also says: "India is a vast country extending over sea, and land, and mountains; it borders on the country Zâbaj (Java)" .... Elliot, *History of India*, vol. I, p. 20). Similarly, Abul Faẓl says (*Ain*. III, P. 7) "Hindustân is described as enclosed on the east, west and south by the ocean, but Ceylon, Achin, the Moluccas and considerable number of islands are accounted within its extent."

24 *Uttaraṃ yat samudrasya Himavaddakṣiṇañca yat*
*Varṣaṃ tad Bhâratam nâma yatreyaṃ Bhâratî prajâ* (45, 75-6).
Most of the *Purâṇas*, such as the *Bd.* (49, 9-10); *Vis.* (ii, 3, 1); *Agni.* (118, 1); *Kûr.* (46, 22) and *Br.* (19, 1) repeat this statement. Cf. also the *Kâvyamîmâṃsâ* (p. 92): *Dakṣiṇât samudrâdadrirâjam Himavantam*.

25 *Dakṣiṇâparato yasya pûrve ca mahodadhiḥ*
*Himavânuttarenâsya kârmukasya yathâ guṇaḥ*. *Mârk.* (57, 59); *Br.* (27, 65-6) and *Skanda* (vii, 1, 11, 13).

26 Thus Arrian says: "The northern boundaries of India defined are formed by mount Taurus. ..... Taurus begins from the sea. .... and stretches away towards the eastern sea, intersecting the whole continent of Asia. The range bears different names in the different countries. ..." McCrindle, The *Indica of Arrian*, p. 4; also McCrindle's *Ancient India*, p. 45. Cf. also Rashîdu'd-dîn: "The Hima mountains lie on the north of Kanauj .... This range has Kashmîr in its centre and runs by Tibet, Turk, Khazar ["The country of the Khazars or Khozars, a Turkish race on the north of the Caspian sea, about the mouth of the Itil or Volga. The Caspian sea is called Bahru-l-khazar"] and Sakâliba, to the sea of Jurjân and Khwârasm." Elliot, *History of India*, vol. I, p. 45.

therefore, this stupendous mountain system lay on the northern boundary of many countries besides India proper, such as Burma and Annam in the east, on whose southern and eastern sides also, generally speaking, the sea lies (cf. The China Sea on the east of Burma, Siam and Cochin China). Regarded in that light, the second set of the Purâṇic passages (footnote [26]) evidently, therefore, refer to the fact that by Bhâratavarṣa at the time represented by the Purâṇas was meant the whole country which was bounded on the north by the Himâlaya and surrounded on the south by the ocean, and which extended in the east as far as the China Sea.[27] Bhâratavarṣa thus bore a wider sense, within which were also included the islands of the Far East.[28] This does not militate against what has been said above that in some of the islands of the Far East, and also in some of those that lie to the west of India, we are to trace the positions of the other eight *dvîpas*. The fact that the *Vâmana* and *Garuḍa* mentions Kaṭâha and Siṃhala in place of Saumya and Gândharva also lends much weight to the above view, for Kaṭâha is probably identical with the present seaport of Kedah in the Malay Peninsula.[29] Siṃhala is, of course, Ceylon. We may refuse to incorporate Kaṭâha and Siṃhala in the list of the nine *dvîpas* by eliminating Saumya and Gândharva, but the general trend is quite clear that the eight *dvîpas* refer to the outlying islands of India. Moreover, the almost unanimous statement of all the *Purâṇas* that the nine *dvîpas* of Bhâratavarṣa were mutually inaccessible,[30] being separated from each other by the ocean also gives strong reason to believe that the *dvîpas* were not so many divisions of India proper, but refer to the islands of Greater India. But as the ninth *dvîpa* has been found to be identical with India proper, we are now concerned with the remaining eight *dvîpas*.[31]

(*To be continued.*)

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27 Thus Rashîdu'd-dîn, the Arab geographer, says : "Hind is surrounded on the east by Chîn and Mâchîn, on the west by Sind and Kâbul, and on the south by the sea" (Elliot, *History of India*, vol. I, p. 45). Chîn is probably Cochin China. Regarding Mâchîn, Rashîdu'd-dîn thus states its position : "Beyond that is Haitam. . . . . Beyond that is Mâhâ Chîn, then the harbour of Zaitûn, on the shore of the China sea. . . ." (Ibid., p. 71.) Haitam in all probability is the island of Hainan just opposite to the gulf of Tonquin. Then we come to Mâhâ Chîn. Regarding it, Idrîsî gives the following notice : "No city is equal to it whether we consider its greatness, the number of the edifices, the importance of its commerce, the variety of its merchandise, or the number of merchants which visit it from different parts of India." (Ibid., n. 5.) Ibn al Wârdî further says : "It is the extreme eastern part which is inhabited, and beyond which there is nothing but the ocean." (Ibid.) All these give very strong reason for supposing that the Mâhâ Chîn of Rashîdu'd-dîn refers to the great Chinese port of Hong-kong, beyond which lay the harbour of Zaitûn, which has been identified with a port in the province of Fo-kien (ibid., n. 6). It thus appears that the Indian boundary on the East was formed by Hong-kong and its neighbouring sea.

28 We know that Indian culture at one time was propagated and was deep rooted in the islands of the Far East, in Burma, Siam and Annam, etc., places and countries in which still bear traces of Sanskrit names in a plainly recognizable form, names which were carried there at an early date, and which thus brought about the idea of a Further or Greater India. Greater India in this sense may be regarded as a second India, and certainly it was looked upon in that light by the Hindu colonists, who carried thither their civilization and culture and made it as much as possible their second fatherland.

29 As the French scholar Coedès supposes (*Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, vol. III, Orientalia, part 1, p. 4).

30 *Samudrântaritâ jñeyâste tvagamyâḥ parasparam* (*Mârk.* 57, 5). This statement is also to be found in the *Vâ.* (45, 78); *Bd.* (49, 12); *Br.* (27, 14) and *Vâm.* (13, 9) and in the other *Purâṇas* too. Cf. *Kâvyamîmâṃsâ* (*Deśavibhâga*), p. 92, *Yâvat parasparam agamyâste*. The word *agamyâḥ*, i.e., inaccessible, is of course used here in a conventional sense.

31 Cf. *Ayaṃ tu navamo dvîpaḥ Kumâra* . . . . . . . . . .
*Aṣṭau dvîpâḥ samudrena plâvitâśca tathâ pare*
*grâmâdi deśa saṃjuktâḥ sthitâḥsâgaramadhyagâḥ.* (*Skanda Purâna*, vii, 1, 172, 8-9.)

# BOOK-NOTICES.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA: ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1925-26. pp. xv+306, with 69 plates. Calcutta, 1928.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, No. 35: Excavations in Baluchistan, 1925, Sampur Mound, Mastung and Sohr Damb, Nâl, by H. Hargreaves, Superintendent, A.S.I.; pp. xii+89, with 24 plates. Calcutta, 1929.

This annual report, besides its usual record of steady achievement and continued progress, contains brief summaries of exploration work of outstanding importance. Under Conservation valuable work was carried out during the year, at considerable outlay, at Lahore, Gaṛhwâ, Mahobâ, Champaner, Nâlandâ, Chânda, Ajmer, Khajurâho, Mâṇḍû and Pagan, as well as at numerous other sites. Under Exploration the most important details given are those which relate to the work done at Mohenjo-daro in Sind, Nâl in Balûchistân, Nâlandâ in Bihar and Pahâṛpur in Bengal. At Mohenjo-daro the excavations were conducted on a vastly increased scale during the year, exposing extensive remains and antiquities that testify to the high standard of living and skill in the arts attained by this ancient civilization of the chalcolithic period, which Sir J. Marshall tells us he has decided to designate as the "Indus" culture, rather than "Indo-Sumerian," "since the latter term is likely to imply a closer connection with Sumer than now seems justified." The special *Memoir* on Mohenjo-daro, said to be in course of preparation, is being impatiently awaited by scholars in all parts of the world. We note that with it will be published a map of the site, so greatly missed hitherto. We could wish that, in addition to this site map, a general map on a smaller scale were furnished, showing the position of the site in relation to the main geographical features of the surrounding country, with the old course or courses of the Indus, as well as its present channel, indicated. In these annual reports of the department we often feel the want of maps such as those with which Cunningham nearly always illustrated his reports.

At the Sohr Damb and elsewhere near Nâl, Mr. Hargreaves, in the course of his important excavations, recovered a large quantity of unique pottery and other remains of the copper age. The results of his researches in the locality have since been published in fuller detail in the departmental *Memoir* No. 35, illustrated by excellent plates. He has been led to the interesting, if unexpected, conclusion that the differences between the Nâl antiquities and those hitherto found at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro in the Indus valley are far more marked than the resemblances. The remains, however, indicate the existence of a civilization of an advanced type—not by any means that of a nomadic people—and go to show that the climatic conditions must have been very different from what they are now, an inference that corresponds with the conclusion of Sir Aurel Stein respecting the conditions in Gedrosia in prehistoric times. In this connexion the detailed results of Sir Aurel's reconnaissance and explorative survey in Kharan, Makrân and Jhalawan during the cold season of 1927-28 are eagerly awaited, as trial excavations made near Turbat disclosed numerous painted funerary vessels, differing in type from those found by Mr. Hargreaves at Nâl, associated with complete chalcolithic burials. Painted ceramic ware of superior fabric and probably earlier type and an abundance of terracotta figurines were also found at several prehistoric sites in Makrân. These and other finds made in the course of this survey have yet to be carefully compared with the remains recovered from Indus valley sites.

At Nâlandâ, the outstanding feature of the season's work perhaps was the uncovering of the south-east corner tower of the southernmost and earliest (No. 3) of the *stûpas*. We may note here that the stucco figure of the Buddha in the uppermost tier of this tower, shown on Plate XLIX (*b*), appears to have been incorrectly described as in *bhûmisparśa mudra*. The work done at Pahâṛpur has been fully set forth, with plates, by Mr. R. D. Banerji.

Several important inscriptions deciphered during the year are dealt with in the section on Epigraphy; while the Miscellaneous Notes include an interesting paper on the Śvetâmbara and Digambara images of the Jinas by Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda, who has also recorded a note on the Jaina images at Râjgir Rai Bahadur D. R. Sahni gives a short account of a fragmentary inscription of Bhojadeva found in the Indrapat fort, Delhi, which would seem to show that the dominions of the Pratihâra monarch of Kanauj extended over this area, as indeed we have other grounds for believing.

The plates are, as usual, admirably reproduced.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

INDIAN STUDIES IN HONOR OF CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN. Pp. x+258. Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Mass., 1929.

In order to celebrate the seventy-fifth birthday of Professor Lanman, twenty-seven of his colleagues and friends have joined in producing the extremely nice and imposing complimentary volume on which a few words will be said here. Contributors from Europe, America and India have joined in paying homage to the veteran Orientalist, and their contributions have been printed in English, French and German alike. It seems only meet that the distinguished editor of the Harvard Oriental Series should be presented with a volume, the exterior of which forms an exact counterpart to the splendid and well-known issues of that series. It is, at the same time, somewhat melancholy to remember that two of the foremost contributors, the late lamented Professors Geldner and Bloomfield, should not have lived to see published this well-deserved honorary tribute to one of their most highly esteemed colleagues.

Among the contributions, that by the late Professor Bloomfield and those by Professors Hopkins, Jacobi, Keith, Thomas and Clark are of quite considerable length, none of them covering less than about twenty pages. If amongst these papers one only should be singled out because of its highly admirable qualities, the prize would, no doubt, go to that by Professor Jacobi, dealing with 'Mîmâmsâ and Vaiśeṣika.' Professor Jacobi's philosophical articles, especially the one dealing with the dates of the Sûtras (*JAOS.*, xxxi, 1 sq.), have sometimes appeared like the ingenious and extremely subtle argumentation of the accomplished *paṇḍit*. But we confess seldom to have read a more pellucid and authoritative article on a very difficult topic than this one. Professor Jacobi here sees his way to redating the *sûtras* of Jaimini, believing them to have been composed between 300 and 200 B.C. This seems a very happy idea, for even in its later ramifications the Mîmâmsâ literature gives an impression of high antiquity.

The paper of Professor Thomas on Tibetan fragments of a *Râmâyaṇa* is important, as revealing what seems to be still another version of that poem. Nearly all details in this story are to be found in other versions; but there probably exists no known version in which they are all found together. This happy find is apt to complicate still more the already hopelessly entangled genealogy of the Râma epics. We are far less impressed by the extensive article by Professor Keith. It does not deal very much with Bhâmaha and Daṇḍin, but chiefly with the opinions of Professor Jacobi and Dr. S. K. De on that problem; and polemic is carried on in the negative and barren style which is well-known from the author's previous works.

Most interesting is the article by Professor Clark on 'Hindu-Arabic Numerals.' The honour of having invented the numerals with zero and place value has, since the Middle Ages, been attributed to the Hindus. As is well-known, Mr. Kaye has lately striven hard to deprive them of that honour. Professor Clark now proves, beyond the possibility of doubt, that these numerals were known and used in India long before their appearance among the Arabs and in Europe, and thus vindicates the glory of Hindûstân. This paper ought to be reprinted in some leading mathematical journal, as it is to be feared that mathematicians have attached weight to the shallow arguments of Mr. Kaye.

The paper by the late Professor Bloomfield deals with 'Diminutive Pronouns in Jaina Sanskrit' and gives a fair collection from that idiom of forms like *ahakam*, *sakă*, etc. Professor Edgerton follows suit with a nice little article on Jaina Mahârâṣṭrî, which consists mainly of additions and corrections to the *Ausgewahlte Erzahlungen*.[1] Grammatical contributions are given also by Professors Andersen, A. V. Williams Jackson and Meillet. Like all the papers of Professor Meillet, this too is clever and in a way fascinating. Many scholars will perhaps feel convinced that a connection has really been established between the Vedic theme *panthâh* and Latin words of the type *sêdês*. Literature on the Vedic word is plentiful,[2] but little progress has been achieved towards a real explication; nor, according to the opinion of the present writer, does the brilliant but superficial article of Professor Meillet contribute essentially to the solution of the problem.

Professors Lévi, Rapson and Konow have contributed interesting papers on epigraphy. To me Professor Rapson's argument for reading 'year 42' in the Âmohini votive tablet seems wholly convincing. The late Professor Geldner has written on 'Das Vipânam im Rigveda,' an ingenious but rather intricate paper. It seems clear, however, that the idea of being able to separate, while drinking (*vi-pâ-*), mixed drinks, as, *e.g.*, milk and water, is very old in India.

Three Japanese scholars—Professors Takakusu, Kimura and Ono—have all dealt from different points of view with the date of the great Vasubandhu. Their conclusions mainly consist in corroborating the previous suggestion of Professor Takakusu, *viz.*, that Vasubandhu lived about 420-500 A.D., a suggestion which, though contested by several authorities, may perhaps be the correct one. The paper by Sir George Grierson on 'The Birth of Lôrik' is full of interesting and useful information; and the article by Professor S. K. Belvalkar is excellent, like all that is written by that eminent scholar. We cannot here venture upon an opinion on some smaller papers; and we must abstain from an appreciation of the paper by Mrs. Rhys Davids, as, unfortunately, we have failed fully to grasp its inmost sense.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

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FALLACIES AND THEIR CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO THE EARLY HINDU LOGICIANS by Stephen Stasiak. Reprint of a paper delivered at the XVIIth International Congress of Orientalists, Oxford, 1928. Rocznik Orjentalist—Yczny Tom. VI, str. 191-198. Lwow, 1929.

This is a highly technical and closely-reasoned pamphlet of 8 pp. to show that the great logicians of ancient India, like Gotama and Dignâga and Uddyotakara, were no more able to classify errors in argument than were their contemporaries in Europe or indeed than have been modern European authorities on logic. Classification of possible kinds of error seems impossible, and their enumeration is practically endless. This seems to be a futile end to an enquiry involving very great learning and research, but if it is correct the enquiry has not been in vain.

R. C. TEMPLE.

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[1] Professor Edgerton (p. 27) identifies *kammaṇa-* with *karman-*, while it is, of course, in reality=*kârmaṇa-* (formation indicated by Pâṇini, V, 4, 36); *gosa-* 'morning' (p. 28) is quite correctly explained, but this explanation is found already in Weber, *Saptaçatakam des Hâla*, p. 11 (cp. also *Deśîn.*, 2, 96); that *cojja-* could be derived from *âśarya-* will perhaps appeal to other scholars just as little as to the present writer.

[2] Cp. Wackernagel *Altind. Gramm.*, iii, 306 f.

# RACE DRIFT IN SOUTH INDIA.*

BY F. J. RICHARDS, M.A., I.C.S. (*Retired.*)

## I. The Value of Geographical Analysis.

INDIA is behind-hand in the study of Geography, and it is not surprising that the vast mass of anthropological material gathered has not yet been examined carefully in the light of geographical facts. Even in Europe geographical analysis has only recently been applied to anthropological data, and the value of this method is not yet fully appreciated by anthropologists.

Geography is a useful criterion. It is pregnant with suggestions. There are several problems which cannot be solved without its aid.

Anthropological science is at present convulsed by a schism between those who hold that identity of custom is proof of identity of origin, and those who ascribe identity of custom to similarity of the conditions (physical, mental, social) under which such customs grew. It is the old feud between evolution and spontaneous generation, between heredity and environment. There is, no doubt, truth on both sides of the controversy, but it is fruitless to discuss the subject so long as geographical factors are ignored. The safest course is to regard two similar customs as of independent origin, *i.e.*, as "convergent," unless and until evidence of common origin is forthcoming. And the most valuable evidence is, undoubtedly, that of geographical continuity. This problem thus resolves itself into one of distribution. Unfortunately, with the ebb and flow of cultures, continuity is often destroyed. There are types of discontinuous distribution, however, which, with careful study, can be made to yield evidence of value. It is possible sometimes to discern whether a cultural movement has been centrifugal (as in the Hindu culture of Java, for instance) or whether discontinuous distribution is evidence of the local survival of an early culture that has been submerged by later cultural floods (*e.g.*, the fact that a language akin to Melanesian is spoken by the Muṇḍâs of Chotâ Nâgpur). Sometimes it is possible to locate the centre of dispersion, while a discontinuous "peripheral" distribution is usually interpreted as due, like a coral atoll, to submergence, and if submergence is proved, it usually follows that, as when a stone is thrown into a pool, the cultural ripple most distant from the centre is the earliest.

A study of distribution will often reveal the direction in which cultural influences have moved. India is peculiarly exposed to the impact of cultural currents, from across the mountains and from across the seas. Most currents carry some sediment ; sometimes the sediment is deposited, sometimes it penetrates and alters the underlying strata, and some currents merely erode and destroy.

By the study of stratified rocks and the action of air and water geologists have established the sequence of the evolution of animals and plants. A study of cultural strata and cultural drifts should enable the anthropologist to unravel the tangled complex of human culture.

Cultural drift is not, however, the sole factor in moulding human society. The influence of environment is equally important. Its importance has, however, I think, been over-rated. Environment undoubtedly modifies human culture, but it cannot create.

Important results have been attained by zoologists and botanists by the regional study of the distribution of animals and plants. Their methods deserve the emulation of the student of human culture. Unfortunately it is our habit in India to work and think in terms of provinces, states and districts, the limits of which are determined solely by administrative or political convenience. Writers in Europe, who have no local knowledge, are misled by

* A paper read at the eleventh Session of the Indian Science Congress at Bangalore, 1924, under the title "Anthropological Geography." Reprinted with slight alterations from *Man in India*, vol. IV, 1924, by kind permission of the Editor, Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy.

this. They speak vaguely of India south of the Vindhyas as "South India," regardless of the distinction between the Deccan Plateau and the Eastern and Western Coastal Plains. They speak loosely of "Madras" without discriminating the essentially different cultures of the Malayâlî, Kanarese, Telugu and Tamil nations. They fail to appreciate the fact that "Mysore" is made up of more than one geographical area, and seem unaware that many districts, *e.g.*, Coimbatore, Salem, N. Arcot, comprise bits of several diverse geographical units. They ignore the distinction between North and South Malabar, North and South Travancore, the Tulu country and West Coast Kannada.

Anyone with a first-hand knowledge of the castes and tribes of South India must realise the vital importance of exactitude as to locality in recording the results of investigations. Failure in this vitiates the value of a very high proportion of the anthropological material at our disposal. The term "Nâyars," for instance, includes such a multitude of distinct communities that it is meaningless to speak of a "Nâyar custom" without noting not only the class of Nâyar but also the *nâḍu* and even the villages to which that custom appertains. The term "Veḷḷâḷar" is even vaguer. There is no such thing as a "Veḷḷâḷar" custom ; so distinct, for instance, are the Kongu Veḷḷâḷars of Coimbatore from the Toṇḍaimandalam Veḷḷâḷars of Chingleput, and each of these communities from the Kâraikâttu Veḷḷâḷars of Tinnevelly that it would be difficult to justify the treatment of these three communities as members of one and the same social group, except only that they share a common name and are alike in economic and social status. Again, Kâpus and Kammas spread from the Northern Circars and Hyderabad southward to Cape Comorin. How far those sections of these Telugu communities which have penetrated into the Tamil country have been influenced, if at all, by their Tamil environment can only be ascertained by a careful search for variations in custom in the different geographical areas in which they reside. The "Discipline of Geography" is, in short, the surest safeguard against confusion.

## II. Geographical Factors.

A. The physical factors which condition human existence may be roughly grouped under the three heads—(*a*) Configuration, (*b*) Climate and (*c*) Economic Products. These factors are closely interdependent one on the other, but no one of them taken singly can be used to demarcate areas of human culture. Land surface elevation, for instance, the "orographical map," is of importance to the anthropologist, but the lowlands include desert and swamp as well as fat delta, and the uplands may be a sanitarium or a death trap. Rain in excess is as injurious to human subsistence as rainlessness, and man can thrive as thickly in the comparatively dry areas of Tanjore and South Travancore as on the wetter coast of Malabar. Iron ores are of little use if fuel and labour cannot be had to melt them. In short, physical factors taken collectively form a variety of complexes, some of which are favourable and some are deleterious to the development of human culture, and the complexes themselves may be profoundly modified by human art, particularly, in India, by the art of irrigation.

B. These complexes find their expression in the distribution of "human phenomena," *e.g.* (*a*) Density of Population, (*b*) Race, (*c*) Language, (*d*) Religion, (*e*) Political and Administrative Divisions. But the boundaries of these phenomena do not coincide. One race may speak several languages, one language may be spoken by several races ; religion transcends the limits of race and language, and a state or nation may comprise many races, languages and religions.

Can a common multiple be found for all these variable factors, human and physical ? I think it can,—in Density of Population.

## III. Areas and Avenues.

### A. BASIS FOR CLASSIFICATION.

Attention has in recent years been concentrated on routes,—routes of migration and routes of trade. But routes are but a means to an end and the end ultimately is, almost

always, *food*. The continuance of the human race depends on breeding, and breeding is impossible without feeding. Civilisation, in its crudest forms, is the art of adjusting birth rate and food supply, of feeding the maximum number of people in any given area, of mitigating the pressure of population on the soil. This eternal problem is the mainspring of human migrations and human wars.

"Nothing succeeds like success." The best test of the suitability of an area for human habitation is the number of people per square mile that it actually supports. In other words, the relative Density of Population is the key to "human geography."

A word of caution is here needed. Density fluctuates from age to age. Areas once crowded become depopulated, empty areas get filled. For this there are definite causes, *e.g.*, physical changes, such as desiccation, the silting of rivers or harbours, or the ravages of disease, or economic changes, such as the development of coal and iron industries, a gold boom, or political convulsions, such as the devastations of an Attila or a Tamerlane. Nevertheless two facts remain: (1) the areas of high density in any particular epoch are the areas best suited to the maintenance of human life in the cultural conditions prevailing in that area at that epoch, and (2) with few exceptions the present areas of maximum density have been areas of high density throughout History.[1]

B. REGIONAL TYPES.

The first duty then of the student of human geography is to plot out areas of different density. The standards of high and low density must for obvious reasons vary in different regions; the standards of Baluchistan, for instance, would be meaningless if applied to Bengal. For South India the following standards will, I think, be suitable:

Low Density: 200 persons or less per square mile.
Medium Density: 200 to 500 persons per square mile.
High Density: 500 persons or more per square mile.
Maximum Density: 1,000 persons or more per square mile.

In the light of the perspective thus gained it should be easy to examine the areas in detail, and classify them further according to (i) movement and (ii) position.

(i) Of **movement** there are four types:

(1) movement inwards or *centripetal*; areas of concentration;
(2) movement outwards or *centrifugal*; areas of dispersion:
(3) movement across or *transitional*;
(4) absence of movement; areas of stagnation or *isolation*.

(1) Areas of high density or concentration are usually *centripetal* foci. Humanity moves from one to other of these foci or impinges on a focus from some area of relatively low density. It is the foci that determine the routes and not *vice versa*.

Culturally a centripetal area is of course complex. Its blood is blended with the blood of countless races. From the play of cultural currents it is never free. Its social and economic life, viewed as a whole, is rich and varied, and, in spite of tremendous class inequalities, its component elements are closely knit together; usually it evolves a literature of its own, and literature, as a language medium, is a powerful solvent of cultural barriers. Diversity is pervaded with a subtle unity of character and thought. Such is the type of London, Paris or Rome.[2]

(2) The true *centrifugal* area, or area of dispersion, is a barren land which cannot feed its folk, but whose folk are sufficiently virile, numerous and aggressive to win their way in more favoured tracts. Of this type are North Germany, Central Asia, Arabia, Afghanistan.

[1] *E.g.*, Deltaic Egypt, the country round Nineveh and Babylon, Bengal, the Valley of the Yangtse-Kiang.

[2] A centripetal area is not necessarily based on agricultural fertility. Rome and London, for instance, owe their being to their maritime position. The Empire of Rome was erected to feed Rome. Destroy the British Empire, and Britain must starve. This does not convert a centripetal focus into a centrifugal one.

(3) The boundaries of centripetal and centrifugal areas are not always sharply defined. Between one area and another there is usually a tract that partakes of the character of both areas or of neither. Frontiers are, in short, belts or zones, not lines. Sometimes, as between France and Spain, they are "abrupt" and fairly stable; sometimes, as between Teuton and Slav, they are "indefinite" and perpetually oscillating. These belts or zones I class as *transitional*. Through them lie the avenues along which race and culture migrate. Such areas are the nurseries of "Border Chieftains," who acknowledge the suzerainty of any power that is strong enough to assert it, and resume their independence at the first symptom of weakness, take toll from all who pass through their zone, fight each other and loot the villagers beyond their borders.

(4) Areas of *isolation* are usually difficult of access, or unhealthy, or infertile, or otherwise unfavourable to human existence; or two or more of these factors may be combined. Some are mere "misery spots," which nobody wants and the wise man avoids. Others prosper in sturdy independence, shielded by nature from the tax-gatherer and money-lender. Others again tolerate an immigrant aristocracy, its satellites and retainers, but the immigrants, if they come to stay, sever, sooner or later, their connections with their former homes. Sometimes they provide a refuge for the outlaw.

The population of an isolated area, unlike that of a centrifugal area, is not "aggressive" in character, but "recessive"; savage it may be (more usually it is timid), but it does not impose its culture on its neighbour.

Areas of isolation are usually mountainous, jungly, swampy or arid. To the anthropologist such areas are the most interesting of all, for they preserve relics of cultures that have elsewhere passed into oblivion. "The hills contain the ethnological sweepings of the plains."[3]

(ii) **Position** is an important factor in determining the social and cultural features of an area. No hard and fast classification is here needed, but a few descriptive terms of definite connotation are useful.

"Central" needs no explanation. "Marginal" is also self-evident, the most typical example being the narrow coastal plain. "Terminal" connotes the familiar "Land's End" or "Finisterre" position.

Three other terms I propose to use.

(*a*) Certain areas lie off the beaten tracks of migration, but are easily accessible and maintain contact with the cultural areas on which they debouch. They are usually fairly fertile valleys ending in a *cul-de-sac*. Such areas I call "secluded" or "recessed."

(*b*) A river valley sometimes opens out into a plain surrounded on all sides by hills, through which the river finds a comparatively narrow outlet. The Hungarian Plain formed by the Danube is a classic example. Such areas I propose to call "entrenched" or "ensconced."

(*c*) Some areas lie on the crest of a water parting and lap over into two distinct river basins. A typical example is the country round Delhi and Pânîpat, astride the water parting of the Jumna and the Indus. Such areas I describe as "overlap" areas.

## IV. Geography of South India.

### A. Physical.

With the foregoing classification in mind, let us study a map of the Madras Presidency and the associated States.

The physical configuration is familiar. (Fig. 1, Pl. I.) They comprise I. the Deccan Plateau, II. the Eastern and Western Ghâts, III. the Eastern and Western Coastal Plains.

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[3] Tylor, quoted by Ripley, *Races of Europe*, p. 145.

Fig. 1.

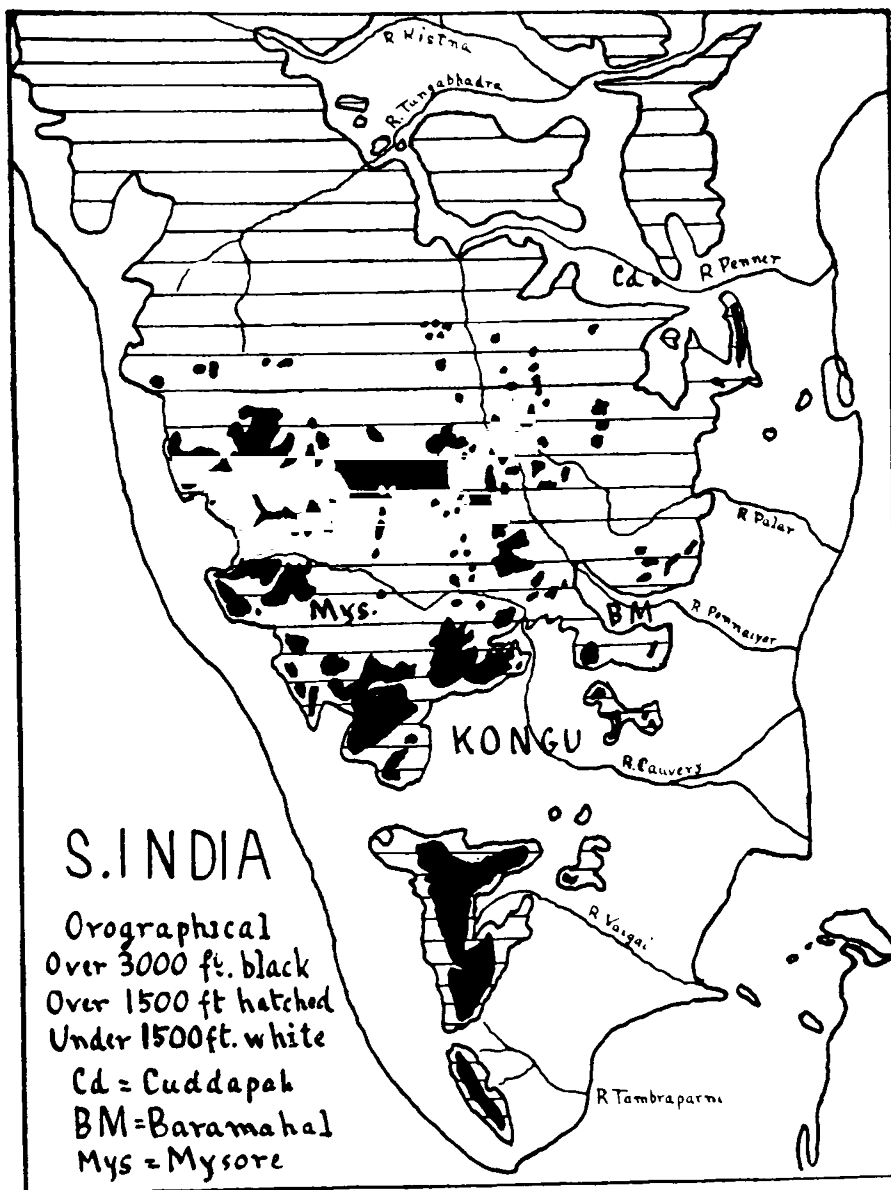

R Kistna
R. Tungabhadra
R Penner
Cd
R Palar
R Ponnaiyar
BM
Mys.
KONGU
R. Cauvery
R Vaigai
R Tambraparni
S. INDIA
Orographical
Over 3000 ft. black
Over 1500 ft hatched
Under 1500 ft. white
Cd = Cuddapah
BM = Baramahal
Mys = Mysore

Fig. 2.

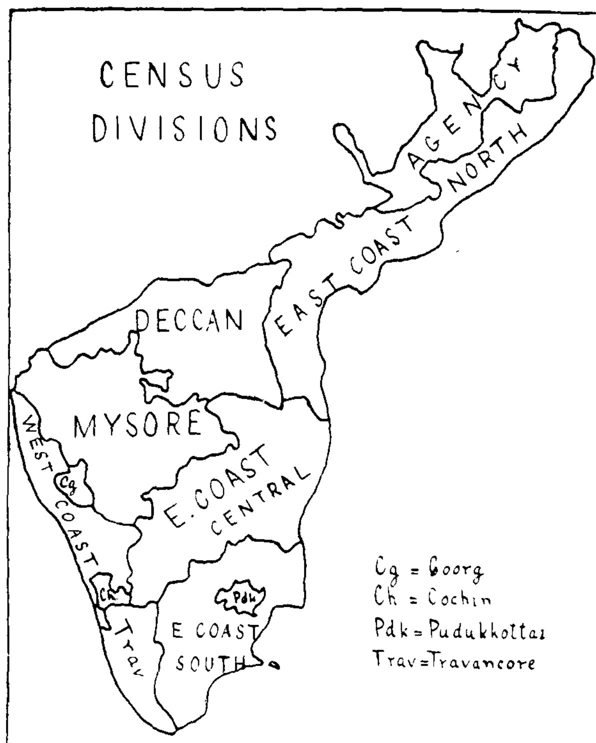
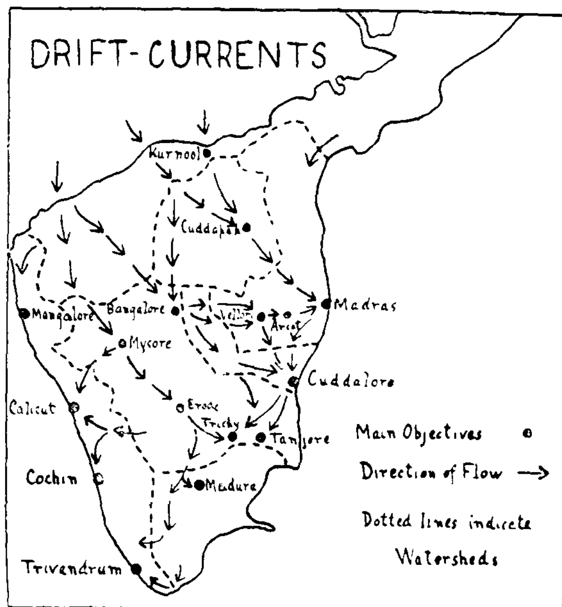



Fig. 3.



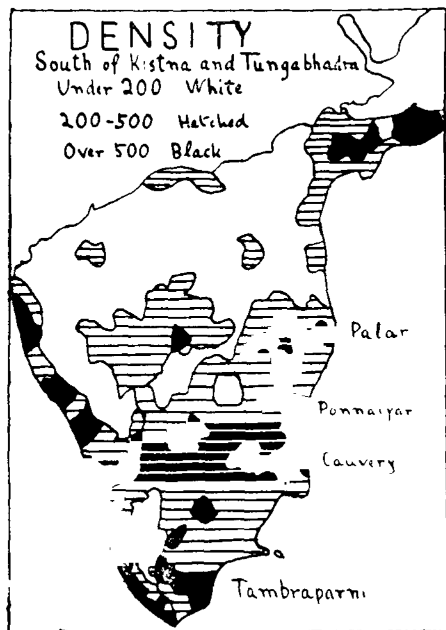




Fig. 4.




Fig. 5.

Fig. 6.

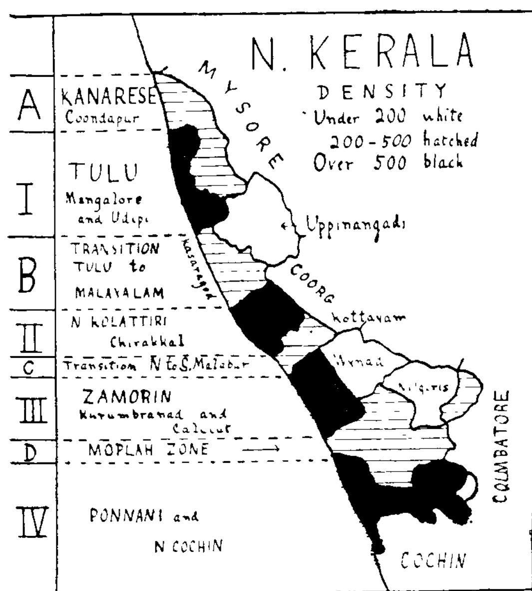
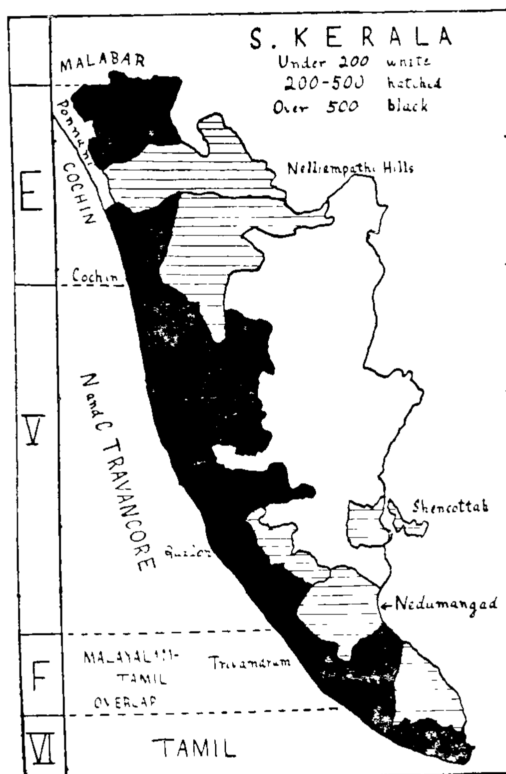



Fig. 7.



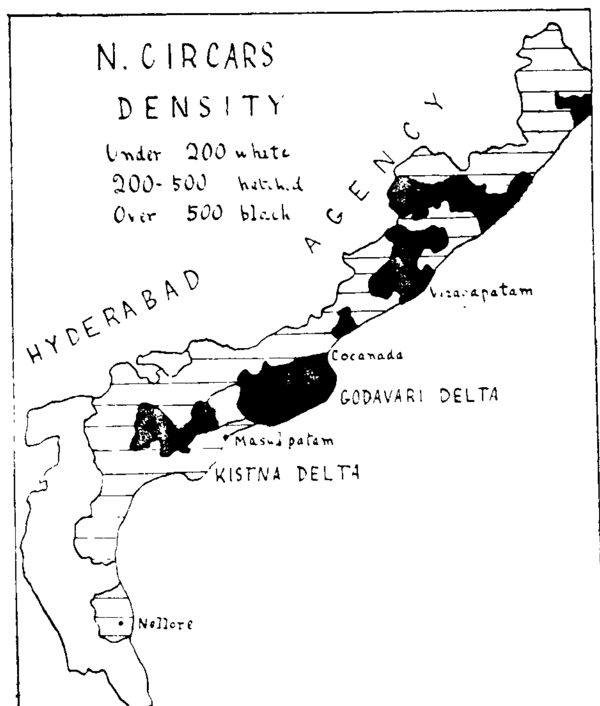




Fig. 8.

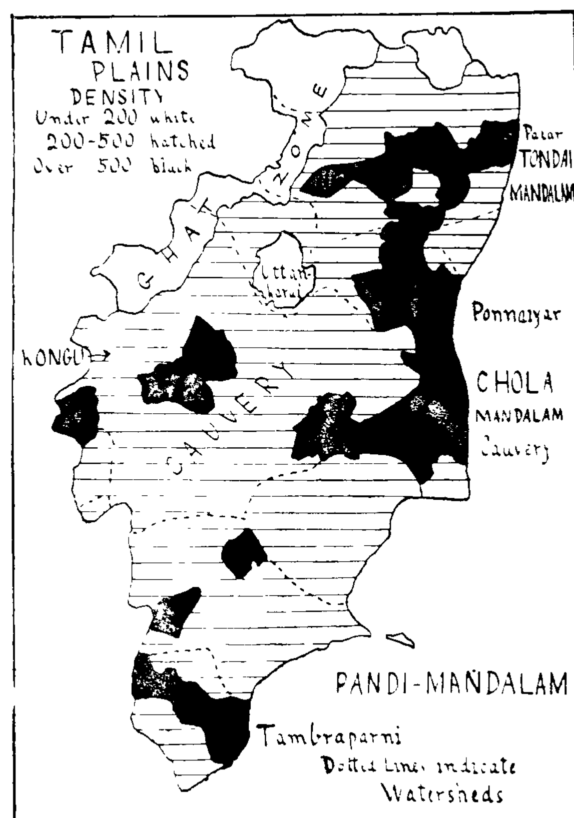



Fig. 9.

Three big rivers, the Kistna, the Godâvari and the Kâvêri rise in the Western Ghâts and flow across the plateau to the East Coast. In the south-eastern portion of the plateau, between the basins of the Kistna and the Kâvêri, and taking their rise from Nandidrug, is another "trinity of rivers"—the North Pinâkini or Penner, the Pâlâr and the South Pinâkini or Ponnaiyâr. (Fig. 3, Pl. II.)

For census purposes the Presidency is divided into six natural divisions. (Fig. 2, Pl. II.)

1. West Coast.
2. Agency.
3. East Coast, North.
4. Deccan.
5. East Coast, Central.
6. East Coast, South.

I have examined each of these divisions in detail; also the States of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin. Taking the *tâluk* as a unit (the district is too large a unit for detailed study), I have plotted the results in Fig. 4, Pl. II.

1. The **West Coast** is a marginal area. The narrow coastal plain, densely populated, is backed by a belt of low density, the area covered by the Western Ghâts. The continuity of this mountain belt is broken by two gaps—(1) at Pâlghât and (2) at Shencottah. Only at these two points is the line crossed by railways.

The high density of the coastal plain is interrupted in three places by areas of medium density. It is conspicuously constricted at two other points, *viz.*, South Cochin and again south of the Tinnevelly-Quilon Railway. (Figs. 6 and 7, Pl. III.)

Along this strip north-to-south movement is not easy: rivers are numerous and torrential. The railway from Tellicherry to Mangalore is a recent extension; Travancore is provided for by a fairly complete system of canals from Cochin to Trivandrum.

This configuration is reflected in the history and geography of the tract. Political frontiers oscillate, but the oscillations are controlled by geographical factors. I tabulate the areas, numbering the high density sections and lettering those of low density from north to south.

A. Coondapoor Tâluk (Fig. 6, Pl. III), populated by Kanarese speaking Bants, is a "spill-area" of cultural and racial influence from NW. Mysore State (Shimoga Dt.) through the territory of the Nâyakas of Bednûr (otherwise known as Keladi or Nagar). The Ghâts here are partly broken by the Sharâvati river, which plunges down the famous Gersoppa Falls. The Kanarese element is intrusive and has not made much impression.

I. Udipi and Mangalore Tâluks, the stronghold of the Tulus, a matrilineal folk.

B. Kâsaragod Tâluk: the transitional area between the Tulu country and Malayâlî Kêrala, the home of the Nâyar and the Nambûdiri. The approach to the sea of the sparsely populated tâluk of Uppinangadi has no doubt helped to make this a frontier.

II. Chîrakkal tâluk, the seat of the Northern Kolattiris, the principal beneficiary in North Malabar in the partition effected by the Perumâls.

C. Kôttayam tâluk, and III (*a*) Kurumbranâd tâluk at one time owed allegiance to the Northern Kolattiri. Kôttayam being of lower density than Chîrakkal or Kurumbranâd, the territory was not homogeneous, the Kolattiri was always troubled by the rebellion of his feudatories (particularly his own relative, the Kôttayam Râja) and the aggressions of Zamorin.

III. (*b*) Calicut, the seat of the Zamorin, who got no territory at the Perumâl's partition, but only a sword to conquer with.

D. Ernâd and Walluvanâd tâluks, the "Moplah Zone." The Moplahs were the Zamorin's men. They are associated with the Zamorin's policy of trade with Arabia, which brought Vasco da Gama to Calicut.

IV. Ponnâni tâluk: an intensely fertile tract with a density of over 1000. **Pâlghât** in the hinterland is the gate to the Tamil country and dominated by Tamil Brâhmans. Ethnographically, Pâlghât contains strong Tamil elements, *e.g.*, Taragars and Kaikolars. But the immigrants have all, to some extent, assimilated Malayâli culture. Ponnâni is an area of transition, and owes its importance, in part at least, to the peculiar configuration of the Cochin State. The northern portion of Cochin supports a population of over 500 per square mile, and, with South Walluvanad, forms an avenue of approach to the port of Cochin and its backwater, which might be one of the finest harbours in the world, but for the difficulties created by its bar and the south-west monsoon. Cochin backwater is the strongest "magnetic" centre on the West Coast south of Bombay, a centripetal focus *par excellence*. It has attracted Romans, Jews and Syrian Christians, Portuguese, Dutch and British. The Shoranûr-Ernakulam Railway is but one of many evidences of the deflection of movement—cultural, racial and economic—to the objective of Cochin backwater. The railway takes a short cut through broken country; the real route lay through Ponnâni tâluk, and there is evidence of this deflection in the social ingredients of Ponnâni tâluk itself.

E. To the Nelliampathi Hills (see Fig. 7, Pl. III) Cochin undoubtedly owes its survival as a sovereign state. For generations Cochin groaned beneath the upper and nether millstones, the Zamorin and Travancore. But thanks to the Nelliampathis, Cochin can only be attacked from the north on a narrow front, and Trivandrum is too far distant to control it effectively.

V. In North and Central Travancore, the culture of Kêrala has full play. A strip of maximum density (over 1000 per square mile) runs almost without break along the seaboard from end to end. The Ghâts form an impenetrable shield except for the loophole of the Shencottah Pass, and even here Tamil influence has not penetrated far, for Travancore holds territory to the eastward of the pass and density is relatively low.

F. Nedumangâd, with a population of only 300 to the square mile, marks the end of undiluted Malabar. Trivandrum is the southern limit of the "maximum density" seaboard. Nearly one-fifth of its people speak Tamil.

VI. Thence southward lies an area of transition, and at Cape Comorin the transition is complete. We know from inscriptions that the southernmost tâluks of Travancore were for centuries dominated politically and culturally by Tamil Pâṇḍyas. The Census figures (1901) are significant.[4]

2. **The Agency** is, thanks to malaria, one vast area of isolation. Geographically it is an annexe to the great mountain belt that separates the Indo-Gangetic plains from Peninsular India. In the transmission of cultural influence it is a barrier which cannot be crossed. True, there are racial and cultural movements within it, and parts of it are loosely controlled by an immigrant aristocracy, but these can only be explained by a comprehensive study of the whole Vindhya belt, and such a study has yet to be made. Only in two tâluks, Jeypore and the Northern Udayagiri, does density rise beyond 150 per square mile. For my present purpose the Agency may be regarded as a blank wall.

3. **The East Coast, Northern Division** (the Northern Circars) is a narrow coastal plain, not unlike the West Coast. On the north its extension in the coastal plain of Orissa gives access to Bengal. The Oriyas have penetrated into Ganjam, but the passage is constricted by the Chilka Lake. In the centre two large magnetic foci are created (Fig. 8, Pl. III) by the deltas of the Godâvari and Kistna, between which lies the Colair Lake. The Kistna delta is accessible from the Deccan, as the histories of Bâdâmi, Warangal and Golkonda and the railway from Warangal to Bezwâda and from Guntakkal to Guntûr testify. The Colair Lake has,

[4] From north to south the percentage of Tamil speakers in the southern tâluks is as follows: Trivandrum 19, Neyyattinkara 15, Vilavankod 71, Kalkulam 83, Eraniel 92, Agastisvaram 97, Tovala 99

to some extent, but very imperfectly, protected the Godâvari Delta from aggression from this quarter.

On the south these deltas can be got at from two quarters by way of the narrow barren plain of Nellore, *viz.*, (1) from Madras, and (2) from Cuddapah. But transit by these routes is not easy, the passage from Madras is constricted by the Pulicat Lake and spurs of the Chittoor hills, that from Cuddapah by the difficulties of the Badvel Pass. The Tamil Chôlas forced their way northward, and the Kâkatîyas of Warangal southward, past Pulicat, but they could not hold their conquests. Krishna Râya of Vijayanagar only succeeded (via Cuddapah) by capturing Udayagiri, where the Badvel Pass debouches, and by protecting his flank from Warangal aggression by the quadrilateral of forts Vinukoṇḍa, Koṇḍavîdu, Koṇḍapalli and Bellamkoṇḍa. (See Fig. 5, Pl. II.)

On the whole the history of this Eastern Coastal Plain is not unlike that of the West Coast. Within the area political boundaries oscillate and sections of it tend to break up into petty principalities.

4. **The Deccan** (Northern and Central) is a vast area of low density, broken here and there with patches of medium density, most of them marking the sites of former capitals, *e.g.*, Gulbarga, Golkonda, Warangal, Banavâsi, Adoni, Kurnool and Cuddapah. On East and West alike its frontier is a belt of deterrent mountains and jungles. To the south, in Mysore State, lies a large compact area carrying a moderately dense population, and this in turn is bounded on the south by a belt of low density, broken only at one point, south-east of Mysore. This belt, the "Poligar Belt," is of great importance in the history and ethnography of South India, for it is the line along which the Plateau breaks away to the Plains, and it marks the frontier between the Tamils and the Telugu-Kanarese nations. It is true that this frontier has frequently been overpassed, but whoever crosses it finds himself in a foreign and hostile country.

The fairly populous area within this belt is not homogeneous. The western and larger portion, the Mysore homeland, lies within the basin of the Upper Kâvêri. The eastern portion, East Mysore, is an overlap area covering the head streams of the Penner, the Ponnaiyâr, and the Pâlâr. The significance of this distinction will be apparent when we come to examine—

5 and 6. **The East Coast, Central and Southern Divisions.**—These divisions are best taken together. They comprise the homeland of the Tamils. They have three centripetal foci, areas of maximum density,—(*a*) Madras, (*b*) Kumbakonam and (*c*) Madura.

The first two are linked by a densely populated area of irregular shape. This area is made up of the basins of the Middle and Lower Pâlâr in the north and the basin of the Lower Kâvêri in the south. Between the two is the fertile basin of the Lower Ponnaiyâr, which enters the sea near Cuddalore. The Ponnaiyâr area is linked with the Kâvêri area by the basin of the Vellâr, which flows into the sea at Porto Novo. The Pâlâr area is linked with the Ponnaiyâr area, not by the coast line, but by a fertile tract comprised in the tâluks of Wandiwash and Gingee.

At the head of the Kâvêri delta stands Trichinopoly, the principal seat of Chôla power, and throughout the ages of immense strategic importance. The Pâlâr enters the coastal plain at Arcot, not far from Conjeeveram, the capital of the Pâlâr Plain from time immemorial. The strategic centre of the middle Pâlâr is Vellore. It is obvious that to any army marching between the Pâlâr area and the lower Kâvêri the possession of Gingee is vital.

Madura stands by itself. It is not linked up with any other area of high density. To this fact it owes its strength and importance. It is sheltered from aggression on the north and west and east by a belt of rough untempting country, the stronghold of the predatory Kallar, and beyond this, to the east and south, stretch the dreary plains of Râmnâd, the homeland of the warlike Maravars. Even the railway from Madras makes a big detour through Dindigul to get there.

Beyond Madura to the south lies the " terminal " area of Tinnevelly ; through the heart of which runs the densely populated valley of the Tambraparni, with Tuticorin still trading overseas, as Kâyal did in the Middle Ages, and Korkai in the days of the early Cæsars.

Tinnevelly is the handmaid, but never the master. of Madura. The two together formed the homeland of the Pâṇḍyas, as the Lower Kâvêri did that of the Chôlas, and the Lower Pâlâr (known to history as *Toṇḍamaṇḍalam*) that of the Pallavas.

Two other areas remain. In the hinterland north of Salem is a sparsely populated area, the tâluk of Uttangarai. The paucity of population is due to the hill complex which culminates in the Shevaroys. (See Fig. 11, Pl. IV.) These hills are more important than a density map would lead us to suppose. They stretch north-eastwards (south of the Pâlâr) right through to Vellore, with outliers beyond. They spread southwards and eastwards into the districts of Trichinopoly and South Arcot. Westwards they trend, at lower elevations, right up to the Kâvêri at the point where it quits the Poligar Belt. Only at three points do these hills permit[5] of access to the coastal plain, viz.. (1) through the Âttûr gap east of Salem to the headwaters of the Vellâr, (2) through the rough Chengam Pass (near where the Ponnaiyâr breaks through) to Tirukkoyilûr and Cuddalore, and (3) in the north-west corner, by way of Tiruppattûr to Vellore and the Pâlâr valley.

The westward limit of this hill complex is the frontier between the basins of the Middle Kâvêri and the Middle Ponnaiyâr, the former the Kongu country of history, (the present district of Coimbatore and the southern half of Salem), the latter the Bâramahâl (North Salem).

These two areas, Kongu and the Bâramahâl, the basins of the Middle Kâvêri and Middle Ponnaiyâr, have an important bearing on migrations in South India. So also has the " entrenched " basin of the Middle Penner (North Pinâkini). It is these that determine the three lines of approach to the Tamil country. (Figs. 10 and 11, Pl. IV.)

A. *Toṇḍamaṇḍalam* is accessible with difficulty from the Northern Circars, as already described, by way of Nellore. It is easily accessible from the south. It is also accessible by the Middle Pâlâr valley, and on this several routes impinge. The chief of them are, (*i*) the Mâmandûr Pass, through which the railway runs from Cuddapah to Madras. (*ii*) The Dâmalcheruvu Pass in the north-west corner of Chittoor district, (*iii*) the Môgili Pass from Kolâr to Chittoor, (*iv*) the Nâyakanêri Pass a little further south, which enters the Pâlâr valley north of Âmbûr. The valley can also, as already pointed out, be entered from the Bâramahâl, which, in turn, is fairly easily accessible from Bangalore, Mysore and Kolâr.

B. *Chôlamaṇḍalam* (the Kâvêri Delta) is accessible easily from the north, as already described ; also from the west from Kongu. Access from the Bâramahâl (through Chengam) is difficult.

C. *Pâṇḍimaṇḍalam* (the districts of Madura and Tinnevelly) is accessible only with difficulty from *Chôlamaṇḍalam*, but with comparative ease from the north-west corner, *i.e.*, from Kongu. But Madura City is shielded by the hills that lie between it and Dindigul. On the other hand, *Chôlamaṇḍalam* bears a teeming population and, owing to the narrowing of the valley above Trichinopoly, it is well adapted for defence against aggression from the West. Hence a movement from Kongu is apt to be checked at Trichinopoly, and diverted through Dindigul into the western half of Tinnevelly, missing out Madura.

Kongu itself was accessible from Mysore by the three passes of (i) Gajjalhaṭṭi, (ii) Hâsanûr and (iii) Kâvêripuram. During the nineteenth century all these three routes, which traverse very rough country, have gone out of use.

(*To be continued.*)

[5] Or did till recently. We can safely ignore the achievements of modern road and railway engineering.

Fig. 10

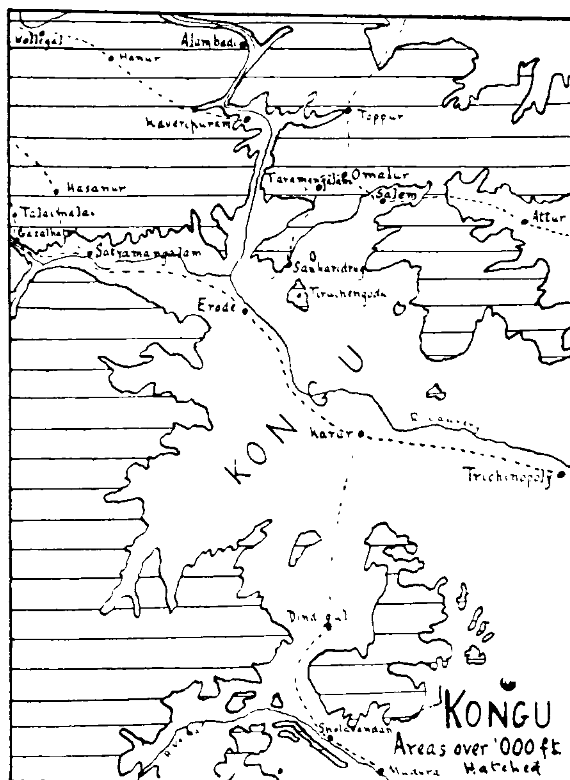



Fig 11.



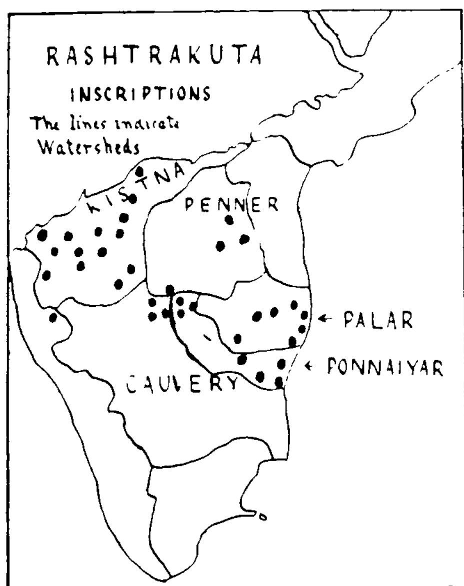




Fig. 12.

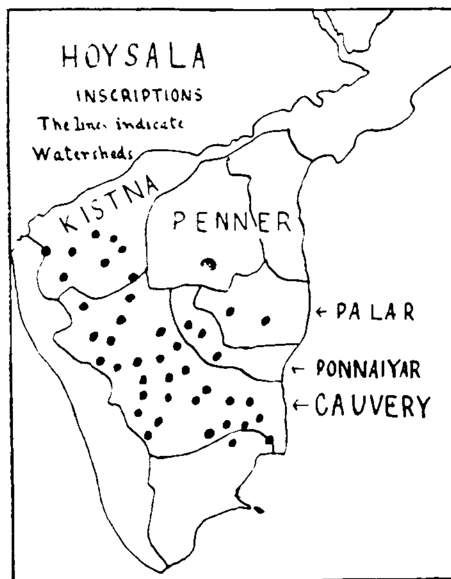



Fig. 13.

# SIDI ALI SHELEBI IN INDIA, 1554-1556 A.D.

BY C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, C.S.I., I.C.S. (*Retired.*)

THE Turkish admiral Sîdî 'Alî is widely known to students of geography as the author of the *Muḥîṭ*, the 'encircling' or 'surrounding' (sea), a compilation from different sources of instructions for navigating the seas between Persia and China. We now know, thanks to the researches of MM. Ferrand and Gaudefroy-Demombynes,[1] that this work is largely a translation from certain previous records, MS. copies of which are preserved among the Arabic MSS. in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris. Whatever his sources may have been, the work is of great value in that it contains much detailed information about the routes followed by the Arab navigators in the later middle ages, before the Portuguese had traversed these eastern waters and by their descriptions and charts revealed them to the West. The topographical chapters of the *Muḥîṭ* were carefully translated into German by Dr. M. Bittner of the Imperial University of Vienna. This translation was published in 1897, with a learned introduction and a series of valuable maps specially prepared to illustrate the geographical information furnished therein, as compared with that available from the earliest Portuguese maps and charts, by Dr. W. Tomaschek of the same University.[2]

Another work by Sîdî 'Alî, entitled *Mirât al-mamâlik*, 'The Mirror of Countries,' is perhaps less widely known. This was edited and translated into German by H. F. von Diez in 1815, and some years later translated into French by M. Morris and published in the *Journal Asiatique* 1e *série, t. IX and X*, 1826-27. In 1899 the celebrated Central Asian traveller and explorer, Arminius Vambéry, published a fresh translation in English from the then latest printed edition published at Constantinople in 1895. This little book, which has been described by the late Dr. V. A. Smith as "badly translated and annotated,"[3] is not often met with. A perusal of the portion relating to Sîdî 'Alî's adventures in India and the identifications suggested for some of the places visited might indeed lead a casual reader to doubt whether the admiral had actually made the journeys and had the experiences he relates. A close examination, however, shows that the narrative is corroborated in numerous respects from a variety of independent sources, that his route can be clearly identified from stage to stage, and, therefore, that his story may be accepted as a genuine record of travel. As the account of his experiences in Gujarât, Sind and the Panjâb is of interest and value from many points of view, I propose to give a short summary thereof, following him from place to place. It will be necessary, first of all, to set forth briefly the circumstances that led to his unpremeditated visit to India and thereafter impelled him to undertake his venturesome land journey.

We know little about Sîdî 'Alî beyond what he tells us himself in this remarkable work. He was a contemporary of the great Ottoman emperor, Sulaimân I, "the Magnificent" (1494-1566), who reigned from 1520 to 1566; and most of his active service was passed in the employment of that monarch. His father's name was Ḥusain, and he tells us that his father and ancestor (? grandfather) had held charge of the royal arsenal at Galata since the capture of Constantinople (1453), where they had acquired eminence in their profession, and that he had inherited their knowledge of nautical matters. He had himself studied deeply the art of navigation. He had been present at the capture of Rhodes (referring apparently to the sanguinary attack of 1522, when the Turks suffered such heavy losses). He had taken part, he says, in all the fights in the "western seas" (*i.e.*, in the Mediterranean) and had been present at all the victories of Khairu'd-dîn Pasha.[4] He had written books

[1] See *Journal Asiatique*, 10e *série*, *t. XX*, 1912, p. 547 f.; and G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyages*, etc., t. II, 1914, p. 484 f.

[2] *Die topographischen Capitel des indischen Seespiegels Mohit*, Wien, Verlag der K. K. Geographischen Gesellschaft, 1897.

[3] V. A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, 1917, p. 464.

[4] His original name was Khizr, but he became more famous in the West under the soubriquet Barbarossa ('Red Beard').

on astronomy and philosophy and on matters relating to navigation, and was popularly known as Kàtib-i-Rûmî (*i.e.*, 'the Turkish writer').

In the course of the war between the Mughal emperor Humâyûn and Bahâdur Shâh, Sultân of Gujarât, the latter retreated in 1535 to the strong hill fortress of Mândû, which was closely invested by Humâyûn. When one of the outer gates of the fort was thrown open to the Mughals by treachery, according to the *Mirât-i-Sikandari*, Bahâdur fled first to the fort at Champaner and thence on to Diu, with the object of enlisting the aid of the Portuguese. At the same time he sent an envoy to Egypt, to solicit the assistance of the Turks. Later on he sent an envoy to the Sultân of Turkey himself. Meanwhile the Portuguese having, in the course of their negociations with Bahâdur, obtained the grant of a site on which to build a fort at Diu, pushed on its construction with the utmost rapidity. The Ottoman Sultân, whose ships had previously encountered the Portuguese in eastern waters, appears to have been taken with the idea of seizing the occasion to avenge himself upon them and at the same time to obtain a footing in India. A large fleet was accordingly collected at Suez, troops were despatched and the command of the expedition entrusted to Sulaimân Pasha, the governor of Cairo. The fleet started in June 1538 ; Aden was sacked in August, and Diu reached in September. Faulty tactics, quarrels with the Gujarâtîs and the gallantry of the Portuguese defence ultimately led to Sulaimân Pasha's discomfiture and finally to his retreat in November. A few years later the Sultân of the Turks once more conceived a plan for revenging himself upon the Portuguese by completing the annexation of Arabia and capturing Hormuz in the Persian Gulf, which was the key to their ascendancy in that region. The command of the expedition fitted out for this purpose was given to the Egyptian admiral Pîrî Beg, who left Suez in 1553 for Hormuz with some 30 vessels. After many vicissitudes, and after taking Maskat and pillaging Hormuz, he was encountered by the Portuguese fleet and defeated. He himself escaped to Egypt with two ships, while all that remained of his fleet sought refuge at Basrah. Murâd Beg, who was appointed to take command of these vessels, attempted to take them back to Egypt, but was intercepted by the Portuguese near Hormuz and, after a sanguinary contest, was driven back to Basrah. Our author was then appointed by the Sultân to the post of Admiral of Egypt, and he was directed to proceed to Basrah and take the fleet back.

Sîdî 'Alî describes briefly his route from Aleppo, where the Sultân was then holding court, via Nisibîn and Mosul to Baghdâd, making a trip from there to Karbala, to visit that sacred site. Returning to Baghdâd, he proceeded down the Tigris past Ctesiphon to Kut al-Amâra, whence he seems to have gone down the Shatt al Hai channel, as he passed Wâsit. From Wâsit he went on to Zakya, paying a visit to Ezra's tomb, and then by Mezera (near Qûrna) down to Basrah. He sailed from Basrah on the 1st *Sha'bân* 961 A.H. (beginning of July 1554)[5] to Rîshahr (near Bushire) with the ships bound for Egypt. If the route followed from Wâsit past Basrah to the open sea were accurately identified, it might furnish some interesting evidence as to the conditions of the Euphrates-Tigris delta some four centuries ago. From Rîshahr the fleet crossed the Gulf to Qâtif on the Arabian coast of al-Hasa, passing on to Bahrain, recrossing the Gulf to Qais Island, and so on to Hormuz. No news being obtainable at any of these stages of the Portuguese fleet, Sîdî 'Alî moved on to the Julfâr (modern Râs al-Khaima) coast round cape Râs Masandam and past Lîmah until, in the vicinity of Khûr Fakkân, he met the Portuguese fleet comprising 25 vessels, of which 12 were small galleys. After a fierce fight, he tells us, the Portuguese lost one galleon and hove off in the direction of Hormuz. Sîdî 'Alî proceeded to Sohâr, where he seems to have stopped, as it was not till the 16th day after the fight near Khûr Fakkân that he arrived opposite Maskat and Qalhât, when another and stronger Portuguese fleet, commanded by "the admiral of Goa, the son of the Governor," put out from Maskat and attacked him. The Turkish fleet was no match for their opponents' big and heavily armed ships of war.

[5] Vambéry writes on the 1st *Shauwâl*, which is clearly incorrect.

However, they seem to have put up a gallant fight till nightfall, when, according to our author, the Portuguese sailed off in the direction of Hormuz. The Portuguese account of this battle is very different, claiming a more or less complete victory, as in fact it must have been, as only nine out of fifteen Turkish ships escaped. A storm coming on, the Turkish fleet, which was close inshore, dragged their anchors and had to set sail and put out to sea. Instead of making Râs al Ḥadd, as they should have if they were to reach Egypt, they drifted across the Gulf of Omân towards the coast of the Kirmân province, near Jâsk. Sailing on in an undecided manner, perhaps driven by the wind, they next approached the coast of Kîj-Makrân. Driven out to sea once more, they were buffeted about and next touched at Shâhbâr (close to Tîz), where they fell in with a Muhammadan pirate ship, the captain of which guided them to Gwâdar. Here a pilot was provided by the local ruler, and the fleet, of nine vessels, is said to have headed for Yemen. They had been at sea for several days and were approaching the Arabian coast (according to Diez, near Râs al-Ḥadd; according to Vambéry, towards Ẕufâr and Shahar) when a violent storm accompanied by torrential rain broke from the west and, raging continuously for ten days, blew the fleet right across the Arabian Sea to the vicinity of the gulf (or bay) of Jaked,[6] by which is meant the Gulf of Kachh. Here they could see a Hindu ("idol") temple on the coast.[7] Continuing, they skirted the coast of Kâṭhiâwâḍ, passing Miâni,[8] Mangrol,[9] Somanâtha,[10] and Diu. Sîdî 'Alî naïvely mentions that while in the neighbourhood of Diu they took care to have no sails hoisted out of fear of the "infidels" (*i.e.*, the Portuguese). The precaution was almost superfluous, as the storm was still so violent that no one could move about on the decks, and the ships were driven headlong towards the coast of Gujarât. Sîdi 'Alî tells us that his vessel was caught in a whirlpool, sucked downwards and so nearly swamped that he and his crew stripped off all their clothing and seized hold of casks and other things, in case they were precipitated into the sea. In this crisis Sîdî 'Alî freed all his slaves and vowed 100 ducats to the poor of Makka. When the sky cleared a little in the afternoon, they found they were about two miles from Damân. The storm-tossed and damaged ships had to lie off Damân for five days more, owing to the wind and the continuous rain, the monsoon[11] being in full force. It would appear from our author's narrative that all nine ships that escaped from the fight near Maskat had kept the same course—a remarkable fact, having regard to the weather conditions—and reached the coast near Damân. Three ran ashore and were evidently completely wrecked, as their guns and equipment were made over to Malik Asad, "the Governor of Damân." His own ship had sprung a very bad leak. We are not told to what extent the others had been damaged, but all were evidently in a bad way, as it took another five days to struggle on to Surat, whither they were invited by Imâdu'l-mulk, the Vazîr of Sulṭân Aḥmad, so that they might be safe from attack by the Portuguese, Damân being then an "open port."

The story told by Sîdî 'Alî of the adventures of this Turkish fleet differs materially from the accounts given by the Portuguese historians, which have been briefly presented in the following extract from *The Portuguese in India* by Mr. F. C. Danvers:—

"The Grand Turk, on hearing that Moradobec had fared no better than the unfortunate Pirbec, gave the command of fifteen galleys to Alechelubij, who had boasted a great deal

[6] The Tcheked of Diez; the Djugd of Vambéry; the Râs Jaked of the *Muḥît*; the Punta de Jaquete of the Portuguese; the Jigat of Alexander Hamilton. This is a name that appears in a great variety of spellings on old maps for the westernmost point of Kâṭhiâwâḍ, near Dvârakâ.

[7] The "country of Djamher" according to Diez; the "coast of Djamher" according to Vambéry, who adds in a note: "*Rectius* Djamkhor, a subdivision of Ahmed-nagar, in the Residency of Bombay!" The temple seen was that of Dvârakâ, a well known landmark.

[8] The Fourmian of Diez; Formyan of Vambéry; Fûrmiân of the *Muḥît*; the Miane of the Portuguese.

[9] Manghalor of Diez; Menglir of Vambéry, who adds a characteristic footnote: "Perhaps meant for Manglaus, Menglaur, in the District of Sahranpur (*sic*)."

[10] Soumenat of Diez; Somenat of Vambéry.

[11] Vambéry translates the sentence: "for we were now in the Badzad or rainy season of India," and in a footnote suggests the Persian *bâdzad*, 'hurricane,' 'whirlwind'; but the word is obviously meant for *barsât*, the usual term (of Sanskritic origin) for the rainy season in India.

about what he could do. Dom Fernando de Noronha, who had returned from the Red Sea after his fruitless endeavour to capture the fort of Dofar, went out to meet Alechelubij, and fell in with him on the 25th August, 1553,[12] near Muscat. The enemy, not daring to risk a battle, endeavoured to escape with his whole fleet, but six of his vessels were captured by the Portuguese caravels. Dom Fernando de Noronha then put into Muscat, where he refitted the galleys, purchased slaves, and appointed captains. Alechelubij was pursued by some Portuguese vessels, and driven with seven out of his nine ships, into Surat, and there hemmed in by Dom Jeronymo de Castello-Branco, Nuno de Castro, and Dom Manoel de Mascarenhas. The remaining two ships were pursued by Dom Fernando de Monroyo and Antonio Valladares, who drove them on to the coasts of Daman and Daru[13] (*sic*) respectively, where they went on the rocks and were dashed to pieces."

Danvers seems to have relied chiefly on Faria y Sousa. The accounts given by Diogo do Couto and Francisco d'Andrada similarly differ in several respects from the narrative of Sîdî 'Alî—naturally enough, in that they set forth the version of his opponents—but in other matters they corroborate him. For instance, Sidi 'Ali writes that he left Basrah with fifteen vessels under his command; that he encountered the Portuguese fleet near Maskat, whence it issued on the 27th *Ramaẓân* 761 A.H. at dawn of day; that the Portuguese admiral was the son of the Governor of Goa; that one of his vessels was set on fire: that the Portuguese ships were all beflagged; that he escaped with nine of his vessels: and that they were eventually driven (by incessant storms, however, and not by the Portuguese) on to the coast of Gujarât. On all these points, Sidi 'Ali is borne out by Portuguese accounts. For example, do Couto says Alecheluby had fifteen vessels, of which nine escaped in the direction of Cambay; that Dom Fernando, son of Dom Affonso de Noronha, commanded the Portuguese fleet, which fought with flags dressed out. Sidi 'Ali states that he reached Surat three months after leaving Basrah, which means at the beginning of October; and as he did not enter Surat harbour till at least ten days after he had arrived at the coast near Damân, he must have reached the coast of Gujarât towards the end of September, which is consistent with d'Andrada's account. All the Portuguese accounts (possibly deriving from the same source) seem to agree in saying that seven Turkish ships took refuge at Surat. Sîdî 'Ali does not tell us how many reached Surat, but he says three ran ashore on the coast; so, unless one of these was salvaged, he could only have taken six into Surat. Again, though the Portuguese accounts state that the Turks were pursued, we are not told when the pursuit started, or what happened to the pursuing ships between Maskat and Gujarât, to prevent their reaching Gujarât before the Turks. Sîdî 'Alî's narrative, on the other hand, would explain why his vessels were so delayed in reaching Damân in spite of the strong SW. monsoon blowing. There appears then, to be no valid reason for disbelieving his account of his adventures by the coasts of Kirmân Makrân and Kâṭhiâwâḍ, or in fact to doubt the reliability of his narrative as a whole.

Unfortunately the period during which Sidi 'Ali arrived in Gujarât was one of the greatest turmoil and confusion in its history. Maḥmûd II had recently been murdered, and Aḥmad Khân had been set up as Aḥmad Shâh II, a Sulṭân in little more than name, while the ministers and nobles quarrelled and fought among themselves, frequent changes occurring in the personnel of the court and local officials. Sidi Ali tells us that he made over the cannon and munitions saved from the stranded ships to Malik Asad,[14] then in command at Damân. Some of his crew took service at once under this officer, while some went by land to Surat. He himself with such of his officers and crew as remained faithful, proceeded, at

[12] 1553 is clearly a mistake on the part of Danvers for 1554, as it is unmistakable from the Portuguese histories that the sea-fight took place in August 1554. Sidi 'Ali fixes the date in stating that it was the *lailatu'l-qadr* (*i.e.*, 27th *Ramaẓân*) 761 A.H.

[13] Danvers writes "Daru," but there is no such place. The Danu of do Couto and d'Andrada is obviously Dâhânu, on the coast about 35 miles S. of Damân, a place once held by the Portuguese, where there is still an old fort. (See *I.G.*, *s.v.* Danu.)

[14] Probably Asad Khân Ismâ'il Salmâni

the invitation of Imâdu'l-mulk,[15] "the Grand Vazîr of Sulṭân Aḥmad," by sea to Surat, where he was safe for the time being from the Portuguese. He gives us a brief account of the local political conditions, referring to the recent murder of Sulṭân Mahmûd, and mentioning Nâṣiru'l-mulk, Khudâwand Khân and 'Âdil Khân, all of whom are known to have played various roles at that time.

Having come to the conclusion that it was out of the question attempting to return to Egypt by sea, Sîdî 'Alî decided to try and make his way back to Constantinople by land, via Sind, the Panjâb and Afghânistân. The deserted ships, with all that was left of their armament, were made over to Khudâwand Khân, Governor of Surat, on condition that he would remit to the Porte the amount settled as their value. We are not told whether this account was ever discharged!

Towards the end of November[16] or the beginning of December,[17] 1554,[18] Sîdî 'Alî started on his long land journey, accompanied by Muṣṭafa Âghâ, commandant of the Egyptian janissaries, 'Alî Âghâ, captain of the gunners, and about fifty men, travelling via Broach,[19] Barodâ,[20] Champaner and Maḥmûdâbâd[21] to Aḥmadâbâd, still the capital of Gujarât, though declining with the decay of the kingdom. On his way he notices the growth of the *târî* palm (*Borassus flabellifer*), and how the 'toddy' was collected in pots and left to ferment, and the drinking booths beneath the trees, which were a great attraction to his men. Over-indulgence on one occasion led to a disgraceful brawl, in which two of his men were wounded and one killed. He describes the Banyan tree (*Ficus indica*), with its aerial roots and enormous extent of shade (enough for "thousands" of people), and the huge "bats," *i.e.*, the common Flying Fox (*Pteropus medius*), that hung from them in large numbers; and the innumerable paroquets and thousands of monkeys that surrounded the camp at some stages.

Aḥmadâbâd was reached about 50 days after leaving Surat, probably in the latter half of January 1555. There Sîdî 'Alî had an interview with the Vazîr (Imâdu'l-mulk) and the Sultân (Aḥmad II), who treated him graciously, presenting him with a horse, a team of camels and money towards the expenses of his journey. The Sulṭân also, he says, offered him the governorship (?) of Broach, with a large income, but this he declined. At the Vazîr's house one day he chanced to meet a Portuguese envoy, and words ran high between them, the envoy threatening that all the ports would be watched against his escape, while Sîdî 'Alî hinted that he could travel by land as well as by sea. While at Aḥmadâbâd, our traveller took the opportunity of paying a visit to the tomb of Shaikh Aḥmad Maghribi at Sarkhej,[22] some five miles distant. This is an important statement since it provides another chance of checking the reliability of Sîdî 'Alî's narrative. From the *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*,[23] we find that at Sarkhej there is the tomb of "Shekh Ahmad Khattu Ganj Bakhsh of Anhilvâḍâ," begun in 1445 A.D. by Muḥammad Shâh and completed in 1451. This tomb is also mentioned in the Aḥmadâbâd volume of the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, edited by Sir J. M. Campbell,[24] as that of Shaikh Ahmad Khâthi

[15] This must have been Imâdu'l-mulk Aṣlân Turki, frequently mentioned by Hâjji ad-Dabir, in his Arabic *History of Gujarât*, as in attendance on Ahmad II, becoming Prime Minister in 963 A.H. (1555-56).

[16] On the 1st *Muḥarram* 962 A.H., according to Diez (= 26 November 1554).

[17] Vambéry writes: "in the beginning of Muharram."   [18] Vambéry incorrectly writes 1552.

[19] Bouroudj of Diez; Burudj of Vambéry: neither of them have identified the place.

[20] Beloudri of Diez; Belodra of Vambéry, who suggests it is Balotra in Jodhpur State!

[21] The Mehmadabad of our maps and the *I.G.*, but the correct name is Maḥmûdâbâd, as the town was founded by the famous Sulṭân Mahmûd Begaḍa. Strange to say, Vambéry failed to identify even this town, noting: "there is only a place of that name known in Oudh."

[22] Tcherkesch of Diez, and Cherkes of Vambéry, but unidentified by them.

[23] Originally compiled by Dr. J. Burgess, revised by Mr. H. Cousens in 1897. See p. 84

[24] *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency* vol. IV, Ahmedabad (1879), p. 18.

Ganj Bakhsh. That the Sulṭân of Gujarât should have had the tomb built indicates that the *pîr* was held in great veneration. It is possible that he originally came from Africa or the West, and was therefore called Maghribi.[24a] In connexion with his stay at Aḥmadâbâd, it should be mentioned that it was here that he compiled his better known work, the *Muḥîṭ*, to which reference has been made above (p. 219).

*(To be continued.)*

## THE NINE DVIPAS OF BHARATAVARSA.

BY SASHIBHUSHAN CHAUDHURI, M.A.

*(Continued from page 208.)*

It is not easy to ascertain how many of them belong to the domain of sober Geography. The division into nine was probably a sober statement of fact, but the names of the *dvîpas* in some cases may simply be imaginary also. Moreover, the fact that in the list of the *dvîpas* some have been misplaced is evident from the text of the *Garuḍa* and *Vâmana*, which name other *dvîpas* and do not conform to the usual list ; and so, in the absence of other evidence to corroborate their statements, we are compelled to accept the list of the *dvîpas* given in most of the *Purâṇas*, some of which admit of identification.

Indradvîpa was possibly Burma, as the late Mr. S. N. Mazumdar suggested.[32] He also thought that Kaserumat was the Malay Peninsula.[33] By Tàmravarṇa was probably intended Ceylon. The ancient Greeks called it Taprobane, and Asoka refers to it as Tambapaṃni. Gabhastimân is identified with the Laccadive and Maldive islands, and Nâga with the islands of Salsette and Elephanta near Bombay.[34] Regarding the Saumya *dvîpa* we have no evidence to enable us to fix its locality, but we can very probably trace the name in the modern name Siam. In fact there is a very close philological similarity between the two names. There is also good reason to think that Siam was one of the nine *dvîpas*, in view of the fact that Burma and Malaya were one. Regarding Gândharva Mr. Mazumdar gave good reasons for believing that it was the country of Gândhâra.[35] The next *dvîpa* is Vâruṇa. As for myself, I find the only trace of the name in the present Borneo, the striking similarity in the names making the identification likely. The name Vâruṇa, it seems to me, survives in a plainly recognizable form in the present Borneo. And the ninth *dvîpa* was India proper. So we see that the nine *dvîpas* implied India proper and some of the islands of the Far East and of the Indian ocean, all of which came under the general designation of Bhâratavarṣa. The scheme of the nine *dvîpas* was, therefore, an attempt to show the geographical connexion of India proper with the Far East, which at that time was sufficiently impregnated with Indian culture and religion. The result was the geographical conception of the nine *dvîpas* of Bhâratavarṣa, set forth by the *Purâṇas*, intended to bring into closer union with India proper the islands of the Far East and other islands. The *dvîpas* were not, therefore, divisions of India proper.

But we cannot safely accept this conclusion as finally established. There is some other evidence which lends colour to the opposite view, namely, that the nine *dvîpas* represent but another scheme of the nine divisions of India proper in addition to what we know. It has been noticed in connexion with the *ślokas* quoted on page 205 that the ninth *dvîpa* is unanimously stated to have been of one thousand *yojanas* in length. That each of the other

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[24a] Sir R. C. Temple, drawing my attention to the *Âîn-i-Akbarî*, trans. Jarrett, III. 371, points out that Shaikh Ahmad Khâthî was the disciple of Bâbâ Ishâq Maghribi, and that the title probably descended from preceptor to disciple.

[32] Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India* (Ed. by S. N. Mazumdar), p. 751.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 752. [34] *Ibid.*, p. 753.

[35] *Ibid.* But there is a strong objection to accepting this identification. Gândhâra is not a *dvîpa* in the same sense as are the other *dvîpas*, which were inaccessible from India proper (of course conventionally), being separated by an ocean.

eight *dvîpas* was also of one thousand *yojanas* is also often stated.[36] Now, as **Bhâratavarṣa** was divided into nine *dvîpas*, each of which has been stated to be of one thousand *yojanas*, it necessarily follows that Bhâratavarṣa was of nine thousand *yojanas*: and in fact all the Purâṇas agree as to this.[37] What may be the equivalent in British miles of nine thousand *yojanas* we need not discuss here [38]; or if ascertainable, whether this estimate can be reconciled with the present dimensions of India is quite a different question. What is striking is, that the Purâṇas generally are unanimous with regard to the nine thousand *jojana* extent of Bhâratavarṣa, inasmuch as they are all agreed with regard to the one thousand length of each of the *dvîpas*. So if India proper is Kumâra *dvîpa*, the other countries, such as Burma, Siam, etc., with which the other islands have been identified, must also be equal to it. But this is not a fact, and so there is good reason to consider the reverse view that these nine *dvîpas* are but another scheme for dividing India proper into nine divisions, in addition to the other schemes we know of. In this view we should not be justified in looking to the countries and islands of the Far East for the identification of the *dvîpas*. But if not, how can we explain the unanimous testimony of all the *Purâṇas* that all the *dvîpas* were separated from each other by ocean, and as such were mutually inaccessible. It seems to me, as pointed out before, that such statements were merely conventional,[39] inserted only to conform with the symmetrical scheme of the other (primary) *dvîpas*, such as Śâlmali, Kuśa, Jambu, Krauñca, Plakṣa, etc., which are described as being surrounded by so many concentric circles of ocean and as such mutually inaccessible. So, having placed a sea round each *dvîpa* of the universe, might not the Purâṇic compilers place a sea round each *dvîpa* of *Bhâratavarṣa* also, if only to satisfy their fanciful idea of concentric oceans, implying, of course, that the boundary rivers of a particular *dvîpa* or division will stand for the encircling ocean and convey the idea of a *dvîpa*. We have already seen that Pâṇini considered *dvîpa* as simply meaning 'having water on two sides.' So these nine *dvîpas* surrounded by the ocean, and as such mutually inaccessible can also be interpreted as denoting nine divisions of India proper having rivers as their boundaries; and India with its countless rivers will not fail to provide *dvîpas*[40] in this sense.

What is more striking is that a *śloka* of the *Skanda Purâṇa*[41] actually restricts Kumârikâ Khaṇḍa (*navama dvîpa*) to the territory between the Pâriyâtra and Mahendra mountains, and Indradvîpa to the eastern coastal portion of India behind the Mahendra range. Unfortunately the *Skanda Purâṇa* has recorded no other *śloka* of this kind, but the *śloka* quoted above is sufficient to indicate that there was another tradition, which regarded the *dvîpas* as so many divisions of India proper. Curiously enough the famous erudite scholar Abul Faẓl also (*Âîn*, iii, p. 31) shows acquaintance with this idea. Thus he places Indradvipa between Laṅkâ and Mahendra, and Kaseṛumat between Mahendra and Śukti, and in this way attempts to record the corresponding divisions of the *dvîpas*. Abul Faẓl, therefore, also

[36] *Ekaikaṃ yojanasahasrapramâṇam* (*Var.* 85, 1 f.) The *Skanda Purâṇa* also repeats this statement (1, 2, 39, 114); so also Râjaśekhara: *Pratyekaṃ yojanasahasrâvadhayo* (*Kâvyamîmâṃsâ*, p. 92).

[37] *Tasyâdyaṃ Bhâratam varṣaṃ taccâpi Navadhasmṛtaṃ*
*Navayojana sâhasraṃ Dakṣiṇottara mânatah.* (*Skanda Purâṇa*, vii, 1, 11, 7.)
In the *Viṣ.* (iii, 3, 2), *Bṛ.* (19, 2), *Agni.* (118, 1), *Kûrma* (46, 22), and again in the *Skanda Purâṇa* (iv, 1, 55), such statements are to be found.

[38] Megasthenes put the extent at 22,300 *stadia* and Patrokles put it as 15,000 *stadia* (1,724 miles, *Camb. Hist. of India*, p. 400). The actual distance is probably about 1,800 miles. The distance from east to west is about 1,360 miles (*ibid.*).

[39] Even if the *dvîpas* be identifiable with the islands of the Far East as suggested, they were certainly not inaccessible in ancient times, for Hindu maritime and colonizing enterprise was very active.

[40] Cf. *Antardvîpa*, which meant the Doâb between the Ganges and the Yamunâ.

[41] *Mahendraparataścaiva Indradvîpo nigadyate.*
*Pâriyâtrasya caivârvâk khaṇḍaṃ kaumârikaṃ smṛtaṃ* (i, 2, 39, 113).

agrees with the tradition which regarded the nine *dvîpas* as so many divisions of India proper. Neither was Alberunî unfamiliar with this. Thus he also represents Indradvîpa (Sachau's edn., vol. I, p. 296) as identical with Mid-India, places Kaserumat to the east of the Madhyadeśa and Gabhastimân to the south of it, and in this way endeavours to locate the several *dvîpas*. But whether or not Abul Fazl and Alberunî agree in their conception of the identification of the *dvîpas* is, however, a different question. As a matter of fact, they do not wholly agree,[42] for the two scholars were separated by a wide interval of time, during which the notions of the *dvîpas* might have undergone change. So what we are to note carefully is that, in spite of their conflicting statements, neither of them proposes to identify any of the *dvîpas* with the islands of the Far East, and both agree in regarding the *dvîpas* as so many divisions of India proper in accordance with the tradition recorded in the *Skanda Purâṇa*.

Nothing can be decided with assurance in the present state of our knowledge. We can only state the two possible views. But it may be said, as against the tradition of the *Skanda Purâṇa*, that we have got a clear hint of a greater India connection in the *dvîpas*, from the testimony of the *Garuḍa* and *Vâmana*. As the *Skanda* is a comparatively modern *Purâṇa*, a conjecture may be hazarded that originally the nine *dvîpas* included, not only India proper, but also the islands of the Far East and other western islands. In a subsequent age perhaps there arose an independent tradition, which sought to increase the number of the stereotyped schemes for the division of India proper into nine parts[43] by evolving another distribution of the continent into nine so-called *dvîpas*. Such a thing was quite possible, if not probable. The *Skanda Purâṇa*, being comparatively modern, embodies this tradition. That such was the common and prevalent idea with regard to the *dvîpas* in medieval times is evident from the testimony of Alberunî and Abul Fazl.

## BOOK-NOTICES.

BUDDHIST SCULPTURES FROM A STUPA NEAR GOLI VILLAGE, GUNTUR DISTRICT, by T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, M.A. 11″ × 8½″: pp. 44; with index and 12 plates. Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum. Madras Govt. Press. 1929.

Of all districts in southern India, Guntur may well claim pre-eminence in respect of the many sites within its limits where important Buddhist remains have been found. Amarâvatî and Bhattiprolu have long been famous, and within the last few years Mr. Longhurst has shown us that Nâgârjunakonda bids fair to prove of even greater archaeological interest. Not many miles from the latter site, lower down the Kistnâ valley, lies the village of Goli, a name which the late Mr. Robert Sewell thought to be probably derived from the three dolmens, or "graves (*goli*) of the Rakṣasas" found near by, but which may possibly have been suggested by the 'globular' *stûpa*, from the ruins of which the sculptures described in this *Bulletin* have been recovered. As noted by Mr. Ramachandran, Sewell refers to the *stûpa* site, in vol. I (not vol. 2) of his *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras* (1882), under Mallavaram, which is the name of another village in the vicinity. In recording the find of two sculptured slabs similar to those at Amarâvatî, Sewell added a warning that the place should be watched, as the remains might prove of great importance. Apparently no heed was paid to this advice, as those two slabs have since been appropriated by the villagers. The possibilities of the site seem to have attracted the attention of that accomplished scholar, Dr. G. Jouveau Dubreuil, who in 1926 had excavations carried out, and the further sculptures recovered were, with his assistance, secured for the Madras Museum.

42 Thus Alberunî identifies Indradvipa with Mid-India, and Abul Fazl places it between Lankâ and Mahendra. But in some cases they also roughly agree. Thus Alberunî places Kaserumat to the east of Madhyadeśa and Abul Fazl places it between Mahendra and Śukti. With regard to Gabhastimân also they agree to great extent.

43 The scheme of dividing India into nine parts has been presented in different forms, some of which have been illustrated by lists of countries and peoples in each division. These nine divisions variously represent—

(1) The nine lunar stations (*Bṛhat Saṁhitâ*, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXII, p. 169).

(2) The eight petals and the central part of the lotus flower (*Viṣṇu Purâṇa*; ed. by Wilson, vol. II, p. 9).

(3) The nine different parts of the tortoise's body (*Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa*; ch. 58).

(4) The nine *dvîpas* (various *Purâṇas*).

where they are now preserved. These include three friezes and a number of other slabs of varying size, on which are finely sculptured scenes illustrative of some of the well-known *Jâtaka* stories and incidents in the life and teaching of the Buddha.

A detailed and careful description has been given of each panel and slab, noting divergencies from the usual representation of the subject. As most of the themes have been presented in the sculptures at Amarâvatî, the author adds a useful tabular statement, comparing the treatment of the several subjects at the two sites. The correspondence in certain cases, as well as the similarity of the characters engraved on the *caitya* slab (Pl. X) with some inscriptions at Amarâvatî assignable to the third century A.D., lead Mr. Ramachandran to suggest that the Goli *stûpa* probably dates from the same period, no definite indication of its date having been otherwise discovered.

This appears to be the first of a new series of bulletins under preparation by the museum authorities; and we think Mr. Ramachandran is to be congratulated on the work; it has been carefully written and suitably arranged, and the plates have been creditably reproduced. A sketch map would have been welcome showing the position of the sites referred to, as Goli and Mallavaram are not marked on the maps ordinarily available. We shall look forward to the appearance of the other works on which, we understand, the author is at present engaged.

C. E. A. W. O.

HINDU ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS, by V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A., with an Introduction by DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, University of Madras, 1929.

As stated by the learned writer of the Introduction, this work attempts to present a picture of the administrative institutions of the Hindus based primarily on the political portions of the *dharmaśâstra* and *arthaśâstra* treatises. The author has devoted praiseworthy industry to the undertaking. The result is a volume of some 400 pages, dealing exhaustively with early Hindu ideas governing the general principles of administration, a description of the machinery and its component parts, including all departments from the Central Government down to the village staff. As would be expected, the writer draws liberally on the *Arthaśâstra* of Kauṭalya for his materials.

This is a field that has already attracted many workers. The reign of Chandragupta furnishes a convenient starting point for speculation on the method of Government prevailing at the headquarters of the state and in the villages in early Hindu times. A special impetus has been given to such studies by the present political status of India.

Writers such as Mr. Dikshitar seem to set before themselves two objectives, which are pursued by methods that are not consistently historical. The excellence of early Hindu institutions is insisted on, and from this starting point inferences are drawn of the inherent and inherited capacity of modern Hindu politicians to repeat the triumphs of Aśoka and his ministers. The chief defect of such literary excursions lies in the readiness of the writer to assume that such documents as the *arthaśâstra* convey an accurate impression of the state of India at the time they were composed, and that the working of institutions can be gathered from the intentions of their authors. No such far reaching assumption can be found to be justified by the teachings of experience.

Writers such as the author of the present work have in mind the reasonable deductions that can be drawn from any recorded code of penal legislation, *i.e.*, that the offences for which punishments are provided occur sufficiently frequently to require the provision of specific penalties. On the other hand, however, it is quite impossible to assume that the punishments laid down are regularly, or even usually, inflicted; and, *a fortiori*, a code of principles for civil and criminal administration, however admirable its precepts, affords little indication of the conduct of officials charged with the duty of enforcing them; and it is on this latter factor that the state of the country and the happiness of its people obviously depends. From this point of view, Mr. Dikshitar is not an infallible guide when, as on p. 48 *et seq.*, he attempts to contrast the working of western institutions with the former social experiences of Hindu organization. The attempt to prove (p. 76 *et seq.*) that in ancient days Hindu monarchs had only the good of their subjects at heart and were entirely free from military ambition is not, in the light of recorded history, entirely convincing. Further, the inspiring list of popular forms of embezzlement (pp. 208, 209) taken from Kauṭalya, throws an interesting light on the work of the public services in the much vaunted early Hindu administration. These forty entries appear to embody the results of much painful experience. The sphere of the *Purohita* comes in for much favourable notice. As the *Mahâbhârata* puts it: a king without *purohita* is like an elephant without a *mahâvat*. Here we are clearly dealing with a point of view that draws much emphasis from the fact that it emanates from a Brâhman. A comparison of the position of the *purohita* among the ministers to the Archbishop of Canterbury does not strike us as particularly apt; but it is no doubt true that a Kshattriya monarch gained much from the intelligent direction of his priestly adviser.

On p. 244 the writer refers to a controversy with the late Mr. S. M. Edwardes regarding the methods of dealing with evil-doers in Mughal and Hindu times, and the use of torture in the discovery of crime. Here again Mr. Dikshitar's standard for Mauryan administration is the written record of principles. There is little doubt that Mr. Edwardes' scepticism, which is shared by others, has more foundation than Mr. Dikshitar's somewhat facile deductions from the code of Kauṭalya. Here we must bring this brief notice to an end. It must not be assumed, from the criticisms above, that this

work is not worthy of very careful study. Where the writer adheres to his text he is deserving of close consideration. When he gives us such striking information as (p. 373) in England until recently horses were used in the driving of ploughs, or augurs well for the future of Indian politics from the assumed happiness of the country in the days of the Mauryan emperors, we must needs handle his pages with some caution.

R. E. E.

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HISTORY OF PRE-MUSALMAN INDIA, vol. I. Prehistoric India, by V. RANGACHARYA, M.A. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$; pp. vii+247. Madras, 1929.

The author has set himself the big and somewhat ambitious task of compiling a history of India from the earliest times down to the Muhammadan conquest, to be completed in 9 volumes, which will deal with the following periods : (1) Pre-historic India ; (2) Vedic India ; (3) India from 650 B.C. to 320 B.C.; (4) the Mauryan Empire ; (5) India from the fall of the Mauryas to the rise of the Guptas ; (6) the Gupta Empire ; (7) North India from 600 to 1200 A.D.; (8) Dakkan from 600 to 1310 A.D. ; and (9) the Tamil States from 600 to 1310 A.D. The volume before us treats of prehistoric India, carrying us down only to the so-called "Vedic period." Chapter I deals chiefly with the geological evolution of the continent. The next four chapters, which are devoted to Early Man and the Eolithic Age, the Palæolithic Age and the transition from this to the Neolithic Age, contain much that from the nature of things must be speculative. When we reach the Neolithic Age (Ch. VI) we stand upon somewhat firmer ground, as, thanks to the lifelong labour of Bruce Foote and the more recent work in the same field, we have now a mass of material, found over a wide area (chiefly to the south of the Vindhyas and Aravallis) more or less definitely assignable to this period. Mr. Rangacharya collates the evidence available from neolithic sites and offer his suggestions as to the life and culture of the people of that age, their habitations, occupations, arts, dress, food, religion, etc. He emphasizes the reason which apparently led to the selection of sites for settlement by the neolithic folk, viz., the presence of supplies of trap rock, the material chiefly used by them in fashioning their implements, just as the palæolithic men seem to have been guided by the occurence of light-coloured quartzite.

Though not prepared to accept Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar's views as to the five geographical divisions of the people into 'coastal', 'agricultural', 'pastoral', 'hilly' and 'desert' being formed in the neolithic period, or as to the Vedic term *pañcajana* referring to these five types, he is inclined to think that the tendency for the neolithic people to become specialized in distinct areas was "instrumental in inspiring and fostering" the system of caste. All that we shall say here is, that there seem cogent reasons for seeking an indigenous origin for this system, rather than for regarding it as introduced by the "Aryan invaders." Again, Mr. Rangacharya declines to endorse the suggestion of Mr. P. T. S. Aiyangar and others that the Aryans were mere descendants of the Dravidians and became estranged from the latter only by the adoption of the fire cult and the priestly language of Sanskrit. He thinks the fact is that the Aryans and the Dravidians originally belonged to the same race (the Mediterranean), but to different stages of culture, becoming further differentiated by the mixture of Dravidians with pre-Dravidians and by diversity of climatic environment.

In Chapter VII (the Advent of Metals) he puts forward arguments for regarding gold as an Indian discovery, and suggests that the art of smelting copper may also prove to have originated in India. Chapter VIII is devoted to the Indus Valley Civilization, and the question whether it was prior to or later than the Sumerian culture is discussed ; but here the author, like all other scholars interested in this subject, is handicapped by the want of full reports of what has actually been found at Mohenjodaro and Harappa. Until such details are available it is somewhat premature to discuss the conclusions suggested. As regards the vexed question of the original home of the Aryans, he writes (Ch. IX) : "The probability of the Kashmir-Bactrian [*sic*]-Panjab hypothesis is, in my opinion, not less strong than that of the European........We may thus conclude that about 3000 B.C. a section of the Mediterranean dolicocephals who occupied the region of Bactria-Kashmir-Himalayan uplands, the lands of the archaic Vedic and Paisachi dialects, developed a sacrificial cult and during the next millenium gradually spread themselves across the Western Asiatic plateau, influenced the Babylonian and Egyptian civilizations and penetrating the European plain through the Caspian, Black Sea and Balkan regions, laid the foundations of Aryan Europe." We fear this view cannot help materially to solve the difficulties of this problem. As to the date of the Vedic civilization he seems disposed to agree generally with Dr. Winternitz and MM. H. P. Sastri, and he considers that their views receive corroboration from the discoveries since made at Mohenjodaro and Harappa.

The author has presented the material culled from many sources in a very readable form, interwoven largely with original observations often meriting consideration. The typographical blemishes are rather numerous, due it seems to the hurry with which, we are told, the volume was printed ; but we do not understand why the strange forms "Palæ-Ozoic," "Mes-Ozoic," etc., have been allowed to stand. Such defects should be avoided in the ensuing volumes. We should like to add a tribute to the fair-minded spirit in which Mr. Rangacharya states the theories and opinions of others and the impartiality with which he treats them.

C. E. A. W. O.

Fig. 14.

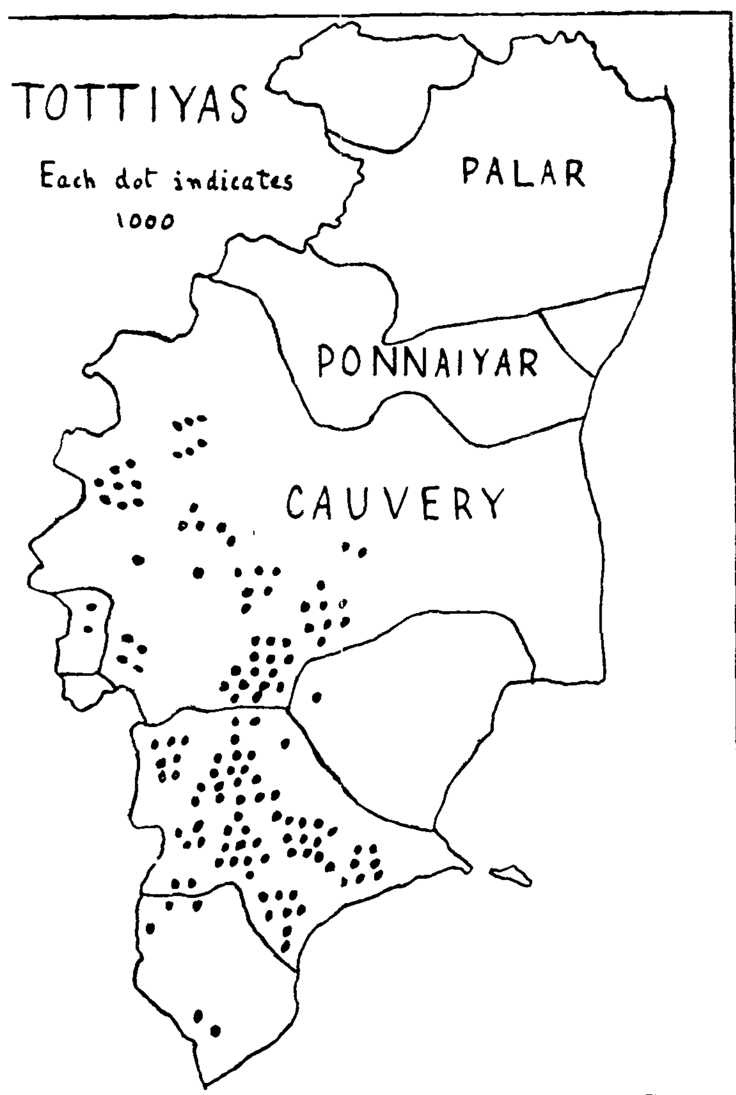
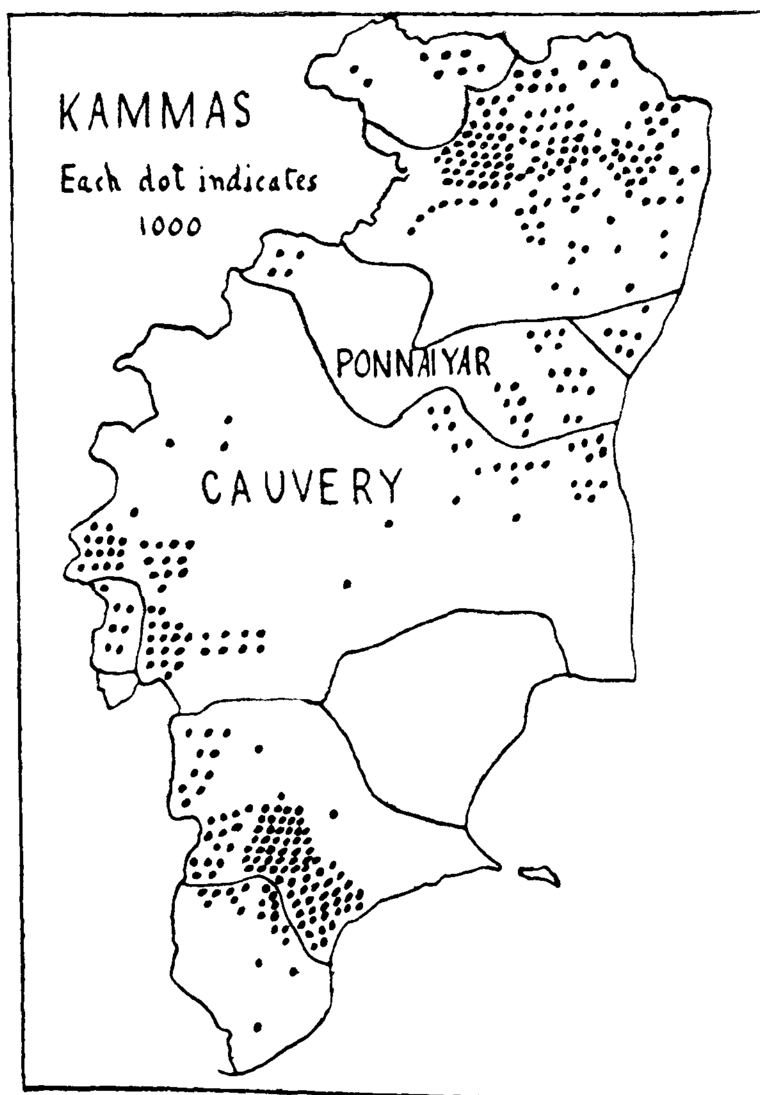

TOTTIYAS
Each dot indicates
1000
PALAR
PONNAIYAR
CAUVERY

Fig. 15.


KAMMAS
Each dot indicates
1000
PONNAIYAR
CAUVERY

# RACE DRIFT IN SOUTH INDIA.

BY F. J. RICHARDS, M.A., I.C.S. (*Retired.*)

(*Continued from page* 218.)

The practicable route between the Bâramahâl and Kongu was the Tôppûr Pass. An alternative route lay through Perumbâlai. The Manjavâdi Ghât road (east of the Shevaroys) is of recent origin. The Mallâpuram Ghât is accessible only by rail.

The Mysore homeland, *i.e.*, the basin of the Upper Kâvêri, in the south-west of Mysore State, is fertile, extensive and self-contained. Also it is a "recessed" area, off the direct line of route from the Northern Deccan to the Tamil country. It is exposed to attack from the north, across the open and lightly populated area which "overlaps" the basins of the Upper Kâvêri and the Tungabhadra with its tributaries. Its natural outlet is southwards, and the rich and populous villages of the Middle Kâvêri invite invasion.

There are thus three lines of approach to the Tamil country across the Deccan—(1) through Cuddapah, (2) through East Mysore, (3) through the Mysore homeland.

(1) The Cuddapah route makes for *Toṇḍamaṇḍalam* through the Middle Pâlâr valley.

(2) The East Mysore route makes for *Toṇḍamaṇḍalam* by way of the Bâramahâl and the Middle Pâlâr valley, or directly into the latter, but it gives access also (but not easy access) to *Chôlamaṇḍalam* by way of Cuddalore or Kongu.

(3) The Mysore homeland route leads through Kongu to the Kâvêri Delta or, in the alternative, to the Pâṇḍiyan country.

## B. HISTORICAL.

This diagnosis is borne out in a remarkable way by historical records and campaigns and by the distribution of certain communities. I note a few below:

(1) The Râshṭrakûṭas in the tenth century left records (Fig. 12, Pl. IV) in Bellary and Cuddapah, in North-West Mysore (Shimoga and Chitaldrug) in Sîra and Gubbi tâluks and in Bangalore, along the Middle Pâlâr valley, all over *Toṇḍamaṇḍalam* and as far south as Cuddalore. They do not appear in Kongu or the Bâramahâl or the Lower Kâvêri valley.

(2) The Hoysalas in the thirteenth century (Fig. 13, Pl. IV) ruled over most of Mysore, the Bâramahâl, Kongu and the upper Chôla country (they do not appear in the coast tâluks), but in *Toṇḍamaṇḍalam* they are only mentioned in Vellore, Conjeeveram and Cheyyâr.

(3) Malik Kâfûr marched direct on the Hoysala capital, Dwâra-samudra (Halebîd), and this route took him to Madura and Râmêswaram.

(4) The Nâyaks of Madura in the seventeenth century directed their campaign against Mysore through Kongu, following the precedent of the Chôlas at the beginning of the eleventh century. The Mysore Odeyars returned the compliment. They were still hovering round Trichinopoly in the days of Clive. Haidar Ali held the Bâramahâl, Kongu and Diṇḍigul till his death; but his operations in *Toṇḍamaṇḍalam* and the Kâvêri Delta and the intervening country were confined to raids.

(5) Sivâji in 1677 starting from Hyderabad, marched on Tanjore through *Toṇḍamaṇḍalam*, and returned home through East Mysore.

(6) Cornwallis in 1791 advanced from *Toṇḍamaṇḍalam* (the Pâlâr valley) on Bangalore and failed at Seringapatam. Harris in 1799, moving from the Bâramahâl and avoiding Bangalore, marched directly on Seringapatam and took it.

(7) Haidar Ali advanced to the Tungabhadra, much farther northwards than any Odeyars of Mysore. His operations round Chitaldrug, Bellary, Adoni, Kurnool and Cuddapah were defensive (against the Marâthas) on the principle adopted by the Râyas of Vijayanagar when, after Talikôṭa, they fixed their strategic capital at Penukoṇḍa.

## C. ETHNOGRAPHICAL.

(1) The Telugu and Kanarese Tôttiya chieftains (Fig. 14, Pl. V) are settled (*a*) in western Kongu, (*b*) in Karûr, Musiri and Kulittalai tâluks of Trichinopoly, (*c*) in all the western tâluks of Madura, Râmnâd and Tinnevelly as far south as Koilpatti, but never got east of

Trichinopoly or into the Kallar country, or the country of the Great and Little Maravars, except its south-western fringe.

(2) The Telugu Kammas (Fig. 15, Pl. V) cluster densely in (*a*) north-west *Toṇḍamaṇḍalam,* (*b*) western Kongu, (*c*) the two western tâluks of Madura (Palni and Periyakulam), the two western tâluks of Râmnâd (especially Sâttûr) and the two northern tâluks of Tinnevelly (especially Koilpatti). Along the coast they are lightly scattered from Madras to Chidambaram and do not appear in the Kâvêri Delta.

Examples could be multiplied indefinitely, but the subject deserves a monograph of its own. The main fact is that, for geographical reasons, the Kallar country, the greater part of Râmnâd, and eastern Madura and south Tinnevelly are exceptionally resistent to aggression.

## V. Application.

That Geography has an intimate bearing on questions of History, Race and Language in S. India I hope I have made plain. Examples could be multiplied indefinitely ; in fact, there are few, if any, features in the religious, social, artistic or material culture of India which would not repay detailed topographical scrutiny.

Research on these lines is no mere academic exercise ; it brings to light factors which no statesman can afford to ignore.

Peninsular India is the home of five great nations, Marâṭhâ, Kanarese, Telugu, Tamil, Malayâlî. Nations they are, in every sense of the word, although their present somewhat fortuitous distribution between British Presidencies and Indian States obscures the fact. Each of these nations has a history and culture of its own, a national language and literature, special cults and customs, a distinctive social, economic and religious organization. (Cf. Herodotus. 8, 144.)

Of these five nations, four preserve Dravidian speech. With the Telugu and Kanarese peoples this essay is not directly concerned. Between them and the Tamils lies the Poligar Belt. Time and again this barrier has been crossed, by Tamils as well as by Telugus and Kanarese, as soldiers and also as settlers ; yet none of these nations has succeeded in imposing its culture, or even its rule for any length of time, on its neighbour beyond this geographical borderland.

This ebb and flow is vital. The drift of races may invigorate or it may destroy. Thanks to the Poligar Belt, the Tamils have never been swamped by mass migration ; but they have never been cut off from the main stream of Indian life.

Kêrala is different. The Western Ghâts are a stiffer obstacle than the Poligar Belt. Neither the Kanarese in the north nor the Tamils in the south have advanced very far. Yet Kêrala is no stagnant backwater ; its people are as alert and vigorous as any in India, perhaps more so. They have elaborated a civilization astonishingly unlike any other in India ; a noteworthy testimony to its charm and vitality is the readiness with which settlers of other nations adapt themselves to the Malayâlî way of life.

Yet the Malayâlîs, like the Tamils, have had an ample share in the cultural life of India ; like them, too, they have given as generously as they have received : and their gifts are of their own mintage, not mere copies of alien types. Few teachers, for instance, have had a deeper or wider influence in India than Śrî Śankarâchârya of Kêrala or Śrî Râmânujâchârya the Tamil. Most of what is best in North Indian Hinduism to-day owes its inspiration to them.

Cultural unity is not dependent on political unity : nor does cultural diversity necessarily involve hostility. Dravidians appreciate the value of toleration and compromise. For nearly three centuries the Kanarese, Telugu and Tamil nations stood united under the leadership of Vijayanagar in the fight with the Deccan Sultanates ; for half that period the five nations have given of their best for the good government of South India, British and Indian alike. But national sentiment is still a living force, and although their political boundaries may fluctuate, their cultural boundaries are founded on rock. They are willing to co-operate, but not to be submerged. Their local loyalties, the most stable factor in South Indian History, deserve respect ; it would be wrong to suggest that they no longer exist.

# DRAVIDIC MISCELLANY.

By L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.

## I. DRAVIDIAN BASE *vœ* (*ve*, *ī̆a*).

ONE of the oldest of Dravidian bases *vœ*[1] (along with its variants) is preserved in the South in a recognizable state: Tamil *veṅgôlan* (tyrant), *veṉduppu* (hot anger), *veyyil* (sunshine), *vayyu* (to abuse), *vayi* (pain), *vênal* (heat, summer), etc.

Kannaḍa: *bayi* (pain), *bay* (to abuse), *bayisu* (to desire), *bedaku* (to desire), *bede* (heat), *bevi* (to perspire), *bisi* (heat), *bisu* (sun), etc. Kann. *d-* in *bedaku*, *bede*, goes back to original medial glide *ẏ* : *ẏ* > *y* > *j* > *dj* > *d*; for which cf. *tudi* (end) and Tam. *tuyi*.[2] Kann. *s* in *bisi* and *bisu* is also from original *ẏ* : *ẏ* > *y* > *ś* > *s*.

The semantic developments are obvious. 'Heat' is associated with strong feeling (pain, joy, desire or anger) by a process of metecsemy, and a number of forms expressive of these ideas have arisen.

The base in its primary state is also evident in Kurukh *basnâ* (to boil), *bi'ina* (to cook); Tuḷu *bê* (to boil), *baya* (to heat); in Brâhûî *bâsing* (to become hot), *bising* (to heat), *bâsun* (hot); in Kûi *vâja* (to cook), etc.; in Gòṇḍi *vê* (to cook), etc.

Medial *-s-* in the Brâhûî and the Kurukh forms and *-j-* of the Kûi form go back here probably to a medial glide *ẏ*.[3]

The alternance of *v* and *b* observable in many of the above instances is quite characteristic of certain Dravidian dialects (Kannaḍa, Kurukh, Brâhûî).

Formative affixes were added to the base at a very early stage in Dravidian and numerous new bases were produced. Some of the most active, ancient formative affix-particles were *-r* (*-ṟ*), *-g*, *-ḷ* and *-l*.

The activity of the ancient affixes *-r* (probably connected with *ir*, 'to remain,' etc.) and *ṟ* in ancient Dravidian was phenomenal; *vœ*+*r*, *ṟ* or *ḍ* produced a crop of forms with varied meanings and connotations.

One set has given us forms meaning 'ardent admiration,' 'detestation,' 'fear,' etc.:— Tamil *veṟuppu* (detestation, hatred), *veṟu* (admiration), *veṟukkai* (glory),[4] *veṟu* (fear). *vêḍi*,

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[1] Striking similarities exist between this Dravidian base and a large number of forms in Austro-Asiatic, Austronesian and Australian. Prof. Rivet has given a list of these latter in his recent thesis *Sumérien et Océanien*. It is remarkable that three different Dravidian bases for 'fire,' 'heat,' etc., are analogical in form and meaning to three groups of forms adduced by him as occurring in Oceanic and Sumerian. These three Dravidian groups are the following:—

(1) *tu*, *ti*—group.
(2) *ve*, *vœ*—group.
(3) *kây*, *ki*—group.

It will be interesting to investigate why forms for 'fire,' 'heat' should be so remarkably alike basically in these different language-families.

[2] This change of *y* to *d* through *j* appears to have cropped up in Tamil itself (cf. the instances I have given on page 149, *IHQ*, March 1929). The change is quite common in Tulu (*vide* the same article).

Kannaḍa medial *-s-* represents in many instances Tamil medial *-y-*.

[3] *-s-* does appear to be the development of *y* in this and the following Brâhûî instances:—

*khisun* (red).
*tusing* (to faint)—cf. southern *tuy*.
*nusing* (to grind corn)—cf. sn. *noy*, *nuy* (bits, pieces).

In the following Brâhûî instances, however, *s* stands for an older *t* represented in other dialects:—

*pûskun* (new)- cf. *pud-*, *pucc-* of the South.
*assuṭ* (was) where the past affix *-t-* has changed into *-s-*.
*musiṭ* (three)—cf. *mû(n)dru*, *mûḍu* of the South.
*huṣing* (to burn)—cf. *śûḍ* of the South.

[4] Cf. *Kuṟaḷ*, last stanza of the chapter dealing with *ukkamuḍaimai* (ஊக்கமுடைமை—Energy):

*uṟamoruvat-kulla verukkai yahdillâr*
*maramakkaḷâdalê vêṟu.*

(The real glory of man is firmness of mind; those who are devoid of it are like trees, their human form a sham.)

*pêḍi* (fear), Gôṇḍî *varî* (to fear), Tuḷu *pôḍi*, Kann. *beragu* (haste) should be related to this series.

Another set retained the literal meaning, 'to be dry,' etc., in Tamil *varu*, *varaḷu*, *varu*, *vaṭṭru*,[5] etc.; Kann. *baṛu*, *battu*, *baṛa* (firewood). *baṛaḍu* (barrenness), etc.; Tel. *varuvu* (dry); Mal. *viṛagu* (firewood), *vaṛakku* (fry), *vaṛaṭṭi* (dried cowdung); Gôṇḍî *varî* (to brand), *vatt* (to be dry); Kûi *veju* (wood); Kurukh *batt* (to be dry), *bîr* (sun); Brâhûî *barun* (to be dry); *pirâing* (to become dry).

Tamil *viyar*, *veyar* (perspiration), Mal. *viśarpu*, Tel.-Kann. *bedaru* (perspiration) are probably comparatively late formations, as the formative suffix appears more or less prominently in them.

The formative suffix *-gu* combined with *vœ* and produced the following forms with literal meanings:

| | |
|---|---|
| Tamil | *vêgu* (to boil). |
| Tel. | *vêgu*, *vetsu*. |
| Kann. | *baga* (blaze). |
| Kûi | *vah* (to fry); *veh* (to be hot). |
| Brâhûî | *beghing* (to knead). |

*-h-* in the Kûi words and *-gh-* in the Brâhûî word are from an original *k* or *g* through an intermediate fricative; cf. Kûi inter-vocal *-h-* in *maha* (mango), *toh-* (to tie), etc.

Kann. *baga* (blaze) is also connected with this series.

The following forms (with *-gu*) have figurative meanings by the process of metecsemy:

Tamil: *vehgu* (to desire), *veguḷu* (to be angry), *veguḷi* (agitation), *pagai*[6] (hatred); Kann. *bakkuḍi* (agitation), *bekuḷi* (fear), *bakuḷi* (excessive desire), *biguru* (fear), *baga* (hatred), etc.

It is remarkable that forms with *-gu* possessing figurative meanings are found only in the South.

(3) The formative suffix *ḷ* produced *veḷ* with various meanings; *veḷ* with the meaning 'light' appears in

| | |
|---|---|
| Tam. | *veḷiccam*[7] (light), *viḷaṅgu* (to shine). |
| Kann. | *beḷaku* (lamp), *beḷagu* (to shine). |
| Mal. | *veḷiccam*, *veḷuppu* (dawn). |
| Kurukh | *billî* (light), *bilch* (to shine); *bijj-* (to become white). |
| Tuḷu | *bilagu* (to shine). |
| Gôṇḍî | *pial* (by day); *piô* (steam). |
| Brâhûî | *piun* (white). |
| Gôṇḍî | *vêrchi* (light), *mêrci* (dawn). |
| Tel. | *vele* (to shine). |

Tamil-Mal. *veṇmai*, *veḷuppu* (whiteness), *veḷḷi* (silver), etc. Kann. *biḷi* (white), *beḷḷi* (silver), Tuḷu *boḷḷi*, etc., are immediate derivatives from the above.

[5] The formative suffixes of Dravidian could easily be detached from the most ancient of the extant forms. 'Base + primary suffix + secondary suffixes' forms the common scheme of Dravidian word-formation. The common suffixes which occur numerously in a recognizable condition in Tamil are *-d* (*-nd*), *-ḍ*, *-r*, *-ṛ*, *-l -ḷ*, *-g* (*-ṅg*), *-b* (*-mb*), etc. Both primary and secondary affixes could be distinguished as such in the instances given in this essay.

*-r*, *-ṛ* appear to be one of the most ancient primary affixes which formed nouns and verbs from elementary bases. (Cf. my article on *Brâhûî r- verbs* in *JOR*, March 1930).

This suffix appears to have undergone further changes under certain definite conditions in the dialects:—(a) *r* > *tr* > *t* (*vide IHQ*, March 1929); (b) *r* > *tr*, *t*, *d*, *j* in Tulu and Kûi (*vide* the same article, p. 148).

[6] For the probable ancient change of initial *v-* to *p-*, see below.

[7] *-ccam* goes back to *-ttam* (= *-t*, the formative affix, geminated in Tamil + *-am*, the neuter affix of Tam.-Kann.-Mal. group). Cf. *naḍattam* (walking), *maṛicc-al* (turning), *ericc-al* (burning), etc.

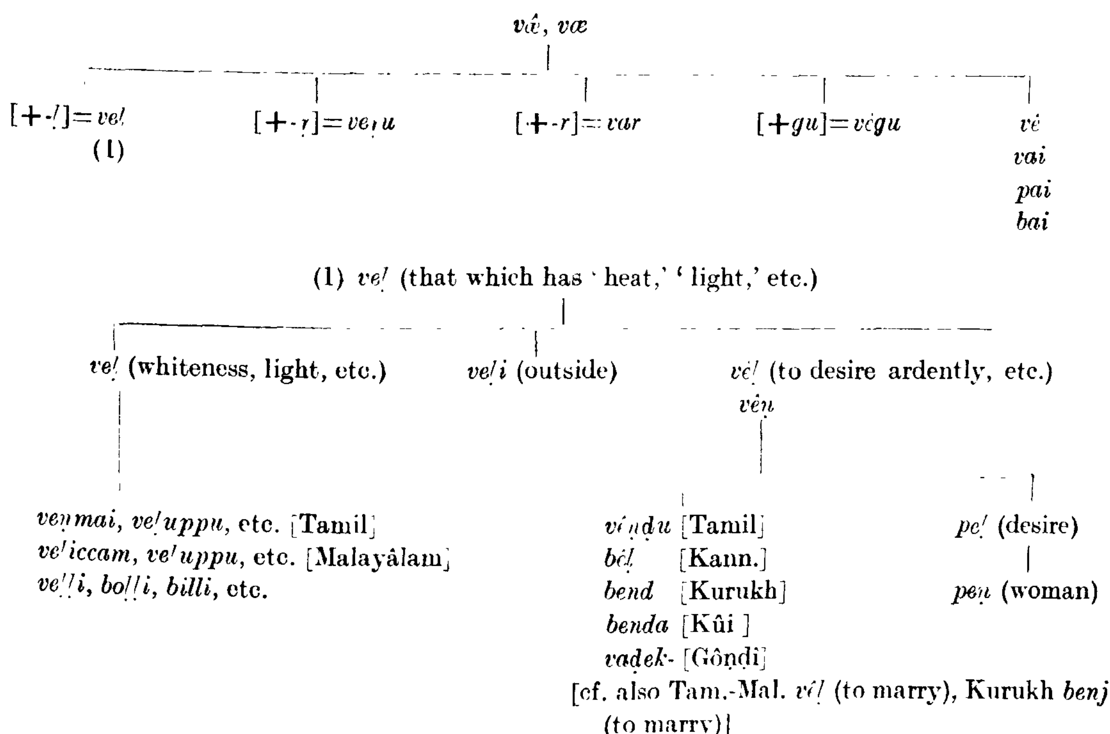
A set of variants of *veḷ* :[8] *peḷ*, *peṇ*, came to have the meaning of 'desire'; *peṇ* (woman) in the South and Kurukh *pel* (woman), *pellô* (female child) should be traced to *peḷ* (desire). By the semantic process of irradiation, *peḷ*, *peṇ* (-*ḷ* and -*ṇ* being related) came to signify the object of 'ardent desire,' viz., woman. Initial *v*- has probably changed to *p*- [cf. *vayi*, *bayi*, *paśi* (suffering, pain, hunger)] in *paidal* (suffering); *veḷ* produced also the verb *vêḷ* or *vêṇ* with the specific meaning 'to desire ardently':

| | |
|---|---|
| Tamil | *vêṇ* (to desire, ask, etc.). |
| Tamil-Mal | *vêḷ* (to desire to marry, to marry). |
| Kann. | *bêku* (<*bêḷku*), *bêḍâ* (negative of *bêku*). |
| Kurukh | *bedd* (to desire), *benj* (to marry). |
| Kûi | *benda*, *betka* (to incite, etc.). |
| Tuḷu | *bêḍu* (to desire), *bôḍu* (desire). [In Tuḷu an initial bilabial often changes original front vowels into the dorsal *u* or *o*.] |

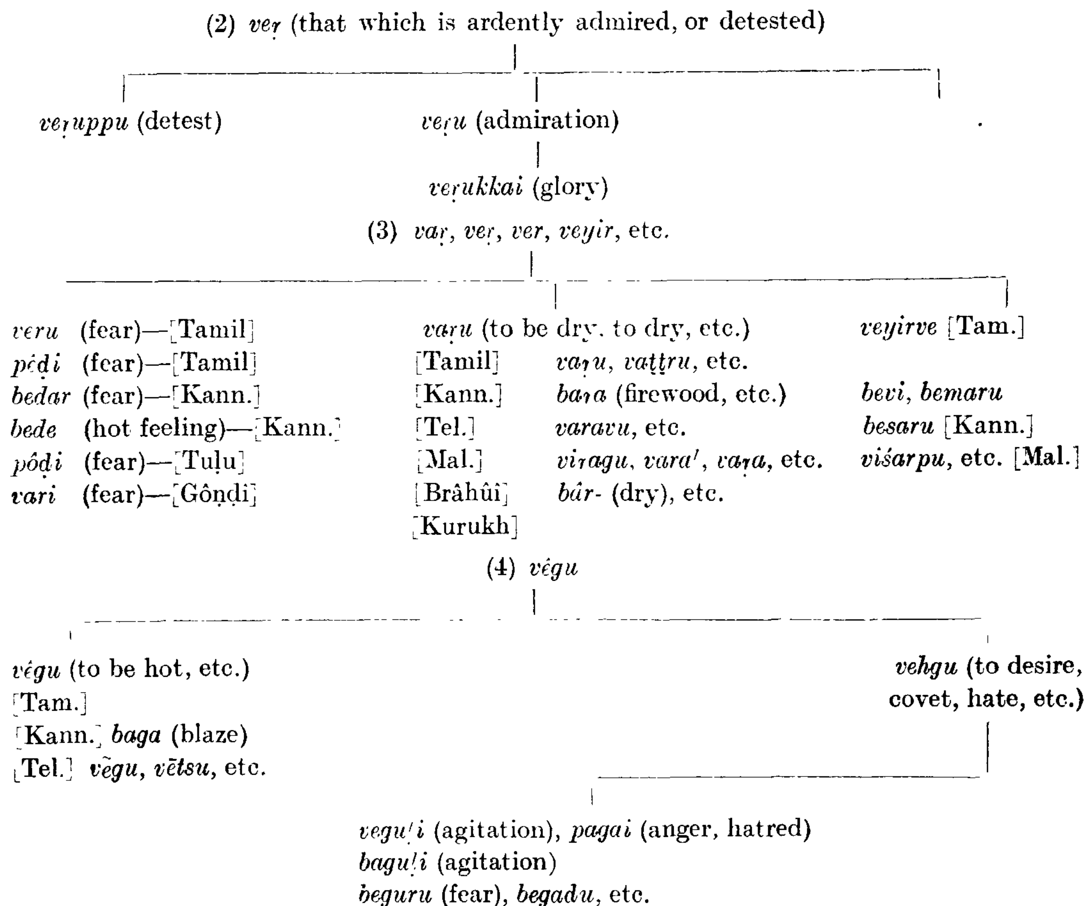
*vêḷ*, as a noun, has the meanings: 'favour,' 'desire,' 'offerings,' etc., in Tamil. Southern *vêṭṭai*, etc., (hunting) is also from *vêḷ* (to desire), having acquired its meaning by prossemy or restriction.

It is worthy of note that the figurative meanings of *vé* and its formatives are very conspicuous in the Tamil classics; Kuṟal for instance, has *veṅgôlan* (வெங்கோலன் — tyrant), *veṉduppu* (வெ-ச்-சூப்பு—hot anger), *veguḷu* (anger), *veru vaṇḍa* (causing fear), etc. The meaning of 'ardent desire' expressed in the figurative use of *vêḷ*, etc. (by the process of metecsemy) seems to have been developed at a very early stage, since most of the Dravidian dialects possess forms with this meaning.

TABLE OF DRAVIDIAN DERIVATIVE FORMS BASED ON *VÆ* (HEAT, LIGHT).




[8] The change of *v*- to *p*- is a probable ancient change. *Vide infra* for analogies.




II. DRAVIDIAN *vâ, bâ(i)* (MOUTH).

This base is found in all Dravidian dialects.[9] Its antiquity is undoubted, and it has given rise to various forms in Dravidian.

Kurukh *ba'a* (to say), *bâr* (to be called, to have a title), Kûi *ves* (to speak), Gôṇḍî *vês* in *vêsori* (tale), *veh* (to narrate) indicate a very early stage when verbs were formed from *vâ* or *bâ*. The first Kurukh word mentioned above is directly from *bâ*,[10] whereas the second one contains the formative affix (Middle-Passive) -*r*- which has changed the initially formed verb-sense into the idea of 'being named,' 'having a title,' etc.

Now, are a number of forms with the initial surd *p*- meaning 'to say,' 'to speak,' 'to command' cognate with the above series? The *p*- forms are the following :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Tam. | *pêś-u* (to speak), *paṟ-eṅgu* (to speak). |
| Tel. | *pêlu, prêlu* (to chatter). |
| Kann. | *pêḷ* (to speak). |
| Tuḷu | *pan* (to speak). |
| Mal. | *paṟa* (to speak). |
| Brâhûî | *pan-ing* (to speak). |

(*To be continued.*)

[9] For possible word-correspondences in other language-families, cf. Austric *bâ, pâ* (mouth), Indo-Chinese (Ahom) *bâ* (to say).

[10] The following forms of Dravidian are probably traceable to this base: —*pân-ai, bânu* (earthen pot with large mouth); *vânu, bânu* (to make pots); *vâru, bâru, vâlu* (to pour out); *vâśal, vâdal* (door, gateway), etc.

## CHITOR AND ITS SIEGES

BY R. R. HALDER.

(*Continued from page* 166.)

" Bhimsi was the uncle of the young prince, and protector during his minority. He had espoused the daughter of Hamir Sank (Chauhan) of Ceylon, the cause of woes unnumbered to the Sesodias. Her name was Padmini, a title bestowed only on the superlatively fair . . . . . The Hindu bard recognizes the fair, in preference to fame and love of conquest, as the motive for the attack of Alau'd-din, who limited his demand to the possession of Padmini; though this was after a long and fruitless siege. At length he restricted his desire to a mere sight of this extraordinary beauty, and acceded to the proposal of beholding her through the medium of mirrors. Relying on the faith of the Rajput, he entered Chitor slightly guarded, and having gratified his wish, returned. The Rajput unwilling to be outdone in confidence, accompanied the king to the foot of the fortress, amidst many complimentary excuses from his guest at the trouble he thus occasioned. It was for this that Ala risked his own safety, relying on the superior faith of the Hindu. Here he had an ambush; Bhimsi was made prisoner, hurried away to the Tatar camp and his liberty made dependent on the surrender of Padmini."

The artifice by which Padminî contrived to rescue Bhîmsî and save her own honour, by sending to 'Alâu'd-dîn's camp, instead of herself and her handmaids, as pretended. 700 covered litters containing picked warriors, each borne by six armed soldiers disguised as litter-porters; how Bhîmsî escaped on a fleet horse and was pursued to the fort; how the Muhamadans were foiled in their assault; how 'Alâu'd-dîn, having recruited his strength, returned to the attack later on, and ultimately captured the fortress; and how the heroic women sacrificed themselves one and all by the awful rite of *jauhar*, " to find security from dishonour in the devouring element"; all this is vividly and eloquently told in the glowing pages of Tod in a famous chapter, which need not be quoted at length here."[43]

The account given in Briggs' *Ferishta* is as follows :—

" Alla-ood-Deen about this time sent an army by the way of Bengal to reduce the fort of Wurungole in Tulingana, while he himself marched towards Chittoor, a place never before attacked by the troops of the Mahomedans. After a siege of six months, Chitor was reduced in the year 703, and the government of it conferred on the king's eldest son, the Prince Khizr Khan, after whom it was called Khizrabad . . . . ." [44]

Among the events of the next year, Firishta further says :—

" At this time, however, Ray Ruttun Sein, the Raja of Chittoor, who had been prisoner since the king had taken the fort, made his escape[45] in an extraordinary manner.

" Alla-ood-Deen, having received an extravagant account of the beauty and accomplishments of one of the Raja's daughters, told him, that if he would deliver her over to him, he should be released. The Raja, who was very ill-treated during his confinement, consented and sent for his daughter, with a manifest design to prostitute her to the king. The Raja's family, however, hearing of this dishonourable proposal, concerted measures for poisoning the princess, to save the reputation of the house. But the Raja's daughter contrived a stratagem by which she proposed to procure her father's release, and preserve her own honour. She accordingly wrote to her father to let it be known that she was coming with all her attendants, and would be at Dehly on a certain day, acquainting him with the part she intended to act. Her contrivance was this. Having selected a number of the dependents of the family, who, in complete armour, concealed themselves in litters (such as are used by women), she proceeded with such a retinue of horse and foot, as is customary to guard ladies of rank. Through her father's means, she received the king's passport, and the cavalcade proceeding by slow

43 Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, pp. 307-11.   44 Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. I, pp. 353-54.

45 The escape of Ratansimha is also mentioned in Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 385, and Duff's *Chronology*, p. 211.

marches to Dehly, was admitted without interruption. It was night when the party arrived, and, by the king's especial permission, the litters were allowed to be carried into the prison, the attendants, having taken their stations without. No sooner were they within the walls, than the armed men leaping out of the litters, put the king's guards to the sword, and carried off the Raja. Horses being already prepared for his flight, he mounted one, and rushing with his attendants through the city, before opposition could be made, fled to his own country among the hills, where his family were concealed. Thus, by the exertions of his ingenious daughter, the Raja effected his escape, and from that day continued to ravage the country then in possession of the Mahomedans. At length, finding it of no use to retain Chittoor, the king ordered the Prince Khizr Khan to evacuate it, and to make it over to the nephew of the Raja. This Hindu prince, in a short time, restored the principality to its former condition, and retained the tract of Chittoor as tributary to Alla-ood-Deen during the rest of this reign. He sent annually large sums of money, besides valuable presents, and always joined the imperial standard in the field with 5,000 horse and 10,000 foot."[46]

Now, as regards the account given by Col. Tod, it may be stated that Lakhamsî was not the ruler of Mewâṛ when Chitor was attacked by 'Alâu'd-dîn. He was the ruler of an estate called Sisodâ in Mewâṛ and was subordinate to Ratnasiṁha. He was killed fighting along with his seven sons against 'Alâu'd-dîn at the siege of Chitor.[47] Bhîmsî (Bhîmasiṁha) was not the uncle, but the grandfather[48] of Lakhamsî (Lakṣmaṇasiṁha), and must have died many years before the attack on Chitor ; for his grandson, Lakhamsî, being a father of eight sons, seems to have reached an advanced age at the time of the siege. Chitor was attacked only once[49] by 'Alâu'd-dîn, and at that time its ruler was Ratansen (Ratnasiṁha), as is rightly stated by Firishta. But Firishta is certainly wrong in saying that 'Alâu'd-dîn asked Ratnasiṁha to deliver one of his daughters to him and that the Râjâ (Ratnasiṁha) effected his escape from prison at Delhi through the exertions of his daughter. Padminî was the wife of Ratnasiṁha, though her parentage is yet unknown, and she was not the object for which 'Alâu'd-dîn attacked Chitor : it was his warlike spirit and desire for conquest which led him to besiege Chitor, Ranthaṁbhor, Jâlor and other places in Râjpûtânâ. Both Col. Tod and Firishta are mistaken in stating that Ratnasiṁha was taken prisoner to Delhi by 'Alâu'd-dîn, and that Padminî went there to effect the escape of her husband or father by a stratagem, in which she succeeded. Neither Ratnasiṁha nor Padminî went to Delhi : the former met his death in the fighting at Chitor, and the latter in the flames of *jauhar* after her husband had been killed, as is correctly stated by Col. Tod. There was no king of Ceylon named ' Hamir Sank,' who was contemporary with Râwal Ratnasiṁha of Mewâṛ.[50]

The story narrated by Col. Tod and Firishta about the attack of 'Alâu'd-dîn on Chitor may also be found in earlier compilations. For instance, the Hindi poem[51] on Padmâvatî compiled by Maḥmûd Jayasî in the first half of the sixteenth century A.D. gives, more or less, the same account. The purport of the story is given below :—

Ratansen, son of Chitrasen, king of Chitor, having learnt through a parrot of the extraordinary beauty of Padminî, the daughter of Champâvatî, the queen of the king Gandhravasen of Siṁhaladvipa (Ceylon), went to Ceylon in the guise of a mendicant to obtain a sight of her. They accidentally met in a Śiva temple and fell in love with each other. Subsequently, on the growth of an intense love between them, they were married by Padminî's father. After spending some time in Ceylon, Ratansen returned to Chitor with Padminî. At Chitor there was a Brâhmaṇa named Râghavachetana, who incurred the displeasure of the Râṇâ and was banished from the kingdom. He went direct to Sulṭân 'Alâu'd-dîn of Delhi and informed

46 Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. I, pp. 362-63. 47 *Râjpûtânâ Museum Report*, 1925-26, p. 2.
48 MM. Rai Bahâdur G. H. Ojhâ's *History of Râjpûtânâ* (in Hindi), vol. I, p. 522.
49 Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 353. Elliot : *History of India*, vol. III, pp. 76-77.
50 Duff's *Chronology*, p. 321 ; H. W. Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, pp. xviii, 78-80.
51 Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, vol. IV, p. 419. Also as in note 48 above, pp. 487-491.

him of the exquisite beauty of Ratansen's wife, Padminî. The Sultân at once asked Ratansen to deliver Padminî to him and, on his refusing to do so, attacked Chitor with a large army. The fighting continued for eight years, and seeing that the fort could not be conquered, the Sultân expressed his desire merely to have an interview with Ratansen and then return to Delhi. Ratansen acceded to this request. On the occasion of his visit the Sultân accidentally beheld Padminî, through a mirror while he was playing chess with Ratansen, and determined to secure possession of her at any cost. While returning from Chitor, he treacherously made Ratansen prisoner and took him to Delhi in chains.

Hearing of this sad news, Padminî, under the direction of her two chiefs, Gorâ and Bâdal, went to Delhi with 1,600 covered litters containing brave Râjpûts disguised as her handmaids. On reaching Delhi, permission was obtained for her (Padminî) to hand over the keys of Chitor to the king Ratansen and then to present herself to the Sultân. In the course of this visit, the king's chains were cut, and he mounted a horse and rode towards Chitor along with Padminî and Bâdal. When this news reached 'Alâu'd-dîn, he ordered his army to pursue the Râjpûts. The latter, under the leadership of Gorâ, turned and opposed the Delhi forces. Gorâ was killed in the fight that ensued, but meanwhile the king, queen and Bâdal managed to reach Chitor safely. Shortly after this, king Ratansen died, leaving Chitor in charge of Bâdal. Padminî and the other queen, Nâgamatî, became *satîs* after the death of their husband. Soon after this, Chitor was attacked by 'Alâu'd-dîn and captured.

Thus we see that the story of the poem is nearly the same as that narrated by Tod and Firishta. It is probable that this story, being the earlier composition, was used, with variations, by Firishta, and that Tod afterwards drew on Firishta. The part played by the parrot in the love-affair between Ratnasiṁha of Chitor and Padminî of Ceylon, as well as the story of the marriage between them having taken place in Ceylon, may have been added to give more dramatic effect to a tale that was based, at all events, on one fact, namely, that 'Alâu'd-dîn Khaljî attacked Chitor.

After the assaults by the Sultâns of Delhi, Chitor fell a prey to those of the Sultâns of Mâlwâ and Gujarât. During the reign of Hammîra's successor, Mahârâṇâ Kṣetrasiṁha, an attack by Amî Shâh of Mâlwâ seems to have been delivered upon Chitor. This may be concluded from the inscription,[52] dated S. 1545, of the time of Mahârâṇâ Râyamal and from the inscription,[53] dated S. 1485, at Śṛingî Ṛishi, which tell us that Kṣetrasiṁha defeated Amî Shâh and humbled his pride. The Amî Shâh of these inscriptions was evidently Sultân Dilâwar Khân Ghorî of Mâlwâ.[54]

In Tod's *Râjasthân*, Kṣetrasiṁha is said to have defeated the emperor Humâyûn near Bâkrol.[55] This is impossible, as Humâyûn reigned between 1530 and 1555 A.D., while Kṣetrasîṁha ruled in 1364—82 A.D.

The next attack on Chitor was made by Sultân Maḥmûd Khaljî of Mâlwâ in the year 846 A.H. (1443 A.D.), after he had assaulted one of the forts in the Kumbhalmer district defended by Benirâya, the deputy of Râṇâ Kumbhâ (Kumbhâkarṇa) of Chitor. The army of the Sultân carried by storm the lower fort; but the death of his father, A'ẓam Humâyûn, in the meantime, prevented further action. After a short time the Sultân once more led his army against Chitor, determined to begin operations after the rainy season was over. Mahârâṇâ Kumbhâ, however, made an attack upon him with a force of 12,000 cavalry and 6,000 infantry, but, as the Sultân had occupied an advantageous position, the assault failed. Then the Sultân in his turn attacked the Mahârâṇâ's force, and, after inflicting some loss on the Mahârâṇâ, returned to Mâṇḍû. It was about this time that the Mahârâṇâ began erecting the famous Kîrtistambha, the Tower of Fame. In the year 850 A.H. (1446 A.D.), the Sultân sent Tâj Khân with a force of cavalry to attack Chitor, with no definite result. After a few

52 *Bhâvnagar Inscriptions*, p. 119, v. 29.

53 *Râjpûtânâ Museum Report*, 1924-25, p. 3.

54 *Memoirs of Jahângîr* (Rogers and Beveridge), vol. I, p. 407. Elliot: *History of India*, vol. IV, p. 552.

55 Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, p. 321.

years (in 858 A.H.=1454 A.D.) he himself again marched towards Chitor, but finding his position difficult, accepted a sum of money from the Mahârâṇâ and returned to Mâṇḍû, About this time the Mahârâṇâ attacked the Sulṭân's army under Tâj Khân and forced him to retreat.[56] When the Sulṭân of Mâlwâ found himself unable to overpower the Mahârâṇâ single-handed, he sought an alliance with the Sulṭân of Gujarât. For this purpose he sent Tâj Khan to Gujarât to propose an offensive alliance with Quṭb Shâh against the Râjpûts of Mewâṛ. Accordingly, a treaty was signed at Champaner by their respective envoys in the year 860 A.H. (1456 A.D.), and in the following year Quṭb Shâh of Gujarât and Maḥmûd Khaljî of Mâlwâ began their attacks on the Mahârâṇâ. After some fruitless attempts, Maḥmûd Khaljî returned to Mâlwâ, and Quṭb Shâh went to Ahmadâbâd, where he died in 863 A.H. (A.D. 1459).[57]

A few years after these events, in 1468 A.D., the death[58] of Mahârâṇâ Kumbhâkarṇa was caused by the hand of his own son, Udayasiṁha, and Chitor soon became the scene of civil war. The parricide Udayasiṁha was quickly repudiated by the people of Mewâṛ, who invited his younger brother, Râyamal, to seize the throne. After severe fighting at Jâwar, Dâṛimpur, Pânagaṛh and other places, Râyamal made an attack on Chitor, which he captured, after stout opposition,[59] in Saṁvat 1530 (1473 A.D.). The dethroned Udayasiṁha ultimately formed an alliance with Sulṭân Ghiyâṣu'd-dîn of Mâlwâ for recovering Chitor, but died almost immediately afterwards, being struck by lightning.[60] The Sulṭân, however, with the intention of placing the two sons of Udayasiṁha on the throne of Chitor, attacked the fortress, and being defeated after a severe contest, retreated to Mâṇḍû.[61]

After Ghiyâṣu'd-dîn, his son Nâṣiru'd-dîn succeeded as Sulṭân of Mâlwâ. In the Hijrî year 909 (1503 A.D.), he proceeded towards Chitor, whence, having received a large sum of money from Mahârâṇâ Râyamal and the daughter of Jivanadâs, one of the subordinate Chiefs, he returned to Mâṇḍû.[62] After a short time, Nâṣiru'd-dîn again sent an army against Chitor, in order to help Sûrajmal and Sâraṅgadeva, son and uncle, respectively, of the late Mahârâṇâ Udayasiṁha. After some engagements, this force was defeated and obliged to retire.

After these minor attempts Chitor became the butt of two fierce attacks made on it by Sulṭân Bahâdur Shâh of Gujarât. In the year 938 A.H. (1532 A.D.), the Sulṭân decided to attack the fort of Râisin and subdue its ruler Silhadi, as the latter refused to present himself at court. He pitched his camp near the fort of Râisin, the walls of which were levelled to the ground, and orders issued for an attack. Upon this, Silhadi expressed his wish to become a Muhammadan and give up the fort to the Sulṭân; but his brother Lakṣmaṇasen, dissenting from such action, determined to hold the place till succour arrived from Râṇâ Vikramâjit of Chitor, to whom Silhadi's son, Bhûpat, was despatched for assistance. On hearing that a force of 40,000 horse was being sent by the Râṇâ of Chitor to the aid of the garrison of Râisin, Bahâdur Shâh sent Muḥammad Khân Âsîrî and 'Imâdu'l-mulk with a force against the Râṇâ, and soon joined this force himself after appointing Ikhtiyâr Khan to continue the siege of Râisin. Within 24 hours he travelled 70 *kos* and put fresh life into his army by his presence. The Râṇâ declined an action, and retreated towards Chitor on learning the superiority of the Sulṭân's force. Bahâdur pursued the Râṇâ with the speed of lightning, but the latter reached Chitor first. As the Râisin fort was still untaken, the Sulṭân decided not to attack Chitor until matters were settled at Râisin, and accordingly he returned to Râisin, capturing the fort on the last day of Ramazân 938 A.H. (1532 A.D.).[63] Shortly after this Bahâdur Shâh collected an enormous supply of arms, artillery and ammunition and

56 Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. IV, pp. 208-23.

57 *Ibid.*, pp. 41-43.

58 Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, p. 338.

59 *Bhâvnagar Inscriptions*, p. 121, and *Vîra Vinod*, vol. I, p. 337.

60 Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, p. 339.

61 *Ibid.*, p. 345. Tod gives the name of the Sulṭân of Mâlwâ as Muzaffar, which is a mistake.

62 Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. IV, p. 243.

63 Bayley's *History of Gujarât*, pp. 356-365.

despatched them for the siege of Chitor. He ordered Muḥammad Khan Âsîrî and Khudâwand Khân to proceed with his army from Mânḍû to Chitor. When they reached Mandasor, they were met by the *vakils* of the Râṇâ, who stated that the Râṇâ was prepared to offer his submission to the Sulṭân, if the siege of Chitor were abandoned. This proposal was conveyed to Bahâdur Shâh at Mânḍû by Shajâ'at Khân. Bahâdur Shâh, however, remembering the Râṇâ's bold action in sending aid to Silhadi, and being bent upon investing the fortress of Chitor, rejected the Râṇâ's offer, and sent Tâtâr Khân with veteran troops for the subjugation of the place. On the 5th Rajab 939 A.H. (1533 A.D.) Tâtâr Khân took and plundered the suburbs of Chitor. Next day he attacked the outer gate and carried that also. On the 8th of the month, Muḥammad Shâh and Khudâwand Khân came up with heavy cannon and a siege-train, and the fortress was completely invested. The Sulṭân started from Mânḍû with an escort of five horsemen and reached Chitor in 24 hours. His large army came up behind him. He gave directions for bringing up and placing in position the battering guns. The great gun which had been brought from Diu sent "rocks tumbling down on rocks and buildings upon buildings." The exertions of the Sulṭân in pressing on the siege were unprecedented. It is said that he had sufficient men and artillery to have besieged four such places as Chitor.

*(To be continued.)*

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## SIDI ALI SHELEBI IN INDIA, 1554-1556 A.D.

BY C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, C.S.I., I.C.S. (*Retired.*)

(*Continued from page* 224.)

Before going on to relate his further travels, Sîdî 'Alî remarks that among the *Bâniâns* of the country, by whom, we know from a subsequent passage, he refers to the Hindus in general,[25] there is a literate class called *Bat* (i.e., *Bhâṭ*), whose duty it was to guide and protect and stand surety for merchants and travellers. These *Bats* accompanied the caravans, and if robbers attacked them on the way, drew their daggers and, pointing them to their own breasts, threatened to kill themselves on the spot if any harm were done to the travellers.[26] Accompanied by two of these men Sîdî 'Alî and his companions set out from Aḥmadâbâd about the middle of the month of *Ṣafar* A.H. 962 (January 1555) on their long overland journey to Turkey. In five days they reached Pâṭan[27] (the ancient Anhilvâḍâ), the chief town of western India until superseded, under Muhammadan rule, by Aḥmadâbâd, from which it lies about 63 miles NNW. Here the Pulâdî brothers, Sher Khân and Mûsâ Khân,[28] who were making preparations to attack the ruler of Râdhanpur, tried to prevent them from proceeding to the latter place. Sîdî 'Alî insisted upon moving on, and in five days more he arrived at Râdhanpur, which lies about 40 miles to the west of Pâṭan. Here the *Bats* were sent back to Aḥmadâbâd and the journey continued to Nagar-Pârkâr, then in the possession of Râjpûts (probably Sodas, still dominant in that district). As the distance from Râdhanpur

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25 The use of this word in this general sense is interesting as indicating the important position held by merchants in Western India in those days. It is the Marâṭhî *vâṇî* and Gujarâtî *vâṇiyo*, reproduced by the Portuguese in their intercourse with the west coast as 'Bancane'; and this has given us our word 'Banyan.'

26 Compare the account given in Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, edited by W. Crooke, vol. II, p. 814. See also *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, edited by Sir J. M. Campbell, vol. IX, p. 209 f.

27 Vambéry failed to identify the place. He writes Patna, instead of Patan (پتن), as read by Diez.

28 For some account of these brothers, see Ḥâjjî ad-Dabîr's *History of Gujarât* and the *Mirât al-Sikandari*.

would be about 70 miles, the party must have been delayed on route, as ten days were spent on the road. Here they were attacked by a band of hostile Râjpûts, but, forming a zareba with the camels and opening fire, they cowed their assailants. After this they wandered across sand and desert for some ten days[29] till they reached Wânga, which lay, Sidi 'Alî tells us, on the frontier of Sind. This is Wânga or Wângo Bâzâr, marked on nearly all maps of Sind, on the bank of the Nârâ, 80½ miles SW. from Hyderabad, on the road that crosses the Rann of Kacch to Bhûj. It is of geographical interest to learn that this was regarded as the eastern boundary of Sind at that period; and we may, I think, assume that this boundary was formed by an important river, probably the main eastern branch of the Indus.

From Wânga, where they hired fresh camels, they moved on to Jûn and Bâgh-i-Fatḥ. Jûn is the Joon of James Burnes's map of 1827-28,[30] marked as situated about 45 miles E. by N. from Tatta and some 12 miles S. by E. from Tândo Muḥammad Khân. Though there is now only a *deh*[31] of this name in Taluka Guni, Hyderabad district, to mark its site, Jûn was once a place of considerable importance, situated near the bank of one of the branches of the Indus,[32] the lands around being well irrigated and fertile. It was here that Humâyûn settled down for some eight months[33] after leaving Umarkoṭ, being influenced in moving there by the prospect of obtaining supplies of grain for his troops and followers. He pitched his tent in a large garden, while his whole encampment was surrounded by an earthen rampart and ditch as a protection from attack by Shâh Mîrzâ Ḥusain. In his *Tarkhân-nâma*, Saiyid Jamâl writes[34] of Jûn: "This place is celebrated amongst the cities of Sind for the number and beauty of its gardens, abounding in rivulets which present fresh and delightful scenes." Ma'sûm in his *History of Sind*,[35] writes: "There are many gardens there, such as the heart rejoices in, with fruit trees, on which account it raises its head above all the other towns in Sind." Bâgh-i-Fatḥ does not appear to be marked on the Survey sheets available, but it lay a few miles further on, to the NNW. of Jûn. Both Jûn and Bâgh-i-Fatḥ are named in the *Âîn-i-Akbarî*[36] as *maḥals* of *sarkâr* Hâjkan, the heavy assessment on the former indicating its reputation for fertility. The only maps I know of, in which both these places are shown are—(1) Map III, facing p. 30, in Major-General Haig's work, *The Indus Delta Country*, and (2) the map forming Plate CIII to Mr. H. Cousens' *Antiquities of Sind* (1929).[37] On the latter map they will be seen marked about 11 and 6 miles, respectively, SE. of Tândo Muḥammad Khân, on the route to Badîn. In fact all these three places (all of them old sites) probably lay on the then main route northwards to Naṣrpur, Sehwân and Bukkur, which, with Tatta, were the most important towns in Sind at that time. It must be remembered that there was no such place as Hyderabad in those days. The main western branch of the Indus then flowed a long way east of the site on which Hyderabad

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29 As there was no direct road, the distance travelled might be anything from 100 to 120 miles.

30 *A Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Sinde*, 1831, frontispiece.

31 *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, 1907, p. 103.

32 The Rain river, according to Saiyid Jamâl, see Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of India*, I, 318.

33 From November 1542 to July 1543.

34 See extract from the *Tarkhân-nâma* in Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of India*, I, 318.

35 Muhammad Ma'sûm, *History of Sind*, translated by Captain G. G. Malet, *Bombay Government Record*, 1855, p. 113. Jauhar also describes Humâyun's stay at Jûn, see *Tazkiratu'l-wâqi'ât*, translated by C. Stewart, *Oriental Trans. Fund series*, 1832, p. 44 f.

36 Spelt 'Jaun' and 'Bâgh Fath' in Blochmann & Jarrett's translation, II, 339. Bâgh-i-Fatḥ must also have been a place of importance at one time, as we are told in Jamâl's *Tarkhân-nâma* that Mîrzâ 'Îsa Tarkhân (who was Governor of Tatta in 1555) had been "Governor of Fatḥ Bâgh" in 1553.

Prof. Vambéry supposed that Jûne (or Juna, as he writes it) was a mistake for Junâgarh (in Kâṭhiâwâd)!

37 *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XLVI, Imperial Series, last plate.

now stands, past Naṣrpur, on the west of that town, bifurcating, it seems, lower down, the principal channel, probably flowing past Tatta to the sea, the other taking a S. by E. course, passing Bâgh-i-Fatḥ, Jûn and Badîn, to the Rann.

(*To be continued.*)

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## NOTES ON CHIAMAY.

(*The Mysterious Lake of the Far East.*)

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, BT.

THE derivation of Chiamay, as a name, that at once suggests itself is that it represents Chiengmai, the Zimmè of the Burmese, on the western branch of the Menam, which was subjugated by the Burmese-Shan king of Taungu just about the time of Mendez Pinto. There is, however, no lake in Chiengmai, but a temporarily inundated area, such as early European writers speak of in connection with lower Siamese valleys and existing during any given traveller's visit, may account for the term "Lake" being attached to Chiengmai. Even a modern writer, Hallet, *A Thousand Miles on an Elephant*, speaks of the river plains in the Shan States being sometimes flooded artificially for the sake of the fishery, and also as being liable to inundations when irrigation works are neglected.

In 1921 Mr. Edward Heawood kindly sent me some rough notes of his own (not then with any view to publication) on this "mystery" of the Far East, and these I now reproduce, with his consent, in an ordered form. To his mind, it was quite possible that the story of the lake has somewhere a foundation in fact, but it was nevertheless mythical in stating that the lake was the common origin of the four great rivers that run to the south in Indo-China. Mendez Pinto is the standard, but by no means the only, authority for the statement and for the name Lake Chiamay, and Mr. Heawood thought that as his version agrees so nearly with the current belief in his time, it argues his dependence thereon in the main rather than on his personal knowledge, though he may have seen a lake, perhaps that of Talifu, which he took to be the Chiamay of then current geography. This presupposes a common origin which he and other early writers copied. Going upon the evidence he had collected, Mr. Heawood was inclined to place the "lake" near Chiengmai in the basin of the Meping in Siam, possibly as a temporarily flooded area of the kind described above.

Before Pinto's date, however (wrote Mr. Heawood) in the sixteenth century, Camoens speaks of Lake Chiamay in canto X, stanza 125, of the *Lusiads*, which, though not published till 1572, were composed before 1560, and gives the Menam as the only effluent, getting nearer the truth than the other early versions of the myth. "Cingapura" is mentioned in the same stanza, and this may be the origin of Pinto's name "Singapamor" (see below), given to the lake, probably due to some confusion. The next stanza mentions the "Gueos" (Gwê Shans, though some say Karens or Kachins), one of the names associated by Pinto with the river debouching from Lake Chiamay at Martaban. But see my own note on Gueos below.

Turning now to Pinto's account: in ch. 128 of the original Portuguese edition of 1614 (p. 41, § 4 of Cogan's English version of 1653), he describes a supposed journey, by a great river throughout, from North China to Indo-China, passing by Lake Singapamor (*que os naturaes da terra nemeão por Cunebetee*). It has a circuit of 36 leagues, and harbours a great number of birds. Four great rivers emerge therefrom:

(1) Ventrau, traverses Sornau (Siam) and enters the sea at Chiantabuu.

(2) Iangumaa, flows south and south-east and traverses the kingdom of Chiammay, the Laos and Gueos, and part of Dambambuu, entering the sea at the "barra de Martauão" in the kingdom of Pegu.

(3) Pumfileu, traverses the whole of Capimper, Sacotay, and Monginoco, part of Meleytay and Souady, entering the sea at the barra de Cosmin [Bassein] near Arracão. [Here the present writer would remark that the term Monginoco is of especial interest as an echo of the Portuguese name Branginoco for Bhurin-gyînaungchau (pronounced now Bayin-gyi-naungzaw), a title of the Burmese-Shan overlord of Pegu and Lower Burma in the early seventeenth century.]

(4) Not known by any name, but probably the Ganges of Sategão in the kingdom of Bengala.

Pinto and his companions crossed the lake and went on by Caleypute. Elsewhere he speaks of a war of the king of Siam against the king of Chiamay, in the course of which he came to the "Lake Singapamor, usually called Chiamay."

Yule, *Mission to the Court of Ava* (ch. VIII of 1858 ed. and Note E of 1856), speaks of Pinto's account, and says he is probably the only traveller who declares that he has seen the Lake of Chiamay. He identifies elsewhere Jangomaa with Chiengmai, and speaks of the general belief of a common origin for the great rivers of Indo-China, associating it with the fact that the great rivers of Northern India rise so near each other.

Next Barros (quoted by Ramusio at the end of vol. I) gives an account of Lake Chiamay and the rivers in *Dec.* I, *liv.* ix, *cap.* i [ed. of 1777, I (2), p. 308]. He says that the great river of Pegu comes from Lake Chiamai, 200 leagues in the interior, from which six rivers issue, three joining to make the great river of Siam and three others entering the "Enseada de Bengala." One of these last traverses the kingdom of Caor [Gaur, or Northern Bengal], whence the river takes its name," and also the kingdoms of Camotai and Cirote, debouching near Chatigão (Chittagong) into the branch of the Ganges, opposite the island of Sornagão. The river of Pegu [here obviously the Irrawaddy] traverses the kingdom of Ava, and the third makes its exit at Martabão, between Tavay (*sic*) and Pegu. The "Capo di Cingapura" is repeatedly mentioned in the same chapter.

Pinto probably added knowledge of his own, if he had any, to the common stock of his time, as the other early accounts agree better among themselves than with him. Gastaldi (map of 1561) gives the name Chiamay to the town near it as well as to the lake, whereas Pinto speaks of a country of that name, not as being near the lake, but as situated on one of its effluents. Pinto also calls his second river issuing from Lake Chiamay, the Jangumaa, *i.e.*, Chiengmai, which is Gastaldi's name for a kingdom east of all the four rivers. His third river, the Pamphileu, is Caipumo in Gastaldi, which again seems to be the Capimper of Pinto. This river, Mercator (1569 and later) calls Cosmin, from the old name for Bassein, which place Pinto places at its bar. Magini, it may be noted, gives an account of the lake and the rivers in his supplement to Ptolemy in 1596. Chiamay does not seem to be mentioned by Gaspar da Cruz (*ob.* 1570).

Sven Hedin has a chapter on Lake Chiamay in his *Southern Tibet*, in which he strangely identifies the lake with Mansarowar, merely because one of its effluents was supposed to be the Ganges.

To the above notes by Mr. Heawood I added the following at the same time. The obvious remark to make is that Pinto, Barros, etc., and the cartographers of the day were reporting only what they heard, and at the best but partially comprehended, with the result the name Chiamay came to stand for a State, a town, a river and a lake in various situations,

widely separated geographically. In such circumstances it might well have been applied in all four senses. This suggests that Chiamay sprang out of the Shan term Chiengmai= Burmese Zimmè. But it is quite possible that something entirely different has been confused with it.

There is in the hinterland of Burma and Pegu more than one celebrated lake whose fame might have reached the early Europeans on the coasts in a confused manner:—(1) There was a great lake in the Kentung Shan State, which was drained off by nature, not by man, within historical times, and the memory of the consequent flooding lives in legend among the Shans, Kachins and Karens as stories of a Deluge. (2) Yawng-Hwe Lake in the Southern Shan States has a people called the Inthâs (Lake-dwellers) celebrated in story. (3) Nawng-Hkeo Lake in the Wild Wa country and head-hunting centre has a wide uncanny reputation. (4) Nawng-tung Lake in the Kentung Shan State has also a wide reputation as the scene of the triennial festival of the Nawng-tung Vestals, when picked maidens are 'married' to the Spirit of the Lake. Tales concerning any one of these lakes may have filtered through to the Portuguese in a garbled form, pointing to a famous inland lake. But the whole question wants following up before anything definite could be asserted.

Then there is the periodic flooding in places—especially in the deltas—of the country about the great rivers. The Irrawaddy, as high up as Mandalay, gave me personally, when in charge of the town in 1887-1889, much trouble in this respect. No doubt also the Sittang, the Salween, the Menam and the Mekong are equally liable to flood in places.

Lastly, there is the great Tonlesap Lake in Cambodia, and no doubt others, of which accounts came through to the Portuguese. However, one can say little of the likelihood or otherwise of such speculations without a careful critical examination of texts and maps, old and new.

References to Chiamay occur in Dames' *Barbosa*, e.g., II, 168, where Chiengmai is described as a possible location for the "Gueos"; see also II, 242, and II, 244, where Barros, *Decadas*, is quoted.

Dames and others seem puzzled by the name Gueo for a large tribe, and there is no doubt that it wants hunting to earth. I think it will on critical examination turn out to be a Shan tribe. The King of Pegu, whom the early Portuguese met, was by acquired nationality a Talaing, but by descent a "Gwe" Shan, which fact makes one think. Some have thought the Gueos to be Kachins, *i.e.*, of Tibeto-Burman race. Others that they were Karens; others again that they were Was, *i.e.*, a branch of the Mon Race, as are the Talaings themselves, whereas Shans and Siamese make up a race of their own. Then there are the Giaos or Giaochis—again a 'Chinese' Wild Tribe (Barbarians)—as indeed are all the rest above-mentioned. The whole question wants critical examination and settling.

## MISCELLANEA.

### THE MEANING OF *BHAVABHÛṢAṆA-SANTATI* AND THE IDENTIFICATION OF *APARA-MANDÂRA* IN THE *RÂMACARITA* OF SANDHYÂKARA NANDÎ.

BHAVABHÛṢAṆA-SANTATI IN THE RÂMACARITAṀ.

The Râmacaritaṁ of Sandhyâkara Nandî (twelfth century A.D.), after describing at length the successful campaign of Râmapâla, the last great emperor of the Pâla dynasty of Bengal, against the insurgent Kaivartas of Varendra (northern Bengal), and referring to the construction of a city by him, called after his name, Râmâvatî, at the confluence of the Ganges and the Karatoyâ, introduces a verse purporting that he, the Pâla monarch, conquered Utkala (Orissa) and Kaliṅga, but restored the former to the descendants of the 'Bhavabhûṣaṇa' family. The verse as it is, runs thus :—

*Bhavabhûṣaṇa-santati-bhuvaṁ-anujagrâhajitaṁ-Utkalatraṁ yah*
*Jagadavatisma samastaṁ Kaliṅgatastân niśâcharân nighnan.* (III, 45.)

Opinion differs as to the significance of the expression *Bhavabhûṣaṇa-santati.* In his introduction to the Râmacaritaṁ, Mahâmahopâdhyâya Dr. H. P. Śâstrî, who has discovered and edited the work (*Mem.A.S.B.*, vol. III, No. 1, p. 1 ff), regards it as alluding to the Nâgavaṁśîs. There are others who have taken it in the sense of the kings of the so-called lunar dynasty. But consistency of facts can only be preserved if it be supposed to imply what was called the Kêsarî dynasty. Bhavabhûṣaṇa, or literally, the ornament of Bhava, an epithet of Mahâdeva in his water-presiding character, denotes the serpents, which are but the mane (*keśara*) of him. Setting it in an historical background, it would be noticed that prior to the expedition of Râmapâla against the Kaivartas, the lord of Utkala was one Karṇakeśarî, who was overthrown by Jayasiṁha, king of Daṇḍabhukti and an associate of Râmapâla in that famous expedition. Because of the cognomen *keśara* the house of Karṇakeśarî had been, so it appears, claiming descent right from the *keśara* (mane) of Bhava, just as the Châlukyas did from the *chuluka* or water-vessel of Brahmâ.

While mentioning that Karṇakeśarî was worsted by Jayasiṁha, Sandhyâkara Nandî otherwise designates the former as *sarid-vallabha-kumbha-sambhava,* that is, 'having originated from the pitcher of the lord of water' (cf. II, 5, Com.). This also tends to the same conclusion. It is a most befitting conception that Mahâdeva, when viewed as a deity in association with the lordship of water, should also have a pitcher on his head, instead of the serpents, that, being clotted together, ordinarily constitute his crest and mane.

Curiously enough, neither the name of Karṇakeśarî, nor that of Udyotakeśarî, whose historical existence as a ruler of Orissa is substantiated by epigraphical testimony (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. V, App., p. 90, No. 668), occurs in the long list furnished by the palm-leaf records of Jagannâtha (*vide* Sir W. W. Hunter's *Orissa*, vol. II, App. VII, pp. 185-87), of the Keśarî kings, who are alleged to have ruled in succession in Orissa, and numbered not less than forty-four. These records, although certainly considerably lacking in authenticity, contain, at any rate, a nucleus of truth about the rule in Orissa of a dynasty comprising a number of kings with the surname *Keśarî*, before the province had finally become subjugated by the Gaṅga prince of Kaliṅganagara, Anantavarmâ Chôḍagaṅga, in the eleventh century A.D.

It is, however, difficult to maintain with precision who it was that usurped possession of Utkala on the dethronement of Karṇakeśarî. Obviously, Jayasiṁha himself did not. In that case, along with Utkala, his original kingdom in Daṇḍabhukti, too, would have equally felt the brunt of the ungrateful arms of Râmapâla. Jayasiṁha appears only to have fought in the van of another aggressive prince against Karṇakeśarî, and the Râmacaritaṁ never records the actual possession of Utkala by Jayasiṁha. As for Anantavarmâ Chôḍagaṅga, the conquest of Orissa by him in the tenth century A.D. is not yet established by any reliable evidence. This point, therefore, awaits the discovery of further material before a definite conclusion can be drawn.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF APARA-MANDÂRA.

Amongst the motley of kings that temporarily joined together and made common cause with Râmapâla against the revolting Kaivartas of northern Bengal, there was one Lakṣmîśûra of 'Apara-Mandâra' (II, 5, Com.), the site of which has yet to be identified.

Mandâra, the famous hill in the Bhâgalpur district, and with which is associated the myths about its being used by the gods and the demons during the churning of the ocean, is "situated about 30 miles south of the town Bhâgalpur." (*I.G.*, vol. VI, p. 289.) "It is on the eastern side of the river Chandan, 2½ miles N. of Bausi and 29 S. of Bhâgalpur in Lat. 24° 50½' N., Long. 87° 6' E." (*I.A.*, vol. I, p. 46, footnote). Cunningham puts it : "The famous hill of Mandar stands about 1½ miles off the present road from Bhâgalpur to Seuri, near the village of Oureya........" (*A.S.I.*, vol. VIII, p. 130.) He also supposes that Pliny's Mount Maleus or Mallus is probably "intended for the celebrated Mount Mandar......" (*Ancient Geography of India*, ed. by S. Majumdar Śâstrî, p. 582). In the seventh century A.D., two tanks were caused to be excavated there by Koṇadevî, consort of Âdityasena of the later Gupta dynasty (Fleet's *C.I.I.*, vol. III, p. 212). The antiquities and their interests, which are not few, about the hill have been discussed at greater length by R. B. Bose (*I.A.*, vol. I, p. 46 ff.)

The expression *apara-Mandâra*, denoting, as it does, 'on the other (side) of Mandâra,' is, in the present instance, applicable to the region on the southern and south-western sides of the hill, since the northern side of it, which was Aṅga proper, was swayed over

at that eventful time by Mathanadeva, the maternal uncle of Râmapâla, while to the east lay the kingdom of Kayaṅgala (Hiuen Tsang's Kajaṅgala), the capital of which has been located near modern Râjmahâl. It is, therefore, highly probable that Lakṣmîśûra's territory comprised the site of modern Deoghara, Vaidyanâtha, etc., and that he was the chief among the feudatories who ruled over the whole of that silvan tract of land and its vicinity. This is exactly in keeping with the description in the Râmacaritaṁ, viz., *Apara-Manḍâra-madhusûdanaḥ-samastâṭavikâsâmanta-chakrachûḍâmaṇiḥ* (II, 5. Com.). As for the poet Sandhyâkara Nandî, an inhabitant of Pauṇḍra-Vardhana, which was geographically situated in the north-eastern direction from the Mandâra hill, he does not seem unjustified in describing the south-western side of that hill as its 'other side.' The explanation of the phrase *apara-Mandâra* as 'another Mandâra' (*Mem. A.S.B.*, vol. V, p. 89), although correct in a general way, would yield here no meaning at all.

While sometime between 1021 and 1025 A.D., the generals of Râjendradevachôḷa I (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 53-54) invaded north-eastern India, the rulership of the southern Râḍha country was vested in one Raṇaśûra (*S.I.I.*, vol. III, p. 27, No. 18). It is not improbable that overthrown by the Chôḷa army, he, Raṇaśûra, fled towards the so-called Apara-Mandâra, and established a kingdom there anew, and that to his dynasty belonged Lakṣmîśûra.

Gaḍh-Mandâran in the southern Râḍha country, which is sometime identified as Apara-Mandâra, appears to be wholly wide of the mark, one, though not the only, reason for this being that Lakṣmîśûra would, in that case, best appear as the overlord of the Kôṭa forest, but the Râmacaritaṁ would not have it. Again, it would be going too far, on the strength of a remark in the Ceylonese chronicle, *Mahâvaṁśa*, to assume that even in the days of Râmapâla or Sandhyâkara-Nandî, the southern Râḍha country itself was covered with dense forest. The short description of southern Râḍha about the eleventh century A.D. in the Tirumalai inscription of Râjendradevachôḷa I, may well be taken into consideration here.

NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA.

## BOOK-NOTICE.

FOREIGN BIOGRAPHIES OF SHIVAJI: by DR. SURENDRA NATH SEN, B.LITT. (Oxon.), M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), Lecturer in History, Calcutta University. (Kegan Paul Trench Trübner & Co., 1930.)

Of the five biographies of Shivaji which Dr. Sen has collated, the longest (pp. 1-170) and, in his judgment, one of the most important, is Cosme da Guarda's *Vida e accoens do famoso e felicissimo Sevagy*, which he has translated from the copy in the Biblioteca Nacional at Lisbon. The author, who describes himself as a native of Murmugão, near Goa, wrote the book in 1695, but it was not published until 1730. While admitting that most of the information which it offers is "incomplete and unreliable," Dr. Sen claims that it is not without its value. Most people, after reading Dr. Sen's translation, will share the view of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who was aware of the existence of the book in spite of its rarity, and who dismisses it as "full of gross inaccuracies." We are asked, *inter alia*, to believe (p. 1) that Shivaji was born in Portuguese territory, at Virar near Bassein (a fiction also propounded by Thévenot) and that "people were not wanting" who declared him to be the son of Dom Manoel de Menezes, "the lord of this village." The stratagem by which Shivaji escaped from Agra in a basket is well-known: a wholly different and utterly fantastic version is provided (p. 130), and the escape is said to have been made from Delhi. Other instances might be adduced. There is no attempt at chronological order; and although it may be true that no other author had anything to say about the naval battle between the Marathas and the Portuguese near Murmagão, we are left in the dark as to the date, and Dr. Sen does not help us, although he states that there is corroboration of the incident to be found in unpublished papers in the *Archivo Ultramarino* at Lisbon.

Thévenot's short biographical sketch, which comes next, is oddly silent on the subject of the much-discussed murder of Afzal Khan, and also the campaign of Jai Singh which led to Shivaji's visit to Agra. The third on Dr. Sen's list is the Abbé Barthelemy Carré's account of Shivaji, translated from his *Voyage aux Indes Orientales mêlé de plusieurs histories curieuses*, published at Paris in two small volumes in 1699. The work was known to Orme, whose poor opinion of it Dr. Sen declines to share. The portions relating to Shivaji have been translated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar (*Historical Miscellany* of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodak Mandal, September 1928): but Dr. Sen is dissatisfied with Sir Jadunath's version, and supplies his own (pp. 187-217, 221-258). In several footnotes he criticizes Sir Jadunath's translation: and it must be admitted that the rendering (p. 222) of *homme de tête* as "headman" is open to question. Carré went to India with Caron—a Dutchman, who had been appointed Director-General of the French Company by Colbert—arrived at Surat in 1668, returned in 1671, and found his way back to India in 1672. Like Cosme da Guarda, he is an enthusiastic admirer of Shivaji: and Dr. Sen claims that his book, at the date of his publication, was "practically unrivalled in accuracy and wealth of details." At the same time, he acknowledges that there is much in his narrative "that is no better than bazar gossip." It is clear, therefore, that it must be used with caution.

Dr. Sen's fourth excerpt is the account of the Carnatic expedition of 1677, which he has taken from

François Martin's unpublished *Mémoires sur l'Établissement des Colonies françaises aux Indes Orientales*, 1664-1696. The original MS., which M. Alfred Martineau (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, v. 616) declares to be of the utmost value, is in the Archives Nationales at Paris: and there is a transcript by the late M. P. Margry in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which all students of Indian history would be glad to see in print. Dr. Sen has therefore done good service in translating the portion which deals with the most notable of Shivaji's military achievements. The fifth document in Dr. Sen's volume is the "Beschryving van Suratte" in the first volume (pp. 264-267) of Valentijn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien* (Amsterdam, 1724). The description of the first sack of Surat, which is well known, is evidently based on the day book of the Dutch Factory, which Dr. Sen reproduces later on (pp. 372-382) together with other extracts from the copies of the Dutch Records preserved at the India Office.

In his Introduction Dr. Sen discusses at some length (pp. xxxi-xxxviii) the charge brought against Shivaji in connexion with the first sack of Surat, that he cut off the heads and hands of a number of prisoners. The evidence for this is contained in the Rev. John L'Escaliot's letter which is among the Sloane MSS. at the British Museum and was transcribed by Sir William Foster in the *Indian Antiquary* for December 1921 (vol. L., pp. 312-321), the log of the *Loyall Merchant* (Orme MSS. No. 263) and a letter from the President and Council at Surat, dated January 28, 1664. Dr. Sen declines to accept any of these authorities on the ground, firstly, that the Dutch records make no reference to the incident, and secondly, that the accounts are all based upon the testimony of Anthony Smith, an English factor, who was a prisoner for three days in the hands of Shivaji and who was sent to England a year later with an extremely bad report of his character. This hardly seems an adequate reason for supposing that Smith deliberately lied: and in any case Dr. Sen appears to have overlooked the following independent evidence which he will find in L'Escaliot's letter. We are told that a cloth merchant "from about Agra" took refuge in the English Factory: he had presented himself before Shivaji and offered all he had. As this was cloth and "noe mony, the villaine made his right hand to be cutt off imediatly and than told him begone: he had noe need of his cloth." This story, at all events, does not emanate from Smith: but is it worth while to attach so much importance to the matter? As Dr. Sen himself says, Shivaji did not go to Surat "on a mission of mercy," and "the process of relieving opulent merchants of so much money must have involved torture and death, cruelty and oppression." The cult of Shivaji as a national hero is perfectly intelligible, and he was remarkable both as a general and as an administrator; but he was not an angel incarnate. An interesting passage is cited (pp. 386-387) from the Dutch Records, which disposes of the favourite tradition, endorsed, among others, by Mr. Kincaid (*History of the Maratha People*) and Professor Takakhav and Mr. Keluskar (*Life of Shivaji Maharaj*: Bombay, 1921), that the family of Shivaji was connected with the Sesodia clan of Rajputs, of which the Mahārāṇā of Udaipur is the Chief. The fact is that the founder of the house—Bhosavant Bhosle—was in reality a *patel* or village headman, and, like the great mass of the Mahratta people, was by caste a Kunbi or cultivator. The Bhosles are neither Kshatriyas nor members of any twice-born caste: and if we turn to the pages of Ranade and Sarkar, we shall find that the genealogy of descent from the sun was fabricated by Balaji Avji and other agents of Shivaji, in order to overcome the Brahman prejudice against the coronation of a Sudra king, and that Gaga Bhat, a *paṇḍit* from Benares, accepted it as genuine in return for a huge fee. That these manœuvres were publicly known at the time, is evidenced by the Dutch letter of October 13, 1674, to which we have referred. "Sivasy" is distinctly stated to have declared that "he could not be crowned unless he had abandoned his present caste of Bhonsla and taken the caste of Kettery."

The series is completed by a number of selections from the Bombay original correspondence. These relate principally to the various embassies to Shivaji—of Lieut. Stephen Usticke in 1672, Thomas Niccolls in 1673, Henry Oxinden in 1674, and Samuel Austen in 1675. Usticke's journal appears to have been lost; the journals of the others are printed in full. That of Oxinden is of particular interest, as he was present at the coronation.

EVAN COTTON.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### CHANGE IN THE COURSE OF THE SON RIVER.

In a note to his translation of the *Indika of Arrian*, and again in his later work, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, the late Dr. McCrindle stated that the Son joined the Ganges in the immediate vicinity of Patna till the year 1379, when it forsook its old channel and shifted westwards.

Can any reader of the *Indian Antiquary* refer me to the authority (not quoted by McCrindle) for assigning the shifting of the channel of the Son river to this particular year?

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

### THE KHIZRI SCRIPT.

Mr. H. A. Rose, *Tribes and Castes of the Panjab*, p. 564, writes: "In Jalalpur Jattan in the Gujrat District [of the Panjab] a script called Khizri is well known. The writers say that Khwaja Khizr [the ubiquitous supernatural being of the East] taught their forefathers the art of writing."

Can any reader tell me the nature and origin of this script, or where a *MS.* or sample of it can be got?

R. C. TEMPLE.

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TO

PART DCCXXXVI—A. VOL. LIX—1930.

# INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

## A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c., &c.,

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Sc. stands for the Supplement, *The Scattergoods and the East India Country* (continued from vol. LII), pp. 33—74.
M.M.A. stands for the Supplement, *The Mystery and Mental Atmosphere*, pp. 1—14.

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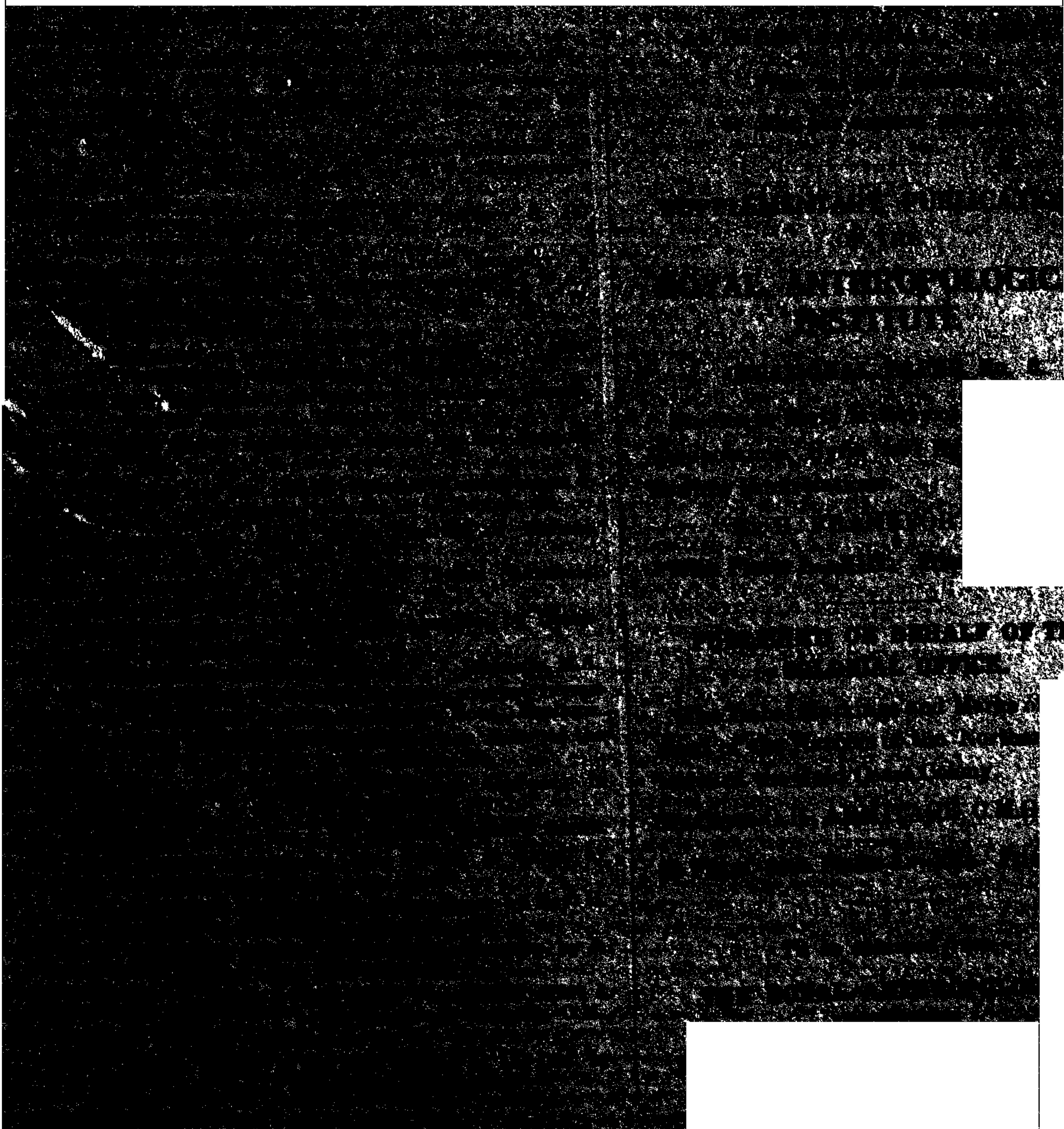
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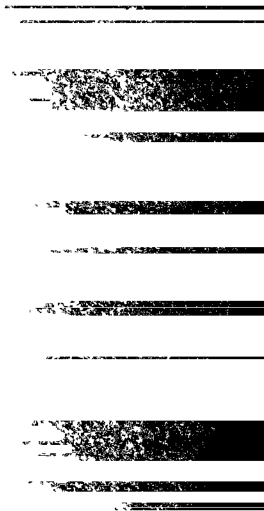
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